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GERYON AND OTHERS IN LOS ANGELES

(PLATES 1-11)

GERYON

GERYON has always been a creature of the West; and as West has been extended westward, so that poor monster has constantly been dislocated, until at last he finds himself at home whether in Berkeley (*C.V.*, University of California, 1, pl. 21, 1 a) or now in Los Angeles, where he is located on the following.

1. Los Angeles County Museum A 5832.50.137. Amphora type B. Plates 1-2.

Ht. 427 to 431, diam. body 292 to 294 (I give dimensions in millimeters and warn that maximum and minimum figures reflect measurements at no more than two or three points).

Put together from fragments with missing pieces restored in plaster on both A and B.

A, Herakles fights Geryon; on the ground between them Eurytion, dying, clutches his head (crushed, I suppose, by Herakles' club). Leftmost Geryon falls; rightmost will be next. Modern paint (Pl. 1, a) along a fracture-line from Herakles' right buttock downward to a point on his left thigh, thence northeast-southwest across left thigh, pelt's legs, and Herakles' right thigh above knee; Herakles' right leg from (and including) knee to middle of calf, except for a small section of ancient black from upper part of knee to fracture-line across thigh. Modern paint for Eurytion's left leg from knee to middle of calf, the lower part of his right leg and his right ankle, the lower edge of his left thigh and buttock, and the fracture-line crossing his left wrist, chest, neck, and right forearm. Modern paint along the three prongs of a break across shields of rightmost and middle Geryon, and the continuation of the lower prong across leftmost Geryon's kilt and the bottom of his shield.

B, Dionysos and Ariadne, with three satyrs, the second garlanded, two tailless (Pl. 1, b). Ariadne's right hand grasped the edge of her shawl (Pl. 2, e: the ghost of a white-painted forearm and extended thumb remain, the fingers clutching the folded edge of her himation and concealed by the cloth); her left hand was forward about at the level of her waist, and an incised diagonal line (northeast-southwest) marks the top of her left forearm with the cloth of her himation folded over it. The restorer had applied his paint as follows (compare Pl. 1, b with Pl. 2, b, c, d): Satyr 1: along a fracture-line on head across top of nose and part of eye to back of skull; to compensate

for the modern black covering part of the ancient incision for the eye (Pl. 2, c, much like the eye of his fellows) the restorer had put in iris and lower part of perimeter of sklera with light (and sloppy) incisions (Pl. 1, b). Satyr 2: along thin fracture-lines across neck and thigh. Dionysos (Pl. 2, b): along fracture-line across his right elbow and back of himation; mid parts of body, except for a part of rear panel of himation, but including the greater part of his right hand (there was slight repainting along fracture-lines across his left hand, but most of the hand is intact); most of the red on the panel of himation hanging from his left wrist; on the ivy branch, all above the fourth pair of leaves from the bottom except for parts of three leaves, and the stem had been wrongly restored to run towards the tip of the rhyton instead of the incised lines of its proper base preserved on a splinter of the ancient surface at the god's right hand. Ariadne: the rear part of the red border at the bottom of her peplos and sections through the middle part of her body, either over plaster or over terracotta pieces with incised drapery lines and disintegrated glaze; the hanging ends of her himation to left and to right were rendered very like those of her congener on Louvre F 32 (Pl. 3, d) rather than in the manner of the restorer (Pl. 1, b). Satyr 3 (Pl. 2, d): on a wide patch across top of chest and tip of beard; most of buttocks and thighs, partly repainted on terracotta, partly on plaster; the lower two-thirds of the tail except for a brief piece near the tip and the tip itself, the repainting on terracotta; a section of his left forearm towards wrist.

Top of mouth (patched and refurbished with color) and underside of foot reserved. Black glaze inside neck for some 50 mm. below edge of mouth. The black of the body in part refreshed. Red bands around vase: on neck three, about equally spaced; beneath picture-panels two, and two above ray-zone; three on foot, top, middle, and bottom. Lines frame pictures right, left, and bottom; lotos-palmette border at top on A (centers of most palmettes and all lotoses red), pendent lotos-bud-and-leaf on B (most leaves roughly edged with red, buds with white centers). Other red: the knot of Herakles' pelt and the front part of his kilt, borders on Eurytion's shirt and the strap across his breast, dots on rightmost Geryon's shield, outer and inner borders respectively of middle and leftmost Geryon's shields, helmet cap of middle Geryon, greaves and crest of leftmost Geryon, beards of Eurytion and Dionysos and satyrs, Dionysos' wreath and the fillet worn by satyr 3, the top of Dionysos' rhyton and stripes on his himation, Ariadne's peplos (the overfold and the lower border), the centers of the rosettes on her himation. Other white: Geryon's ray blazon, bands on his helmet crests, his sword strap, Ariadne's flesh and the dots of the outer member of the rosette design on her himation, the garland worn by satyr 2.

This amphora was acquisitioned in 1950, the gift of the late William Randolph Hearst. R. Forrer kindly informs me that between 1946 and 1950 it is documented for two private collections in England. I take it to be the amphora (no. 186) once in

the collection of the Count de Saint-Ferriol at Uriage in Dauphiné and so reported to the Archaeological Institute in 1951 in Princeton at the Institute's Christmas meeting. The Saint-Ferriol amphora was published by H. Boucher in *Monuments Piot*, XX, 1913, pp. 96-100 with fig. 7 (an all but illegible photograph of the amphora showing side A) and fig. 8 (a drawing, with inaccuracies, of Herakles and the lower parts of Eurytion). Boucher claimed for the height of the Saint-Ferriol amphora 420 mm. and for the circumference 900 mm.; I measure the amphora in Los Angeles height *ca.* 430 mm. and diameter *ca.* 293 mm. (which yields approximately 920 mm. for the circumference). Boucher further claimed "vase recollé, fatigué, noir delavé, mais non restauré" (*ibid.*, p. 99); whatever the meaning of the second adjective, the first and third are true enough of the vase in Los Angeles, the fourth certainly not, nor do I see on satyr 1 "au poignet droit un petit collier qui pend en triangle et simulé par des points blancs" (*ibid.*, p. 98). So far as I know, two students have noticed the amphora since 1913, each from Boucher's publication alone. At the end of his list of Group E Sir John Beazley remarked "An amphora in the Saint-Ferriol Collection . . . might belong. . . . Boucher compares it with" London B 194.¹ And W. Technau, though he omitted it from *Exekias* where he distributed between his Quadriga Painter and his Athena-birth Painter so many Group E pots and some others,² did include it later in a list of ten amphorae with dionysiac pictures, part Group E and part otherwise classified, which he proposed to connect with Faina 119.³

The fight with Geryon is a standard Group E picture: Herakles coming in from the left with club or sword, Geryon attacking from the right, his leftmost body falling in death, and Eurytion on the ground between them, his position varying. The difficulty about pictorializing the fight is the representation of Geryon, and the draughtsman who devised the Group E scheme, it is agreed, did not meet with the success the master draughtsman Lydos had attained.⁴ The dionysiac is also standard in Group E,

¹ *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32 (published 1934), pp. 3-8 (for the Saint-Ferriol amphora, p. 8); cf. *Development of Attic Black-figure*, 1951, p. 63. Additions to Group E made by: G. Hafner, *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht*, 1938, pp. 28-29; Sir John Beazley, *Raccolta Guglielmi*, I, 1939, p. 40, no. 35; D. A. Amyx, *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, no. 8, 1941, pp. 179-198 (on the inscription cf. J. H. Jongkees in *Studia van Hoorn*, pp. 68-74); H. Bloesch, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz*, 1943, pp. 42-45, 161-163. Cf. A. D. Trendall, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 181, no. 9 (" . . . somewhere near the Exekias group"); Sir John Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum* (from *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIII), pp. 10-11, a13 (Vatican 352, "near Group E").

² See *Exekias (Bilder Griechischer Vasen)*, ed. Beazley and Jacobsthal, no. 9, 1936), pp. 22-24. Hafner, *Viergespanne*, p. 29, note 14, denies that the work of Technau's Quadriga Painter can be distinguished from that of his Athena-birth Painter, at least so far as pictures with chariot facing are concerned. Bloesch, *Ant. Kunst*, p. 163, note 9, claims that more vases classified in Group E can be located in the list of the Athena-birth Painter than Technau has placed there.

³ *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 101-103 with list on p. 103. B. Neutsch, *Ganymed* (ed. R. Herbig, 1949), p. 38, no. 6, cites it from the Boucher publication and from Technau.

⁴ See Beazley, *D.A.B.*, pp. 48 and 63.

normally composed with Dionysos and several satyrs, the latter sometimes garlanded, sometimes tailless, and occasionally, substituting for a satyr, a woman (presumably Ariadne) with her himation shawl-like over her head. I wish to consider, among geryonomachies and dionysiacs listed for Group E, the following.⁵

GERYONOMACHY AND DIONYSIAC

a. Naples 81094. *C.V.*, 1, pl. 4, 1-2 (Adriani's description of B in *C.V.*, pp. 4-5, is confused in regard to right and left; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXXII, 1952, p. 157, notes that pl. 4, 2 is reversed); Group E, no. 25. A, Herakles, Eurytion, Geryon, very like the Los Angeles amphora in drawing and in details of composition. B, Dionysos and three satyrs. The god's peg-nose is comparable to that on the Los Angeles amphora, and satyrs 1 and 3 are comparable respectively to satyrs 4 and 1 on Louvre F 55 (below, c, Pl. 3, b). But the picture differs in some respects from the others: Dionysos holds kantharos, not rhyton, has grapes as well as ivy, and his crown has a bottom row of leaves as well as a top row.

b. Zürich, Roß. Bloesch, *Ant. Kunst*, pp. 42-45, 161-163, pls. 14-17. A, Herakles, Eurytion, Geryon, like the preceding: sketchy (even for this list), but for Herakles' peg-nose compare Dionysos in Los Angeles and Herakles on Louvre F 55; Bloesch (*op. cit.*, p. 162, note 7) compares the shield device of middle Geryon with that of Athena on Berlin 1698 (Group E, no. 33; Athena-birth Painter, no. 2, Technau, *Exekias*, p. 23). B, Dionysos and four satyrs, if that is what Bloesch means by his report (*op. cit.*, p. 163, note 8) that the picture closest to this is B of Copenhagen 7068 (below, i). Bloesch locates the amphora in the list of Technau's Athena-birth Painter and notes the painter's fondness for tailless satyrs.

c. Louvre F 55. Plate 3, a-b. *C.V.*, 3, pl. 15, 6 and 9, and pl. 18, 4; C. Albizzati, *Vasi*

antichi dipinti del Vaticano, p. 127, note 2, no. 4; Group E, no. 16; Technau, *Exekias*, p. 24, no. 15 (Athena-birth Painter); *id.*, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 103 (Faina 119 Group, no. 4). A, like the preceding, also with a peg-nose Herakles; for Eurytion's two-line ear compare the left ear of facing Eurytion on London B 194 (below, f, Pl. 4, a) and the ear, partly incised, partly white silhouette, on Ariadne in Los Angeles (Pl. 2, e). B, Dionysos and four satyrs, the composition a rather nice combination of unity, movement, humour with satyr 1 staring out of the picture to frighten any who looks.

GERYONOMACHY AND OTHER

d. Würzburg 245. E. Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen*, p. 45, and pl. 79; Group E, no. 1; Technau, *Exekias*, p. 24, no. 16 (Athena-birth Painter). A, Herakles, Eurytion, Geryon, close to the group in Los Angeles. B, Herakles and lion, with spectators, to left, a woman, and to right, a man. The drawing is like: compare, for example, Herakles' ear with that of Dionysos in Los Angeles, his nose and adjacent incised markings particularly with Dionysos on Louvre F 55 (Pl. 3, b).

e. Brussels R 289. *C.V.*, 2, pl. 16, 4 a-b; Group E, no. 19. A, Eurytion faces Geryon, the reverse of the normal position, and Herakles' dress remains uncertain, for much of the picture is lost; I hold it with the others on the showing of falling Geryon in *C.V.*, pl. 16, 4 b. B, Herakles and lion, with minor variations from the preceding, apparently a replica of Munich 1382 (Group E, no. 4 and pl. 1, 2; *C.V.*, 1, pl. 18, 1, and pl. 19, 1-2).

⁵ I omit (for lack of illustration) Tarquinia 621 (Group E, no. 30), Boulogne 88 (Group E, no. 27 bis), Chiusi 1806 (Group E, no. 17). For Louvre F 53 (Group E, no. 31) and Vatican 347 ("a little apart") see below. I cite Group E by number alone; the proper page in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32 can easily be found. Vases in the list are type B amphorae unless otherwise noted.

f. London B 194. Plate 4, a-c. Amphora type A. *C.V.*, 3, pl. 37, 1 a-b; Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, p. 127, note 2, at end; Group E, no. 35 ("... restorations: on A, most of Herakles' r. arm and of his sword-blade, nearly all the hithermost arm of Geryon; on B, most of the driver's face, and parts of three horse-heads"; so Beazley); Technau, *Exekias*, p. 23, no. 4 (Athena-birth Painter). A, Herakles overruns the dog Orthros as well as Eurytion facing; the heads of middle and rightmost Geryon very like those in Zürich. B, chariot turning; the fightingman's face like that of falling Geryon on A.

DIONYSIAC AND OTHER

g. Louvre F 32. Plate 3, c-d. *C.V.*, 3, pl. 14, 8, pl. 15, 2, pl. 16, 3; Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, p. 127, note 2, no. 1; Group E, no. 15; Technau, *Exekias*, p. 24, no. 14 (Athena-birth Painter); *id.*, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 103 (Faina 119 Group, no. 3). A, birth of Athena. B, Dionysos, Ariadne, three satyrs—the picture posed much like the dionysiac in Los Angeles, except that satyr 3 faces center like the rest; note the ε-shape flourish for the interior markings of Dionysos' ear.

h. Würzburg 250. Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen*, pl. 71, who claims (text *ad loc.*) the same hand in Gerhard, *A.V.*, 1, pl. 1 (Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 20) = Boston 00.330 (A, birth of Athena, and B, chariot facing: Technau, *Exekias*, p. 23, Athena-birth Painter no. 8; Hafner, *Viergespanne*, p. 8, no. 70, and p. 28 "Group E," with frontispiece pl. I [B]; G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Antiquities* [Museum of Fine Arts, Boston], pp. 47-48, fig. 57 [A]); Technau, *Exekias*, p. 23, no. 7 (Athena-birth Painter). A, birth of Athena. B, Dionysos with satyrs and a maenad who runs off with satyr 3, abandoning satyr 2 who faces (inviting sympathy?); a satyr's ear for Dionysos (intentional?—the contrary, Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 91); with satyr 2 Langlotz compares the facing satyr on Louvre F 55 (Pl. 3, b); very like are satyrs 3 in Würzburg and Los Angeles.

i. Copenhagen 7068. *C.V.*, 3, pl. 102, 1 a-b; Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, p. 127, note 2, no. 8; Group E, no. 14; Technau, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 103 (Faina 119 Group, no. 6). A, Herakles and lion, much like Brussels R 289 (above, e). B, Dionysos and four satyrs, composition not unlike the dionysiac in Los Angeles with the rightmost figure dancing out of the picture (but note the position of his arms and hands); very like are satyrs 1 here and on Louvre F 32 (Pl. 3, d) and in Los Angeles (Pl. 1, b), satyr 2 here and 1 on Louvre F 32 and 2 on Louvre F 55 (Pl. 3, b).

j. London B 163. *C.V.*, 3, pl. 29; Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, p. 127, note 2, no. 5; Group E, no. 23. A, Herakles and birds; he seems close to Herakles particularly on Würzburg 245 (above, d) and on London B 194 (above, f). B, two women in one cloak and three satyrs, the rightmost dancing out of the picture; compare satyr 2 here and satyrs 3 on Louvre F 55 and F 32 (Pl. 3, b and d), satyr 3 here and 4 on F 55.

k. Munich 1394. *C.V.*, 1, pl. 26, 4, and pl. 29, 2; Group E, no. 29; Technau, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 103 (Faina 119 Group, no. 8). A, Dionysos between two satyrs; and B, Ariadne between the like. The picture has been divided and put part on one side and part on the other; but attributes, poses, drawing are like the others—compare particularly satyr 2 on Louvre F 32 (Pl. 3, d) and 3 on Copenhagen 7068 (i).

l. Faina (no inventory number). Technau, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 104-105, no. 9, and pl. 28 (Technau associates the vase neither with Group E nor with his Faina 119 Group). A, fightingmen, mounted and foot; and B, Dionysos with four satyrs. Note the symmetrical composition of the march-past on A and compare head and face of the outermost of the warriors to left with Geryon on No. 1 (Pl. 1, a)—or with a, b, etc. Compare pose and attributes of Dionysos with No. 1, etc.; note the similar ear and the row of leaves along the top of the crown alone. For the satyrs compare particularly No. 1, and c, g, i.

Of this list, Beazley classified in Group E the items *a*, *c-g*, *i-k*, with No. 1 as a possible. Albizzati associated *c*, *f-g*, *i-j*. Technau assigned to the Athena-birth Painter *c-d*, *f-h*, and in his later grouping around Faina 119 associated No. 1, *c*, *g*, *i*, *k*. Bloesch added *b* to the list of the Athena-birth Painter, and Langlotz through Boston 00.330 connected *h*. I add *l* on the basis of the photographs published by Technau and think that all are indeed work of the same hand.

It may appear to some that Herakles on the Zürich amphora (*b*) and on Louvre F 55 (*c*) can hardly go with Herakles in Los Angeles or Naples (*a*), Würzburg (*d*), and London (*f*). The pair in Zürich and Paris do seem rather slender at the waist, their profiles resemble each other rather more than either resembles the others, and the somewhat prissy pose of the head of Herakles in Zürich is his alone; but in other respects the pair is drawn like the rest, and Geryon's heads as well as the dionysiac picture on B, I would suppose, hold the Zürich and Paris amphorae with the others.

The mechanics of the transition between falling Geryon and his neighbor appear to have been troublesome to the draughtsman. It seems always to have been his notion that leftmost Geryon falls, yet invariably he shows part of middle Geryon's helmet overlying that of falling Geryon. His treatment of other difficulties varies. On the Los Angeles and Naples amphorae (1 and *a*) the collar-band of middle Geryon ends at the right sleeve-line of leftmost Geryon, and the rim of the shield of middle Geryon is back, masking much of the area of transition. On the amphora in Zürich (*b*) there is no sleeve-line for leftmost Geryon, and middle Geryon's collar-band runs over sloppily to end on leftmost Geryon's neck. On Louvre F 55 (*c*) middle Geryon's shield is high and well back, which forces out of position what is apparently intended for the upper line of the right upper arm of leftmost Geryon and places middle Geryon's collar-band high, running to the edge of falling Geryon's helmet. On Würzburg 245 (*d*) middle Geryon's shield is again high and back, but not so far back as to distort the position of the upper line of leftmost Geryon's right upper arm, and properly enough no collar-band for middle Geryon is indicated. On London B 194 (*f*) middle Geryon's shield is forward, the right shoulder-line of falling Geryon becomes a shoulder-line of middle Geryon, and there the collar-band of middle Geryon ends. These phenomena I take to be not so much an indication of different draughtsmen as a result of indifferent, sketchy drawing, and perhaps a factor of the initial positioning of Geryon's shields. The cartoon for this Geryon is best reflected by Geryon on Louvre F 53 (Pl. 4, d) where, with middle and leftmost Geryon's shields well spread, the addition of a single line to mark the back of leftmost Geryon and care to avoid overlaying the helmet of middle Geryon on that of his falling companion produce the required illusion.

If I omit from this list geryonomachies and dionysiacs in Technau's Faina 119

Group ⁶ and Albizzati's group of eighteen amphorae,⁷ it is because I do not believe that they belong with the preceding. Nor does Vatican 347 ⁸ (A, chariot overrunning foe, and B, geryonomachy) where the right shoulder-line of falling Geryon is continuous with the collar-band of middle Geryon (presumably it is leftmost Geryon who falls, though it is the rear leg of middle Geryon which is out of step with the others). On Vatican 347 the composition is a bit elaborated, with Athena backing Herakles and Orthros scrambling up the right frame of the picture. The Painter of Vatican 365 on his amphora Guglielmi 39 kept Athena backing Herakles, gave Eurytion stone and club, brought down *rightmost* Geryon the first to die, and on the extreme right of his picture showed a second herdsman (with club) running off.⁹ The same elaborate scheme is used for the picture on Munich 1379, "related" to the Painter of Berlin 1686, but *leftmost* Geryon falls and the man running off to right has no club.¹⁰

⁶ *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 103. These are Faina 119 itself, Louvre F 3 (with which Beazley compares Munich 1371 and Vatican 346, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 305), Louvre F 5 (which Beazley, *loc. cit.*, holds for the same hand as Munich 1373 and Munich 1374), Munich 1401 (Painter of Berlin 1686, Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 10, no. 7; *J.H.S.*, *loc. cit.*), and Würzburg 246 (the same painter, Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, no. 5).

⁷ Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, p. 127. Some fifteen of the eighteen members and probables of Albizzati's group are Group E or another of the classifications which cluster around Exekias, one is in the Swinger's list (no. 17 in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 13), the remaining two do not concern me here.

⁸ Albizzati, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136 and pl. 43; belonging to Group E, but "a little apart" from the majority, Beazley in *B.S.A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 8, no. 3; "Quadriga Painter," Technau, *Exekias*, p. 22, no. 3.

⁹ On B horseman between warriors: Beazley, *B.S.A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 9, no. 2, and *Raccolta Guglielmi*, pp. 42-43, no. 39 and pl. 14.

¹⁰ On B Herakles and Kyknos, with Athena, Zeus, Ares: R. Lullies in *C.V.*, Munich, 1, pls. 10, 4; 13, 1-2; 28, 3; cf. Beazley in *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 305: "somewhat recalls" the Painter of Berlin 1686. Elements of this standard picture of the fight with Geryon (with or without side figures) vary through the second half of the century, but not perhaps very much except for the Swinger's good representation on his neck-amphora Cabinet des Médailles 223 (*C.V.*, pls. 38, 4-5; 39, 1-3 and 5; Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 16, no. 63; Charlton, *Manchester Memoirs*, LXXXIII, 1938-39, pp. 195, 199, 200-201): A, Herakles, backed by Athena, shooting around the pot at, B, Orthros (fierce) and a spread-out Geryon whose rightmost body falls forward (shield profiled) and leftmost backward (inner side of shield showing). Compare the neck-amphora Bologna GM 3 (*C.V.*, 2, pl. 12, 3-4), on A, Orthros snapping at Herakles who shoots around the pot at, B, Geryon, his leftmost body falling, its right shoulder hooked over the edge of middle Geryon's shield—a stiffer figure than Geryon in Paris. Standard are the type B amphorae Naples 112849 (side figures: *C.V.*, 1, pl. 5, 3-4; cf. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXXII, 1952, p. 157, ". . . so far as can be judged from such reproductions it is not far from the manner of Exekias: foot modern?"), London B 156 (*C.V.*, 3, pl. 27, 1 a-c), London B 157 (*C.V.*, 3, pl. 26, 3 a-d, shield device of middle Geryon like that on the Los Angeles amphora), the Nikosthenic neck-amphora Louvre F 115 (*C.V.*, 4, pl. 37, 10-11 and 14-15: Athena joins the fight; Geryon holds shields against Herakles, not the spectator), the neck-amphorae Villa Giulia M 489 (P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, pls. LXIX, 7, and LXXI, 4, "near" the Painter of Munich 1519, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 152 middle, 1), London B 220 and B 221 (*C.V.*, 4, pls. 53, 4 a-b; 54, 1 a-b; the latter painted by the Medea Painter, for whose list see H. R. W. Smith, *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, p. 473; and the former potted by the Canoe

Louvre F 53 (*C.V.*, 3, pls. 19-20; here Pls. 4, d; 5, a-c), A, Herakles, Eurytion, Geryon (nose and mouth of middle head, Pierre Devambez writes me, are modern), Ἐχσεκίας ἐποίησε, Στεσίας καλός, other inscriptions, and B, Anchippos and his charioteer in chariot to right, much impressed Buschor, who agreed that decoration was Exekias' work, thought it painted *ca.* 550 and the model for geryonomachies during the second half of the century.¹¹ It was then disassociated from the list of Exekias' pictures and placed in Group E by Beazley.¹² Recently it has again been claimed for Exekias by B. Neutsch.¹³ His major premise, the Geryon picture in Zürich (above, *b*) and the picture on F 53 cannot be the work of the same painter, is doubtless sound enough; his minor premise, the picture in Zürich cannot be work of Exekias, few, I suppose, will challenge; but his conclusion, the picture on F 53 was therefore painted by Exekias, hardly follows.

Nor is his conclusion bolstered, I think, by horse-names shared by F 53 and work of Exekias: Kalliphora on Berlin 1720, Kalliphoras and Semos on the plaque in Berlin, Technau, *Exekias*, p. 22, I, pl. 16, 2. The horse-names prove no closer connection with Exekias than is already apparent from the signature Ἐχσεκίας ἐποίησε. Nor can the style of the drawing on F 53 be explained away by the assertion that it is "early" Exekias on the evidence of Στεσίας καλός and the Stesias of *I.G.*, I², 987,

σῆμα φί[λ]ο παιδὸς τόδε ἰδὲν Δι[όδορος] ἔθηκεν
Στεσίῳ, ἡὸν θάνατο[ς] δακρυ[ό]ες καθ[έ]χει,

copied in 1832 by Ross (and Wordsworth), since lost, published from Ross's copy. Even if it be granted that kalos-name and epitaph refer to the same individual, and

Potter around the last decade of the century, according to Bloesch, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 38, no. 1 of the potter's list), Würzburg 230 (Langlotz, pl. 62: rightmost Geryon collapses backward with considerable success; cf. the b. f. neck-amphora once in the Paris market, *Tableaux anciens* . . . *provenant de l'Hotel de Madame I.P.*, 4 juin, 1937, p. 21, no. 32 and pl. X, with A, a rather similar geryonomachy, and B, Dionysos between dancing maenads), Berkeley 8/3851 (*C.V.*, University of California, pl. XXI, 1 a), and the oenochoe Würzburg 343 (Langlotz, pl. 103: middle Geryon falls back and seems a completely detached figure; to left, the hindquarters of Geryon's cattle). On the Leagros Group geryonomachies London B 310 and Munich 1719 see Beazley, *D.A.B.*, pp. 82-83; the Castle Ashby neck-amphora by the Madrid Painter, *id.*, *B.S.R.*, XI, 1929, pp. 7-8. Lekythoi of the Leagros Period, Oxford 1927.4070 and Delos Heraion 547 (Dugas, *Délos*, X, pp. 158-159, p. 171, pls. XXXIX, LXIX, Herakles, in part three-quarters, shooting bow): C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, pp. 43-44, 46, 99. And for Berlin 1999, a lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter, see Beazley, *B.S.R.*, XI, 1929, p. 12, no. 22; Haspels, *op. cit.*, p. 217, no. 21.

In *Ganymed* (ed. R. Herbig, 1949), pp. 29-41, B. Neutsch publishes a neck-amphora (Heidelberg S 178) with Herakles and Geryon on A and B, and lists (pp. 38-39) thirty-five Attic black-figured vases with Geryonomachies. Further, K. Schauenburg, *C.V.* Heidelberg, 1, 1954, pl. 36.

¹¹ Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, III, pp. 216-218.

¹² *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 3 and p. 6, no. 31. Cf. *A.B.S.*, p. 18, and *D.A.B.*, pp. 63-64. Technau, *Exekias*, p. 23, no. 6 of the list of the Athena-birth Painter.

¹³ *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XV, 1949-50, pp. 50-52 and particularly p. 51 with note 17.

the two fragments of the epitaph were available so that one could see what the letters really look like, it is hardly to be imagined that the epitaph would furnish evidence to indicate that Stesias was a decade or two older than Onetorides, the *kalos*-name which appears on vases signed as painted by Exekias. Though the identification of Στεσίας καλός with Στεσίας Δι[οδόρο] and a date for the latter's epitaph " bald nach mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts " have been in the literature at least since 1887,¹⁴ no evidence has since appeared to substantiate the claim for the date of the inscription then made; indeed one had better offer to date the Stesias of *I.G.*, I², 987 from his notion of the date of F 53 (if Stesias be the same) rather than claim that pot is dated by inscription. There is in fact no external evidence to pin down the date of Στεσίας καλός as there is perhaps the date of 'Ονετορίδες καλός if that name on Exekias' vases refers to the youth called 'Ονετορίδες καλός on a vase " in the manner of " the Andokides Painter.¹⁵ And for *a priori* argument on a relationship between a painter's style and the *kalos*-name on his vases, it should not be forgotten that Onetorides appears both on Berlin 1720, among Exekias' plainest, and on Vatican 344, among his most elaborate, the painter of both vases certified by the ἔγραψεν signature.¹⁶

It is not alone the drawing of Exekias with which one must reckon, at whatever

¹⁴ Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, II, 1887, pp. 160-161.

¹⁵ A b. f. hydria, Manner of the Andokides Painter, no. 17, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 6. For the list of vases with Onetorides see *A.R.V.*, p. 937, which adds to the list (1939) of Lullies, *R.E.*, s.v. Onetorides, the North-Slope calyx-krater attributed to Exekias by Broneer (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469-486), correctly reports as b. f., not r. f., the hydriae Leningrad 142 (201, Lullies: *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 161 and pl. 10; Beazley compares Louvre F 298, *C.V.*, pls. 72, 2, and 71, 8) and New York 14.105.10 (Manner of Andokides Painter, no. 17; cf. *Bull. Met. Museum*, X, 1915, p. 123, fig. 2), attributes to the Princeton Painter the b. f. amphora Lullies no. 4 (Bonn 365: *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, p. 419, no. 8, fig. 11), and omits the b. f. amphorae Lullies no. 5 (Boulogne 73 after Hoppin, *Black-figure*, p. 109, note, on Luce's authority) and no. 6 (Philadelphia MS 3497, after Hoppin, *op. cit.*, p. 111, 17 bis, with Exekias for attribution and ['Ονετορίδ]ες καλός for inscription: ". . . seems to stand between Exekias and the Lysippides Painter [i. e., Andokides Painter]," Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 31; cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 1). As for ['Ονετορίδ]ες καλός on MS 3497 Roger Edwards pointed out to me, as we were looking at the pieces of the amphora, that there is not room for so long a name if the restored letters are spaced anywhere like the preserved, themselves more widely spaced than the letters of the names of the figures in the picture, which too implies a shorter name to go with καλός; Hoppin's publication of 1924 obscured facts correctly reported in Mrs. Dohan's of 1915 (cf. *Museum Journal*, VI, p. 88). The external evidence for the date of Onetorides (irrespective of one's notion of what constitutes early, middle, or late Exekias) consists alone of the New York hydria listed "manner of Andokides Painter," and one's feeling of security about the value of the testimony of this vase is subject to the assault of Bonn 365 attributed by Beazley to the Princeton Painter, whose connections are otherwise not usually thought to be with the successors of Exekias (cf. Beazley in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 17; *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 305; *Raccolta Guglielmi*, pp. 40-41, no. 36, at end).

¹⁶ Berlin 1720: Technau, *Exekias*, pls. 1-2. Vatican 344: Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, pls. 40-42 and pp. 127-133, figs. 62-68. Technau, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff., argued from these facts, not that Exekias might paint one way today and another tomorrow, but that he developed a mature command of his art with remarkable speed.

remove, in any consideration of F 53 and Group E geryonomachies and dionysiacs, but also (I suggest) the work found on vases in the growing list of the Exekian known as the Painter of Berlin 1686, who could, when he liked, draw very well indeed.¹⁷ In Würzburg 246 that painter has combined geryonomachy and dionysiac: A, Herakles, Eurytion, Geryon, with Hermes backing Herakles and a second herdsman (with club) running off to right; B, Dionysos, Ariadne, and to right a satyr looking back at them, to left a satyr who seems to forbid a maenad access to Dionysos.¹⁸ Pose and attributes of Dionysos and Ariadne are like those in the ordinary Group E dionysiac except that the god has a vine with grapes and a bottom row of leaves on his crown. The Group E god on Naples 81094 (above, *a*) also has two rows of leaves on his crown and carries in one hand a vine with grapes (as well as a spray of ivy). In other dionysiacs by 1686—Würzburg 249 (Dionysos without Ariadne¹⁹) and Munich 1401 (Ariadne present, and the broad himation-panel on the god's right side hanging straight from his shoulder²⁰)—pose and attributes of god and Ariadne are much the same as those conventional in Group E pictures, but always the god's wreath has a double row of leaves. Sharp-nose satyr 2 on Würzburg 246 seems very like sharp-nose satyr 1 on Naples 81094 (above, *a*), and pug-nose satyr 1 on 246 is reminiscent of the pug-noses on, for example, Louvre F 55 (*c*). Satyr 2 on Würzburg 249 is not distant. And the simple Group E ear, for example Dionysos in Los Angeles, is the ear used, with only slightly more elaboration, by the Painter of Berlin 1686 in Dionysos on Würzburg 246 and on Munich 1401 (compare the citharist and Zeus on A of Philadelphia MS 3441, Pl. 6, *a*).

¹⁷ Beazley increased his list of four in *C.V.*, Oxford, 2, p. 98, to eleven in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, pp. 10-11, and merged with it the work of the Painter of London B 197 in *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 305 (London B 197 and Faina 73: *B.S.A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 11), adding Munich 1375 (*C.V.*, 1, pl. 9, 3-4). Technau, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 93 ff., no. 1, took Faina 73, London B 197, and Munich 1381 into a group by his "Triton Master"; the association of London B 197 and Munich 1381 was rejected by Lullies (*C.V.*, Munich, 1, p. 16, top right). Bloesch (*Ant. Kunst*, p. 164, note 9) gave Faina 73 along with a Herakles-Triton neck-amphora in Zürich (*op. cit.*, pp. 46-49 and 163-164, pls. 18-20) to the Painter of Louvre F 51 (*C.V.*, 6, pl. 67, 3-6; the painter's list, Beazley, *B.S.A.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12). I propose to retain Faina 73 in the list of the Painter of Berlin 1686; and the figure-drawing on the Zürich amphora, as one sees it in Bloesch's pl. 19, seems to me less reminiscent of Louvre F 51 than it is, for example, of Nicosia 440 (Beazley, *Attic Vases in Cyprus*, p. 6 and pl. 2; Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 26 *a*) and Cabinet des Médailles 206 (Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Rumpf, *op. cit.*, pl. 26 *b*), and a Tarentum neck-amphora with Herakles and Nessos (Rumpf, *op. cit.*, pl. 25), all by Lydos, and Würzburg 241 by the Phrynos Painter (Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen*, pls. 64-65; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 199; *Attic Vases in Cyprus*, p. 9)—where one should compare particularly the drawing of nostril, moustache, mouth and contrast Louvre F 51. For the place of London B 197 in the development of amphora shapes during the latter part of the archaic period ("early") see Bloesch in *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 29, note 2; cf. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 11 ("... one of the earliest amphorae type A").

¹⁸ Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen*, pl. 66; attributed to the Athena-birth Painter by Technau, *Exekias*, p. 24, no. 17.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pl. 80; also attributed to the Athena-birth Painter by Technau, *op. cit.*, p. 24, no. 18.

²⁰ *C.V.*, 1, pl. 32, 2.

The Herakles on Würzburg 246 and others by 1686 have much in common with Herakles on Louvre F 53 (Pl. 5, a). Note the shawl-like drape of the pelt and the knot on the pelt's forelegs on F 53, Würzburg 246, London B 197,²¹ Bologna PU 192;²² the close-set, up-swept lines of the hair of the pelt's mane on F 53, Würzburg 246, London B 197, and Faina 73;²³ the loop which represents the lower end of the pelt's jaw on F 53, London B 197, Faina 73, and B of Bologna PU 192 (on F 53 separated by three lines and on London B 197 separated by two lines from the rest of the jaw). The ear characteristic of the pelt on F 53 (and of the pelts on the Group E pots in the above list) is used by the Painter of Berlin 1686 on Minotaur on Oxford 1918.64²⁴ and in part on the pelts on Würzburg 246, London B 197, Faina 73. There is a certain largeness of feature which characterizes Herakles on F 53, Würzburg 246, London B 197, and Triton on Faina 73: eye and brow rather alike on all; not dissimilar markings for nostril, moustache, mouth—if a bit crude on F 53, one must note that the painter's black has played him false, shrinking within the incised contour. The Painter of Berlin 1686 liked noses of prominence, and prominent noses are a hallmark of F 53 and the Group E pots of the preceding list: compare again Herakles on Würzburg 246, London B 197, and Triton on Faina 73 with Herakles on F 53 and, for a less skillful version of the same nose, the Herakles on A and B of Munich 1379 ("related" to the Painter of Berlin 1686²⁵); compare further Herakles on Bologna PU 192 (by 1686) with Herakles in Naples (above, *a*) or Los Angeles (No. 1) or London (*f*), Dionysos on Würzburg 246 or Theseus and Athenians on Oxford 1918.64 (both by 1686) with Dionysos and Poseidon on Louvre F 32 (*g*) or Dionysos on Louvre F 55 (*c*) or Copenhagen 7068 (*i*) or Herakles in Zurich (*b*) or on Louvre F 55 (*c*).

I should think it likely that Louvre F 53, with its Ἐχσεκίας ἐποίησε, was in fact decorated by the Painter of Berlin 1686. Of Herakles sufficient has been said above. Let the suggestion find support, for the rest, on a detailed comparison of the figures on F 53 (Pls. 4, d; 5, a-c) and those on Philadelphia MS 3441 (Pl. 6). Note the manner of drawing the hair: Eurytion, Anchippos' charioteer, horses' manes and tails on F 53, and citharist, Zeus, Poseidon on MS 3441. The face of the citharist on MS 3441 seems to be the twin of that of the charioteer on F 53; compare too the face of Poseidon on MS 3441 and Anchippos' on F 53. To return briefly to noses, note that the Painter of Berlin 1686 affects a hump in the profile of his noses at eye level; it is slight enough in Zeus on A of MS 3441 (Pl. 6, a), pronounced in Poseidon on B of the same vase (Pl. 6, b); Anchippos has it on F 53 (Pl. 5, c), and it shows clearly

²¹ *C.V.*, 3, pl. 38, 1 b, and particularly the detail on pl. 41, 1.

²² *C.V.*, 2, particularly pl. 4, 3.

²³ *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pl. 22.

²⁴ *C.V.*, 2, pl. 5, 3-4.

²⁵ *C.V.*, 1, pl. 13.

on the incised contour of the nose of Herakles on side A of that vase (Pl. 5, a; cf. *C.V. Louvre*, 3, pl. 20, 3). Elbows of citharist and Zeus on MS 3441 are comparable to the elbow of leftmost Geryon on F 53 (Pls. 6, a; 4, d), and the left kneecap of the youth on B of MS 3441 is drawn not unlike the corresponding part on Herakles of F 53 (Pls. 6, b; 5, a), and the H-shaped knee-marking by the top edge of the greave on the left leg of the warrior B 5 of MS 3441 (Pl. 6, b) not unlike the marking in the same position on the rear leg of rightmost Geryon on F 53 (Pl. 4, d).

Differences remain, but none greater perhaps than can be noted within the list already claimed for the Painter of Berlin 1686. The version of Geryon on Würzburg 246, with middle Geryon's shield covering falling Geryon's body from neck to hip, frankly refuses to attempt the problem of representing falling Geryon, but this I suppose to be not so much an indication of the draughtsman's inability to find a device for the degree of illusion shown on F 53, as it is an indication of his embarrassment for space, having elected to flank his main group with side figures. Both the stiff-legged Geryon of Würzburg 246 and the faltering legs of F 53's Geryon are reflected in the versions of the monster by the Group E draughtsman of the geryonomachies and dionysiacs of the list given above; there as elsewhere in his geryonomachies and dionysiacs his work is, on the reading of the evidence here proposed, indebted to that of the Painter of Berlin 1686.

OTHERS

One is in Venice (No. **16**). The rest are in Los Angeles, again the gift of the late William Randolph Hearst, except for No. **12** given by Jacob Hirsch. I list by no means all the vases in either collection, nor do I aim at a complete account of any here put down, but simply a change-of-address notice for several mentioned (briefly or at length) in the literature. In the phrase for date I emphasize the element "about."

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

2. A 5933.50.28. Neck-amphora.

Formerly Lord Melchett: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 85; Eugenie Strong, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiques*, no. 46, pl. XLI (A); "... probably the same as one sold in the Jekyll collection on July 6th, 1914," Beazley, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 311; Technau, "Die Göttin auf dem Stier," *Jahrbuch*, LII, 1937, pp. 83-84, fig. 5 (A).

Ht. 444, diam. body 290.

Interior of mouth and neck black, of body unpainted. Top of mouth, undersides of handles, underside of foot reserved. On underside

of foot graffiti: ΓΕ (ancient) and in three lines R. READY | BRITISH | MVSVM | 1882. Mended from many pieces, patches and fracture-lines repainted and areas of damaged surface refreshed; parts, chiefly in neck and mouth, restored in plaster; foot broken away from body all around (the lines of fracture seem to make a join in a section to left of A, the rest of the perimeter built up in plaster).

A and B, female on bull; she wears chiton and himation, carries grape vines in her right hand, and is winged. The rear feet of the bull on side A (the side figured by Mrs. Strong) are repainted, and on side B repaint along the edge of the bull's neck from top of chest to and

across base of muzzle, thence along upper edge of head and across base of horn; other repaint at neck and right hand of the winged female on B. The upper part of the lotos-palmette on the neck side B is modern, also the bottoms of the rays of the ray-zone and the band at joint of body and foot.

About 520-510 B.C. For shape compare London B 239 (*C.V.*, 4, pl. 58, 3)=no. 6 of Bloesch's Lea-Group neck-amphorae, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 38.

3. A 5933.50.10. Neck-amphora.

Formerly Lord Melchett: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 86; Eugenie Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 45, no. 47, pl. XLI (A).

Ht. 367 to 370, diam. body 238 to 240.

Interior of mouth and neck black, of body unpainted. Top of mouth, undersides of handles, underside of foot reserved. Red stripe at outer edge of lip, another at bottom of mouth exterior; alternate tongues and top frame of tongue-panels red.

A, citharist between women. B, hoplite and archer leaving home. Repaint (until recently): the white on the feet of the women to left on side A and most of that on the feet of the women to right; the black on the feet of the citharist refreshed and that of the ivy-leaf border beneath the picture; modern color on unfigured areas and on plaster patches in lip. The right hand of the farthestmost of the two women to right is raised in salute, white-painted thumb and fingers erect, thumb looking as though it might be an awkwardly misplaced plectrum projecting between the citharist's doubled fingers; the pose is also confused by a pit, plaster-filled and repainted, at the top of the woman's fingers and by an abrasion of the surface immediately behind them.

About 510-500 B.C. For shape compare the list of Bloesch's Canoe Potter, *J.H.S.*, *loc. cit.*

ATTIC RED-FIGURE

EARLY ARCHAIC

4. A 5933.50.21. Cup by the Nikosthenes Painter.

Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 99, no. 13. Formerly Marshall Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 28), Edward Preston, Caroline Augusta Tulk: Mary H. Brauholtz, "A New Vase Signed by Pamphaios," *J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 133-138, fig. 2 (I, the restored parts blacked out in the photograph with remarkable, but not complete accuracy), fig. 1 and pl. III (A), pl. IV (B, the restored parts omitted in the drawing).

Ht. 123, diam. 326, as restored.

On the reserved side of the foot, B:

ΠΑΝΦΑΙΟΣ ΕΡΩΙ < } ΕΞΕΝ.

Epigraphically the fourth letter can be $\odot \odot \odot$; a widish vertical nick defaces it; parts of the circle are preserved to left and to right of the nick. The character between *iota* and *epsilon* of the verb is spaced out from its neighbors in normal fashion, or rather a shade farther from *iota* than is normal for spacing between letters, and a shade closer to *epsilon*; it resembles nothing so much as the topmost and middle strokes of a three-bar *sigma*. I, youth preparing couch (pillow and mattress) before which table; less of the detail of the face and more about the middle of the figure are preserved than are shown in *J.H.S.*, *loc. cit.*; the youth's right hand is preserved on one side of the pillow and part of his left arm extended behind the other. A, Herakles and companion fighting centaurs. B, harnessing chariot for Athena and Herakles. At one handle grasshopper, at the other ivy-leaf crossed by a centaur's tail. Brauholtz associated the cup with other work by the Nikosthenes Painter, at that time not so called (namely, *A.R.V.*, pp. 98 ff.: list nos. 11, 17, 20, 21; *ibid.*, p. 101, no. 3 of a group of three which "might also be by the Nikosthenes Painter . . .").

About 510-500 B.C. Compare the folds of Athena's skirt on B with those of her skirt on the "early" panathenaic by the Berlin Painter, Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler*, p. 16, no. 12, pl. 11; and contrast the kilts of the warriors arming on the Castle Ashby cup of "about 520," one of the Nikosthenes Painter's "earlier works," Beazley, *B.S.R.*, XI, 1929, pp. 16-17, no. 24, and pl. VI. The shape of the Los Angeles cup is like that of London 1907.10—21.1, *A.R.V.*, p. 102, $\gamma\gamma$, and p. 951 = Bloesch, *Formen Attischer Schalen*, p. 66, no. 33 (for the B.M. inventory I follow *A.R.V.*), and pl. 18, 4, a later member of a group which Bloesch dates in the last decade and a half of the sixth century.

LATE ARCHAIC

5. A 5933.50.33. Nolan amphora by the Berlin Painter. Plate 7, c.

Beazley, *Vases in American Museums*, 1918, p. 38; *Der Berliner Maler*, 1930, p. 17, no. 59; *A.R.V.*, p. 135, no. 61. Formerly Marshall Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 30), Thomas Hope, Sir William Hamilton: E. M. W. Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, p. 52, no. 92, pl. 9 (A); S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints*, II, 1924, p. 310, 4 (A, B) = Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases Now in the Possession of Sir William Hamilton*, III, pl. 7 (I cite Tischbein from the reproductions in Reinach's second volume; the original is not available).

Ht. 344 to 347, diam. body 192.

Inside of neck and mouth black, underside of foot reserved, interior of body unpainted. The black-glaze of the ground in parts greenish, in parts red (for red the result of defective firing see G. M. A. Richter, *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 143-150, and *C.V.*, Metropolitan Museum, 2, 1953, pp. XV-XVI, and the literature there reported).

A, Nike in flight with cithara (Pl. 7, c) towards, B, youth, his hand outstretched to receive it. In the lock of hair on Nike's neck note the three-dimensional effect of shading. Nike

transports the cithara, is not ". . . playing it with the fingers of her left hand . . ." (Tillyard).

About 470-460 B.C. ("late," Beazley, *A.R.V.*, *loc. cit.*). The painter's very long career extends well into the Classical period (see Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler*, p. 15; on the beginnings, Martin Robertson, *J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, pp. 23-34).

EARLY CLASSICAL

6. A 5933.50.16. Lekythos by the Oionokles Painter.

A.R.V., p. 439, no. 37. Formerly Viscount Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 51), Hope: Tillyard, pp. 60-61, no. 107, pl. 15 (cf. pp. 53-54).

Ht. 235, diam. 91.

Interior of mouth and neck black, of body unpainted. Underside of foot reserved. Among the separators in the meander are squares with St. George's cross and a dot in each corner.

On body: Hermes takes sword to fleeing woman; inscriptions in red, $\text{K}\Lambda\text{O}\Sigma$, $\text{K}\Lambda\text{E}$, $\text{lambda}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ and sigma (four-bar) retrograde. The sword is rarely Hermes' instrument in any situation; the picture may well be a conflation of the Hermes-pursuing-woman and the Menelaos-attacking-Helen.

About 480-470 B.C. Cf. Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 19; *C.V.*, Oxford, 1, pl. 23, 4 (= *A.R.V.*, p. 439, no. 39); Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, p. 55, no. 33.

7. A 5933.50.12. Column-krater by the Syracuse Painter.

A.R.V., p. 352, no. 6. Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 33), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 74, no. 125, pl. 20 (A); Reinach, II, p. 330, 1 (A) = Tischbein, IV, pl. 41.

Ht. 404 to 408, diam. mouth 332 to 341, diam. body 320 to 324.

Interior of neck and body black; underside of foot reserved. Top of mouth and handles

black. Immediately beneath pictures red stripe (its faint traces visible beneath right side of B and across handle-zone to left side of A).

A, Hermes pursuing woman, second woman to left and king to right. B, youth between men. Between the time of Tillyard's photograph and the acquisition of the vase in Los Angeles repaint had been removed from hair and beard of the king A 4.

About 480-470 B.C. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 352 top, puts this vase among the early works of the Syracuse Painter.

8. A 5933.50.34. Calyx-krater compared to work of the Mykonos Painter by Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 355, no. 1. Plate 7, a and b.

Formerly E. P. Warren, F. Devey, Marshall Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 42.

Diam. mouth 352 to 359.

Foot and lower part of stem restored in wood, beginning *ca.* 317 below lip. On interior, floor plaster, terracotta walls black; reserved band *ca.* 2 to 4 wide at lip, another of like width beneath it. Inner sides of handles and panel on body beneath each handle reserved.

A (Pl. 7, a), Hermes pursuing woman. B (Pl. 7, b), woman approaching man. The instrument held by the man on B seems a spear: cf. spears on the New York skyphos by the Penthesileia Painter, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, p. 107, no. 77, pl. 79.

About 475-465 B.C. Compare the systems of folds in cloaks of Hermes and woman here and Hermes on No. 6, above, and (for example) Athena on the "late" lekythos by the Brygos Painter, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pp. 69-70, no. 48, pl. 46 = *A.R.V.*, p. 256, no. 160; the folds in the cloak of the man on B and the flutist, Richter and Hall, pl. 46, no. 47 = *A.R.V.*, p. 255, no. 159, again "late" Brygos Painter.

9. A 5933.50.27. Amphora type A by the Deepdene Painter, the name-vase.

Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 194, addenda to p. 133; *A.R.V.*, p. 327, no. 25. Formerly Brooks (*Cat.*

Sotheby 14 May, 1946, no. 43, pl. II [A, B]), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 48, no. 84, pl. 8 (A, B); Reinach, II, p. 298, 1-2 (A, B) = Tischbein, II, pls. 22-23.

Ht. 455 to 457, diam. 270 to 273.

Interior of neck black; top and underside of mouth, underside of foot reserved. Handles concave in horizontal section.

A, Athena pours wine for Herakles, and B, a maenad the same for Dionysos. Athena's gorgon seems to grin with amusement over and beyond the grimace usual in such creatures. Doubtless the eyes both of Herakles and of maenad "glitter" (the contrary, Tillyard, *loc. cit.*).

About 470-460 B.C. Compare the painter's New York stamnoi, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pp. 112-114, nos. 82-83.

10. A 5933.50.41. Pelike by Hermonax. Plates 7, d-f; 8, a-j.

A.R.V., p. 318, no. 25. Formerly Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 34; F. P. Johnson, *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 499-501 (in note 22 on p. 499 read "25" for "29"), fig. 17 (A, B).

Ht. 331 to 333, diam. 248 to 249.

Inside of neck and, streakily, body black. Underside of foot reserved.

A (Pl. 7, e), youth leaving home, the libation. B (Pl. 7, f), man and women conversing. Men and youth wear wreaths, the youth a taenia in addition. Johnson gives Beazley's list of repaint. The restorer had found the surface of the vase pocked, pitted, cracked here and there, and in places the black much disintegrated. He plugged cavities with plaster and spread his own colors far and wide from blemished areas, covering much good or little damaged Hermonax. His work yields to cleaning. The left foot of B 2 (Pl. 7, d) was not three-quarter; parts of the lines for big, second, and third toes remain. In the right foot of B 2 the lateral part of the line for the big toe remains, the restorer had refreshed the ghost of other

parts of the line; the lateral and, thinner, upper parts of the line of the little toe of this foot remain, and the lower part of the line between second and third toes. All the line of the lower edge of the himation of B 2 is preserved; it had been refreshed by the restorer. In the woman B 1 (Pl. 8, a) all the lower edge of the himation, except for a pit at the upper left part of the hanging end of the pointed fold to right, stood beneath the repaint. In the woman B 3 (Pl. 8, b) the toes of her left foot had been refreshed; patches and ghost parts of their lines remain, and good black to mark the edge of the heel of her left and parts of the dorsal edge of her right foot. The woman A 1 (Pl. 8, c) had lost the greater part of outline and inner detail of her rearmost foot; of her advanced foot, good black defines heel and sole and part of dorsal edge of big toe, the ghost of her ankle is to be seen, and the lines for the toes, astonishingly, are ancient—astonishingly, for advanced leg and foot must be the left, yet the toes of a right foot are drawn. The peplos of A 1, except for great part of the lower edge, was intact beneath patches of the restorer's overpaint; also intact beneath the restorer's paint were the whole of her right hand, the whole of her jug except the tip of its spout (Pl. 8, d), the stream of wine flowing from jug to phiale (Pl. 8, j), and the stream pouring over the forward edge of the phiale towards the ground (it can be followed to a point opposite the knuckles of A 1's left hand). Hermonax has allowed his background black to encroach upon the reserved parts inside the relief-line of the outer edge of A 1's left index finger. For the youth A 2 (Pl. 8, e) there is good black by his raised left heel, which is drawn in depth with greater success than the restorer had indicated, and much of the repaint on the lines of his high-laced sandals (cf. Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, p. 99, note 3) was simply refreshing of ancient glaze. For the feet of the man A 3 (Pl. 8, f), the upper edge of his right has good black beside it, and a toe line, an ankle line, and the shadow of the

rear edge at ankle level remain; good are toes and edge of heel of his left foot and most of the maeander-border's topmost framing-line which gives the soles of both feet. The lower edge of the himation of A 3 is preserved except for a short section over his right and a shorter over his left foot. For the outspread hands, the line at the base of the fingers of the man A 3 (Pl. 8, g) was completely preserved beneath the restorer's paint; between the fingers it runs across Hermonax' own black background glaze, being in fact a continuous line like that on the outspread hand of the woman B 3 (Pl. 8, h). On the palm of the woman B 3 the whole of the leftmost line remains, for its lower part a short section of black and the shadow of the rest; the whole of her wrist line is preserved. The three lines in the palm of the man A 3 are certainly ancient. Note further that the restorer had tinkered with the front parts of brow, iris, lashes of the youth A 2 (Pl. 8, i), lost in a surface abrasion. Finally, parts of the palmette at the base of the handle to left of side A remained beneath thick layers of the restorer's black.

About 460-450 B.C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 501, compares the woman A 1 with a woman by the Achilles Painter, Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung*, III, fig. 522, dated *ca.* 455 B.C. by Schefold *ad loc.*

11. A 5933.50.37. Column-krater related to the Florence Painter and the Boreas Painter.

A.R.V., p. 344. Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 53, pl. III [A]), Hope, Sir John Coghill: Tillyard, pp. 76-77, no. 130, pl. 21 (A); Reinach, II, p. 14, 3 (A) = Millingen, *Peintures antiques de vases grecs de la Collection de Sir J. Coghill*, pl. 41 (I cite Millingen by Reinach's reproductions; the original is not available).

Ht. 360 to 363, diam. mouth 305 to 307, diam. body 282 to 284.

Interior of neck and body black. Underside of foot reserved. In a section of the lower part of the body a long and irregular crack with

seven pairs of repair-holes drilled along its length; at least four pairs of holes can be detected through modern repaint along the crack on the exterior surface of the wall. The neck, side B, is black.

A, Dionysos between satyrs, one leading a donkey, the other fluting and riding on his shoulder a dwarf satyr. B, man between youths.

About 460 B.C. Compare the column-krater by the Boreas Painter himself: Richter and Hall, *R. F. Ath. Vases*, p. 116, no. 86.

12. A 5890.48.1. Column-krater by the Leningrad Painter.

A.R.V., p. 373, no. 3, and p. 1088. Formerly E. P. Warren, Dr. Vladimir Simkhovitch (New York), and New York market: *Cat. Parke-Bernet 24 April, 1943*, no. 50, with illustration of A (I owe the references to Sir John Beazley's *Paralipomena*, pp. 26, 39, 202); Ebria Feinblatt, Los Angeles County Museum, *Bulletin of the Art Division*, II, 1949, pp. 15-16, figs. 1 (A) and 2 (B).

Ht. 441 to 442, diam. mouth 370 to 374, diam. body 343 to 353.

Foot in two degrees.

Interior of neck and body black; underside of foot reserved. In bottom, a hole with diam. 20. Red stripe circles body immediately beneath picture-panels, another at top of ray-zone—both much faded.

On upper surface of mouth joined lotos-buds, on each handle a palmette with side-spirals and an ivy-leaf beneath the volute of the spiral. On side of mouth ivy-leaf. On neck, A, a panel of joined lotos-buds; neck, B, is black. At base of body rays. Pictures framed by ivy-leaf on left and right, tongues above, reserved ground-band below. A, symposium; presumably the youth fends off an advance from the man to right before taking the lyre (six strings drawn with light relief-line) held out by the man to left; the tables in front of the couches were always empty; on wall folded himation and a kylix. B, youth fluting for youths to left and to right. A 2 and 3, B 1 and 3 wear wreaths, A 1 and

B 2 wear taeniae, all in added red, all faded; A 3 in addition to his wreath has a reserved taenia, and the kylix in his hand is reserved.

About 460-450 B.C. The vase ought to be about the time of the Pan Painter's late work, for example, the column-krater Syracuse 12781: Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, p. 21, no. 13, and p. 17, pl. 29, 2, and pl. 30, 2.

13. A 5933.50.30. Pelike. Plate 9, a and b.

Listed by Beazley in *A.R.V.*, p. 564, I, no. 5, from Gerhard's Berlin Apparatus (23.31.1, I am indebted to Dr. Elizabeth Rohde for a tracing of the drawing) as formerly Nola, Calefatti, from Nola, now attributed by him, from the vase itself, to the hand of the Sabouroff Painter; I am obliged to Sir John for writing me of his relocation of the pelike, also for the references: Holland 306 and Sir John Evans (*Cat. Sotheby 29 July, 1946*, no. 165); further, see his *Paralipomena*, pp. 187-8: "... by the Sabouroff Painter . . . and should be added to my list as no. 71 bis" (cf. *Paralipomena*, pp. 957, 1891).

Ht. 217 to 220, diam. 160.

Interior of neck and body black, thin and streaky inside body. Underside of foot reserved.

A (Pl. 9, a), woman with sash and mantelled youth, a chair between them. B (Pl. 9, b), woman with phiale at flaming altar.

About 450 B.C. Compare the Sabouroff Painter's New York lekythos, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pp. 135-136, no. 104 (= *A.R.V.*, p. 560, no. 80).

CLASSICAL

14. A 5933.50.13. Pelike by the Biscoe Painter, the name-vase. Plate 9, c.

A.R.V., p. 718, no. 1. Formerly Brooks, Biscoe: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 45.

Ht. 246, diam. 188 to 190.

Underside of foot reserved. Inside of neck and, streakily, body black.

At base of each handle tongue-pattern dotted; above picture, B, addorsed palmettes, diagonal, and scrolls. A (Pl. 9, c), Dionysos between satyr and maenad. B, three youths mantelled.

About 450-440 B.C. Compare, for example, the Nekyia Painter's calyx-krater of like date, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pp. 168-171, no. 135.

15. A 5933.50.15. Kalpis by the Io Painter.

A.R.V., p. 390, no. 3. Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 40), Warren, Hope: Tillyard, p. 63, no. 113.

Ht. 294 to 298, diam. 230 to 231.

Top and underside of lip reserved. Inside neck at top a black band *ca.* 24 wide, otherwise the interior of neck reserved, as interior of body, underside of foot, inner sides of horizontal handles, and panel on body beneath each horizontal handle.

On shoulder: seated woman and youth, another youth, other women. The woman to right wears a fillet like that of the seated woman. The seated woman offers the youth what seems to be a one-handler cup, drawn as if seen from above (if I read correctly the much faded traces of what remains of the object).

About 440-430 B.C. The Io Painter a "later mannerist" no. 10 of the group: *A.R.V.*, p. 390 and p. 369.

16. Venice (California). Collection of the one-time Classical Center of the Los Angeles City Schools, now at the Venice High School. Lekythos by the Phiale Painter. Plate 9, d.

A.R.V., p. 657, no. 73, crediting the attribution to the late De Forest Rodecape of Berkeley.

Eos pursuing Kephalos. It seems probable from the record in Los Angeles that the lekythos was purchased in Rome in the summer of 1928.

About 440-430 B.C. Compare the painter's New York lekythos, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, p. 156, no. 123.

17. A 5933.50.29. Neck-amphora by the Hector Painter.

Beazley, *V.A.*, pp. 173, 196; *A.R.V.*, p. 684, no. 4. Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 44, pl. III [A]), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, pp. 49-50, no. 86, pls. 8 (A) and 9

(B); Reinach, II, p. 324, 4 (A) = Tischbein, IV, pl. 9.

Ht. 487 to 490, diam. 258.

Inside of neck black to *ca.* 25 from bottom. Underside of foot reserved.

At base of each handle a single palmette; beneath B 2 maeander in pair. A, Triptolemos, in his winged car, between Demeter and Kore; above Triptolemos, very faint, ΚΑΛΟΞ (four-bar *sigma*). B, woman and two youths; B 2 wears a wreath.

About 440-430 B.C. Cf. Beazley, *V.A.*, pp. 171-172, and *V. Pol.*, p. 53; compare further an amphora of like date by the Lykaon Painter, in New York, Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pp. 163-165, no. 130.

18. A 5933.50.38. Stemless cup by the Marlay Painter. Plate 10, a.

A.R.V., p. 768, no. 40. Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 47), Wright, Hope: Tillyard, p. 106, no. 181.

Ht. 60 to 62, diam. 218 to 222.

Inner sides of handles reserved. Foot in two degrees. Transition between bowl and foot a smooth curve like no. 161, Caskey, *Geometry of Gr. Vases*, p. 207. Bearing-surface of underside of foot reserved; within this, ten concentric bands of varying width, five black, five reserved, a black dot to mark the center, rounded fillet at both edges of second black band from center and ridged tooling near inside edge of fourth; the second is concave in section.

I (Pl. 10, a), youth and man on dinner-couch, in the former's left hand a cup, at his right shoulder, on the wall, part of an object I do not name, the rest out of the picture; small reserved exergue. A and B, lozenges; at each handle a b. f. man, both filleted, one with two wreathes, the other with one. The kylix held by the youth shows one handle, three-quartered; the youth's index finger lies along the bowl and the base of the handle, his thumb is hooked over the rim; the other handle is of course invisible on the far side of the kylix.

About 430 B.C. Cf. Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pp. 172-173, no. 137; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 11-12, nos. 31-33.

19. A 5933.50.39. Stemless cup by the Marlay Painter. Plate 10, b.

A.R.V., p. 767, no. 26. Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 46), Wright, Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, pp. 105-106, no. 180; Reinach, II, p. 321, 6 (I) = Tischbein, III, pl. 57.

Ht. 66, diam. 220.

Inner sides of handles reserved. Foot in two degrees. Transition between bowl and foot filleted like no. 162, Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 208. Bearing-surface underside of foot reserved; within this twelve concentric bands of varying width, six black, six reserved, a black dot to mark the center, third and fifth black band from center concave in section, edges of both ridged, outer edge of fifth slightly so.

I (Pl. 10, b), youth standing before seated woman; on the wall alabastron hanging from strap; reserved exergue. A and B, lozenge pattern; beneath each handle a b. f. goat. Tillyard spoke of the youth as "carrying" the alabastron and the strap as "an oval with horizontal line." But the hand of the youth is raised towards the woman, palm down, fingers and thumb extended, and a considerable area of black separates hand and vase. On part of the vertical axis of the "oval with horizontal line" lies a broadish, thinned-glaze line not very well preserved; strings connecting strap and alabastron were not indicated. For carrying-straps see C. H. E. Haspels, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 216-233; for black-glaze stripes on carrying-straps see, e. g., *C.V.*, Cambridge, 2, pl. XXIV, 3 a, and Richter and Hall, *R.F. Ath. Vases*, pl. 129, no. 127.

EARLY FOURTH CENTURY

PLAIN CLASS

20. A 5933.50.40. Bell-krater, Port Sunlight Group, the name-piece for the group.

A.R.V., p. 868, no. 3. Formerly Cowdray

(*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 57), Leverhulme, Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 91, no. 152, pl. 25 (A); Reinach, II, p. 329, 5 (A) = Tischbein, IV, pl. 40.

Ht. 336 to 342, diam. mouth 377 to 379, diam. body 295 to 299.

Underside of foot, inner sides of handles, panel beneath each handle reserved. Interior of body black, with reserved band (*ca.* 3 to 6 wide) at lip and another (*ca.* 2 to 6 wide) below it at point where mouth begins to flare; a large patch of red on parts of floor and wall inside. A small hole drilled into inside wall about opposite one handle-attachment. A large piece of mouth and body broken out of B has been replaced without involving restoration in the picture.

A, woman fluting for symposiasts, a youth and a man on each of two couches. B, three youths mantelled.

21. A 5933.50.43. Bell-krater.

Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 54), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, pp. 91-92, no. 153, pl. 25 (A); Reinach, II, p. 305, 1 (A) = Tischbein, II, pl. 56.

Ht. 334 to 341, diam. mouth 359 to 363.

The inside half of the handles, the parts of the body beneath the handles, and the underside of the foot reserved. Interior black, with reserved band (5 to 8 wide) at lip, another (4 to 6 wide) lower a little beneath start of flare of mouth.

A, two satyrs beneath a colossal couch with cushions and a fringed cover; to left a man and to right a woman, each on a pedestal. B, three youths mantelled. Reinach (*loc. cit.*) omitted the "suspect" in the notice of the vase in his first edition (1900); there is in fact no repaint.

W. Hahland, *Studien zur Attischen Vasenmalerei um 400 v. Chr.*, 1931, p. 56, associates this vase with other examples of "... eine grosse Masse meist schlechter Vasen, die den Stil des Dinos und der Wiener Kratere [Dinos Painter nos. 3 and 8 in *A.R.V.*, p. 790] nachahmend und verzerrend weiterpflanzen."

22. A 5933.50.44. Bell-krater.

Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 49), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 99, no. 164, pl. 27 (A); Reinach, II, p. 229, 2 (A)=Tischbein, II, pl. 28.

Ht. 336 to 341, diam. mouth 349 to 353.

Underside of foot, inner sides of handles, and panel beneath each handle reserved. Interior black, with reserved band *ca.* 3 to 5 wide at lip, another of like width lower where flare of mouth begins. Exterior glaze red streaked on body below pictures and on foot.

A, quadriga racing to goal. B, three youths mantelled. The three erect "spikes" of the charioteer's chaplet on A are leaf-shape; a fourth hangs down from the circlet at a point behind the charioteer's ear—it is perhaps the victor's laurel rather than a "spiked crown." The band beneath the chariot's team runs its wavy course from the hind legs of the rearmost horse, across the top step of the pedestal, almost to the shaft of the column: can it be the finish-tape just broken by the team? The harness of the white horse is yellow and yellowish brown.

Hahland (*op. cit.*, p. 72) associates this vase with No. 20 (above), with Meleager Painter no. 11 (*A.R.V.*, p. 871), and with several others "in die Nachfolge des Pronomoskraters" (Pronomos Painter, no. 1, *A.R.V.*, p. 849).

23. A 5933.50.45. Bell-krater by the Meleager Painter.

Beazley, *Paralipomena*, pp. 203, 1405, adding it to *A.R.V.*, p. 871, as no. 16 ter. Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 62), Hope: Tillyard, p. 93, no. 154.

Ht. 337 to 344, diam. mouth 365 to 368.

Inner half of handles, body beneath handles, underside of foot reserved. Interior black, with reserved band (*ca.* 5 wide) at lip, another (*ca.* 4 wide) immediately beneath start of flare of mouth.

A, symposium, two men and three youths. B, Eros between youths.

SOUTH ITALIAN

EARLY ITALIOTE

24. A 5933.50.35. Bell-krater by the Tarporley Painter, the name-vase. Plate 10, c and d.

Noël Moon, *B.S.R.*, XI, 1929, p. 41, pl. XIII (A); A. D. Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*, pp. 25 f. and 40, no. 59. Formerly Brooks (*Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 60, pl. IV [A]), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 113, no. 211, pl. 30 (A); Reinach, II, p. 300, 3 (A)=Tischbein, II, pl. 33.

Ht. 354 to 374, diam. mouth 365 to 370, diam. body 262 to 267.

Underside of foot, inner sides of handles, panel beneath each handle reserved. Interior black, with reserved band (*ca.* 5 wide) at edge of lip, another (*ca.* 3 to 6) lower where flare of mouth begins. Maeanders in threes and saltire squares beneath pictures only. In the reserved, top framing-band of the maeander are lightly incised marks which can be followed all around body; between the pictures they underlie the black glaze; on B they are in part overrun by the thick black glaze of the topmost framing-line.

A (Pl. 10, c), maenad crowning youth who carries cup and thyrsos, Pan with bird. B (Pl. 10, d), three youths mantelled.

About 400 B.C. Cf. Trendall, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

PAESTAN

25. A 5933.50.36. Bell-krater by Python.

Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, p. 68 (Papposilen Group no. 5) and p. 120, no. 140, pl. XXI b (A), and *Supplement*, 1952, p. 10, no. 171. Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 64), Hope: Tillyard, p. 143, no. 273, pl. 37 (A).

Ht. 377 to 380, diam. mouth 368 to 371.

Underside of foot, inner sides of handles, panel beneath each handle, and band on side of foot at top reserved. Interior black, with reserved bands: at lip, *ca.* 6 to 8 wide; just below start of flare of mouth, *ca.* 5 to 7 wide. Towards

bottom a crack circles body; it is now repainted on exterior surface of vase, but not so in the illustrations published by Tillyard and by Trendall.

A, papposilen and Dionysos off to a party; red and white for the flame of the former's torch, stripes and dots for decoration on the altar beneath him. B, two youths mantelled, both with wreaths and sticks, one with plant-spray; no altar.

About 335-325 B.C. Cf. Trendall, *P.P.*, p. 75, and *Suppl.*, p. 36; further, see his recent sketch in *Vasi Italioti ed Etruschi* (*Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*), fasc. 1, 1953, pp. 24-26.

26. A 5933.50.46. Bell-krater by Python.

Trendall, *P.P.*, p. 66 (Silen Group no. 2), p. 67, and p. 119, no. 109, pl. XX a (A), and *Suppl.*, p. 10, no. 156. Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 63), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, pp. 141 f., no. 271, pl. 37 (A); Reinach, II, p. 289, 2 (A) = Tischbein, I, pl. 42. Put together from several large pieces, the fracture-lines repainted.

Ht. 382 to 388, diam. mouth 368 to 371, diam. body 237 to 239.

Underside of foot and panel on wall beneath each handle reserved. Inside black, with reserved band (*ca.* 3 to 6 wide) at edge of lip, another (*ca.* 4 to 9) lower where flare of mouth begins.

A, silen with thyrsos and centaur with flaming torch and branch from which hang votives. B, two youths, each mantelled, each with wreath on head, each with stick, the youth to right holding a plant spray in his raised right hand; on right, altar.

About 335-325 B.C.

CAMPANIAN

27. A 5933.50.32. Alabastron by the C. A. Painter.

Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, p. 87, no. 45 (a reference I owe to A. D. Trendall). Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 61), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 150, no. 287,

pl. 40 (rollout): Reinach, II, p. 315, 1 = Tischbein, III, pl. 23.

Ht. 199, diam. body 108.

Top of mouth black; top of lip and contiguous side reserved. On underside of foot reserved center and eleven concentric bands alternately black (the glaze carelessly applied), six black and five reserved.

Aphrodite (Beazley) and Eros, two women, a diminutive maid.

About 330-320 B.C. Cf. Trendall, *P.P. Suppl.*, p. 36; further, see the account of Campanian in *Vasi Italioti ed Etruschi*, 1, pp. 38-42.

28. A 5933.50.22. Neck-amphora by the Ixion Painter. Plate 11, a-c.

Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, p. 94, no. 9. Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 66), Hope: Tillyard, pp. 146-149, no. 283, pls. 39 (drawing of A) and 34 (drawing of B) —for notices of the vase before it passed into the Hope Collection, *ibid.*, p. 149.

Diam. 228 to 229.

Restored: mouth, upper part of neck, handles, lower degrees of foot (the ancient foot let into a circular wooden base with elaborated mouldings and the whole painted over to pass for a single foot of several degrees).

A (Pl. 11, a), fight over body (fifteen figures in three registers). B (Pl. 11, b-c), Eros with *ἰνυξ*, youth and woman, women. On neck, A, lower parts of woman and warrior; B, palmette with side tendrils. For the *ἰνυξ* see A. S. F. Gow on Theocritus, ii: *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 1-13, and *Theocritus*, 1950, vol. II, p. 41.

About 325-315 B.C. Cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Trendall, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*,² pp. 329, 332.

29. A 5141.50.803. Bell-krater, Rhomboid Group, near the Painter of London F 229. Plate 11, d and e.

Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, p. 99, nos. 6 and 7, quoting Tischbein, V, pls. 63 and 62 (a reference which I owe to A. D. Trendall). Once Hamilton: Reinach, II, pp. 349-350 (A, B) = Tischbein, *loc. cit.* The vase was in the London

market in 1946; R. Forrer kindly writes me that it was formerly in the collection of P. W. Mallet.

Diam. of body 260 to 262, of mouth 379.

Foot and half of stem modern; several large breaks in rim have been mended. Handles black, reserved panel beneath each. Interior black. Tongues at base of each handle-attachment.

A (Pl. 11, d), Erotes grooming woman. B (Pl. 11, e), woman dancer and woman acrobat (a flaring light shows some traces of the latter's skirt).

About 315-305 B.C. Cf. Trendall, *Nicholson Handbook*,² p. 332.

APULIAN

30. A 5933.50.42. Bell-krater.

Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 58), Hope, Hamilton: Tillyard, p. 118, no. 222, pl. 31 (A); Reinach, II, p. 291, 1 (A) = Tischbein, I, pl. 52.

Ht. 325 to 329, diam. mouth 354.

Reserved: inner sides of handles, panel beneath each handle, underside of foot, band at outer edge of top of foot, a second at upper and a third at lower edge of side of foot. Interior black, with reserved bands: at lip, *ca.* 3 to 4 wide; at start of flare of mouth, *ca.* 3 to 5 wide. At bottom of interior a circular patch of red.

A, two naked jockeys racing left, behind them Ionic column, presumably the meta. B, three youths mantelled.

This doubtless belongs among fourth-century vases of the "plain style" which derives from the Sisyphus Painter by way of the Tarporley Painter and his group (cf. Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*, p. 26; *Nicholson Handbook*,² pp. 322 and 326; *Vasi Italioti ed Etruschi*, 1, pp. 2-3, 69-71).

GNATHIA

31. A 5933.50.17. Pelike.

Formerly Cowdray (*Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 59), Hope: Tillyard, p. 169, no. 330.

Ht. 249, diam. body 142, diam. mouth 118 to 119.

Interior of neck and underside of foot reserved; interior of body unpainted. Reserved band at bottom of body. Top of foot a very thin black, and black for the top of the mouth. No incision in the tongues on B and no dots. The circles on B are separated by pairs of white dots arranged in vertical line (:).

Woman bathing at pedestalled basin; she wears earring, but not necklace; her slippers are laced once beneath the arch, twice around the ankle with yellow lacings. On the dotted ground-line the yellow has all but vanished from the dots to right, leaving white. The rim of the basin is drawn with brownish yellow, its farther edge represented with correct perspective, but the woman's arms shown as if extended behind the basin rather than into it. Brownish-yellow stripe at bottom of basin, separating it from pedestal cap, which is white. Three brownish-yellow stripes at top of stem of pedestal, another at top of the flaring bottom of the stem, and I think traces of six others between the triplet and the single, making ten in all. Upper step of base edged top and bottom with brownish-yellow bands; lower step white. The alabastron (white and yellow) on the ground is doubtless supported in its upright position by a bracket the rectangular end of which appears on each side of the upper part of the vase's body. The yellow garment on the wall to right has brownish-yellow stripes; the red garment on the wall to left has stripes now too faded to reveal their original color (presumably yellow or white). Beneath each garment a half-circle of dots, yellow or a trace of yellow over white remaining on some.

About 350-325 B.C. A member of the Red-and-White Band Group (here the band has red and yellow oblongs): cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Manchester Memoirs*, LXXXIII, 1938-39, pp. 201 ff., and (revising his chronology downward) *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 224 ff., with literature there reported.

EPILOGUE

A 5141.48.368. *Cat. Sotheby 12 April, 1948*, no. 29. Corinthian oenochoe, trefoil mouth, flat bottom. Animal friezes. Los Angeles County Museum, *Bulletin*, II, 1949, p. 17, fig. 3.

A 5933.50.9. Once Cowdray: *Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 49. Attic b. f. amphora type B. A, horse's head; B, the like. Graffito on underside of foot \times .

A 5933.50.7. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 16. Neck-amphora attributed by Beazley to the Antimenes Painter (*Raccolta Guglielmi*, p. 46). A, fight. B, two warriors conducting a woman. Graffito on underside of foot \swarrow .

A 5933.50.25. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 15, pl. I (A, B). Attic b. f. neck-amphora. A, Herakles and Cerberus. B, warrior's leave-taking. Graffito on underside of foot \sqcap .

A 5933.50.26. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 17. Attic b. f. neck-amphora. A, citharist, two women, a deer. B, Hermes, Athena, Dionysos, a goat. Graffito on underside of foot KA.

A 5933.50.8. Once Joan Evans and Sir John Evans (*Cat. Sotheby 29 July, 1946*, no. 167; cf. Beazley, *E.V.P.*, p. 27), B. Hertz and J. Mayer, Forman (*Cat. Sotheby and Wilkinson 7 Feb., 1859*, no. 182; and *Cat. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge 19 June, 1899*, no. 317: these two references I owe to D. von Bothmer). Attic b. f. stamnos. Shoulder, revel; A, banquet; B, revel. Dipinto on underside of foot O ζ .

A 5933.50.11. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec., 1946*, no. 41. Attic b. f. hydria said to be near the Antimenes Painter (*Cat. Sotheby, loc. cit.*). Chariot, soldiers, old man. On shoulder, chariot, soldiers and civilians. Predella, hunting the deer.

A 5933.51.122 (formerly numbered A 5933.51.29). Once Arkwright (R. Forrer), then London market: *The Connoisseur, Souvenir of the Eleventh Antique Dealers' Fair*, June, 1951, p. XCII top right; *Illustrated London*

News, June 16, 1951, p. 994 top left (I owe the first reference to C. C. Rounds, the second to D. von Bothmer). Attic b. f. hydria. Quadriga and driver, soldiers, civilians. On shoulder, fight (with the attitudes but not the weapons of attack). Graffito on underside of foot $\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{I}$.

A 5933.50.20. *Cat. Sotheby 2 Dec. 1946*, no. 67. Attic b. f. olpe. Dionysos and satyrs.

A 5933.50.18 a. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 26 first item. Attic b. f. lekythos. Achilles and Ajax playing draughts.

A 5933.50.18 b. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 26 second item. Attic b. f. lekythos. Chariots racing.

A 5933.50.23. Once Clifford White: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 97. Attic b. f. lekythos. The dragging of Hektor.

A 5933.51.108 (formerly numbered A 5933.51.15). Once Eileen A. Craufurd, Stowe: *Cat. Sotheby 17-18 Jan., 1951*, no. 168, pl. III (A) —I owe the reference to C. C. Rounds. Volute-krater, ". . . goes, as Corbett saw, with the volute-krater London E 470, and is probably by the same hand . . ." (Beazley, *Paralipomena*, p. 954); and ". . . probably by the same hand as London E 470, which is connected with the Geneva Painter in *A.R.V.*, p. 430. . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 1404). A, Menelaos and Helen. B, symposium. (Helen and most of B modern; foot alien.)

A 5933.50.24. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 58, pls. V-VI. White-ground lekythos. Five figures at tomb.

A 5933.50.31. Once Brooks: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 63. Italiote head-vase (Io). On neck, A, Eros, B, woman harpist.

A 5933.50.19 a. Once J. Fischl: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 127 item 1. Gnathia pelike. Swan.

A 5933.50.14. Once J. Fischl: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 125. Buccherio oenochoe. Panther, palmettes, pyions.

A 5933.50.19 b. Once J. Fischl: *Cat. Sotheby 14 May, 1946*, no. 127 last item. Ram-head rhyton.

A fascicule of *C.V.A.* is planned to include collections in this area, and work on the preparation of the material is in progress. For permission to study and publish the vases in the Los Angeles County Museum I wish to express my thanks to Marvin C. Ross, Chief Curator of the Art Division; for a like permission in regard to vases in her care to Martha Ward of the Venice High School. I am indebted to the Research Committee of the University of California, Los Angeles, for grants in aid of photography and of travel; to Roger Edwards, Peter Corbett, Pierre Devambez for photographs of vases in Philadelphia, London, Paris; to C. C. Rounds for access in New York to records of the William Randolph Hearst collections; to Christine Alexander and to Dietrich von Bothmer for hospitality at the Metropolitan Museum; to Sir John Beazley for other courtesies and for permission to make use of the copy of *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.* on deposit at the Metropolitan Museum; to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for membership during the fall term of 1952, when, among other occupations, some beginning was made in my study of Los Angeles vases.

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THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE SQUARE (FIG. 1)

In previous seasons this area had been almost completely cleared of the deep accumulation of late Roman and still later times. A considerable depth of filling and natural deposit of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, however, had still to be removed in order to permit the exploration of the early Greek levels. The greatest single mass was the earth filling thrown in by the builders of the Middle Stoa in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. to raise the level between the new building and the two old buildings to the south, viz. the Heliaia (?)³ and the Southwest Fountain House. The clearance of this area was directed by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool who had brought to light the Heliaia (?) in the previous year. The excavation exposed a large area of the Agora floor of pre-Hellenistic times and elucidated the history of the important thoroughfare which had led southward from the southwest corner of the square for many centuries; its course had been respected by the builders of the Heliaia (?) in the 6th century B.C. and of the Southwest Fountain House in the 5th century, but a shift westward was occasioned by the construction of the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century. The excavation to the north and west of the Southwest Fountain House assisted greatly in establishing the plan of the building; a detailed study of the evidence has still to be made, but the tentative conclusions which emerged from the season's work are set out below.

In her exploration of the western part of the Middle Stoa in 1953⁴ Mrs. Dorothy B. Thompson had become aware of the existence of a complex of small buildings at the edge of the Agora the ruinous foundations of which had been overlaid by the west end of the Stoa. In 1954 she proceeded to expose these foundations both inside the foundations of the Stoa and in the area to the west of the Stoa. Her tentative conclusions also are summarized below.

Southwest Fountain House (Pl. 24, a)

The more complete exploration of the Southwest Fountain House has helped greatly in the understanding of its design and history.⁵ First, with regard to the plan of the building, it is now clear that in the beginning it was L-shaped with legs each *ca.* 17 meters long and with the point of the L set deep down in the lower slope of the Areopagus. The L was divided longitudinally by a parapet in such a way that the half which lay toward the point served as a reservoir, while the half which faced on the adjacent thoroughfare was a porch. Water was delivered to the southeast corner of the fountain house by an aqueduct of massive poros blocks coming from the east; this aqueduct continued northward, with reduced dimensions, along the east side of

³ For this building cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 33-39.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 50-54.

⁵ For the discovery of the building in 1934 cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360.

the building to supply various lesser pipelines which radiated from its northeast corner. The unusual plan had certain obvious advantages; it permitted a great length of parapet over which many people could draw water at once, and the open northwest corner reduced interference with the busy thoroughfare which led southwestward out of the Agora.

From the original construction there remain in place short stretches of the foundations; they are made of substantial blocks of gray poros. Two of the stylobate blocks from the porch were found near by where they had been re-used in alterations of the building; they retain traces of unfluted columns 0.62 m. in diameter. A Doric frieze block of hard gray poros, cut with a re-entrant angle, which had likewise been re-used in the area of the fountain house, probably derives from its hollow northwest corner. With this block are to be associated numerous fragments of Doric frieze and cornice blocks which have been found widely scattered along the south side of the Agora. To the parapet may be assigned a fragmentary orthostate of the same hard, gray poros, its top deeply worn by water jars.

The material and workmanship of the foundations and the architectural details of the blocks which have been tentatively assigned to the superstructure of the fountain house would indicate a date in the latter part of the 5th century B.C. The building can therefore no longer be considered as a candidate for the honor of identification with the Enneakrounos of the Peisistratids, as previously suggested;⁶ but it nonetheless has the distinction of being the most capacious fountain house yet known in ancient Athens. It met the needs of the neighborhood from late in the 5th century B.C. into the 5th century of our era.

In the course of its long career the fountain house underwent innumerable alterations. As early perhaps as the 4th century B.C. an extension was thrust out westward from the southwest corner of the building. Of about the same date will be an extension northward from the northeast corner; here there are traces of wall spouts which were fed by the northern extension of the aqueduct; hence one could choose between drawing over the parapet in the main building and filling one's jar beneath a flowing spout in the annex. On the construction of the Middle Stoa in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. the ground level was raised considerably between the new structure and the fountain house; this led to the abandonment of the northeast extension of the fountain house and to the construction of a low retaining wall along the north side of the main building. Finally, in the early Roman period, a water basin was installed in the previously open northwest corner of the building and much if not all of the old building proper was absorbed in an extension of the neighboring structure which has been tentatively identified as the Heliaia.

The fountain house was skirted on the west by a north to south street which,

⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 131 f.; XXII, 1953, p. 34.

after sweeping around the west end of the Areopagus, descended at a rather steep gradient to the southwest corner of the Agora. A deep accumulation of gravel and cobbled road surfaces attested the fact that for many centuries this had been one of the principal entries to the square. In the middle of the roadway, at a point opposite the southwest corner of the fountain house, is a bedding block with a shallow rectangular sinking in its top suitable for a *perirrhanterion* or holy-water basin such as are known to have stood at the entrances to the Agora.⁷

Area at West End of Middle Stoa

Supplementary exploration carried out by Mrs. Thompson beneath the west end of the Middle Stoa and in the area immediately to the west brought to light an irregular complex of buildings dating chiefly from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. Part of the group was demolished already in the late 4th century B.C., apparently to permit a freer exit from the southwest corner of the square; their ruins were overlaid by the west end of the Middle Stoa in the mid 2nd century. The surviving western portion suffered in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C., and the last remnants would seem to have been razed in the Augustan period when the Doric propylon was erected to the south of the Tholos and a new east to west thoroughfare established on the line of the terrace of the Middle Stoa.

The plans of these buildings have still to be worked out in detail, but their informality and comparatively slight construction, combined with the presence of a number of wells and, in one room, of various basins sunk in the ground, would suggest that we have to do with habitations. The newly uncovered group of buildings is in fact continuous with that discovered in 1953 to the north of the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa and tentatively identified as the establishment of Simon, the shoemaker friend of Sokrates.⁸ Their proximity to the official limits of the Agora, as indicated by the boundary stone which stands *in situ* at the southwest corner of the main square,⁹ might, however, be taken to imply a public character, and the possibility should be considered that they served as the headquarters of some board of officials; in plan and construction they are reminiscent of the archaic predecessors of the Tholos.¹⁰

The Strategion

In a level of late Hellenistic or early Roman date just to the west of the Middle Stoa lay a marble stele inscribed with a decree of the year of Pytharatos (271/0 B.C.) in honor of the taxiarchs.¹¹ In the text of the decree (lines 34 f.) it is specified that the stele should be set up "in front of the Strategion." The marble, to be sure, was

⁷ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 47, n. 32.

⁸ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 51-55.

⁹ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f.; Supplement IV, pp. 107-110.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 15-44, figs. 13, 32.

¹¹ Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 287-296.

not found *in situ*, but the fact that it lay loose and had not been re-used would suggest that it had originated near by. That the Strategion, i. e. the headquarters of the generals, or the war office of ancient Athens, stood in this general area is also indicated both by references in the authors and by the previous discovery toward the southwest corner of the Agora of several other decrees in honor of the taxiarchs.¹² It is conceivable that the Strategion is now represented by the remains of the complex described in the preceding section, but, in view of the comparatively early abandonment of those buildings, a more likely candidate is the building to the southwest of the Tholos which has previously been designated on plans of the Agora as the "Greek Building." This structure has been fully excavated but drawings have not yet been made. It comprised a series of rooms grouped around a courtyard, and dates from the second half of the 5th century B.C.; it continued in use throughout antiquity. The size and plan of the building would be appropriate to the headquarters of the generals who are known not only to have had a common place of meeting but also to have dined and sacrificed together (Demosthenes, XIX, 190). Precisely these same needs in the case of the prytaneis were met by the near-by Tholos.

SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE AGORA (Pl. 25)

The exploration at the southeast corner of the square centered around the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles. The churchyard, which as a result of repeated nibbling in previous seasons had been reduced to a narrow ring around the church, was completely dug away. The modern surface overlay an accumulation of loose, silty earth some two meters in depth. The removal of this earth proved unexpectedly rewarding, for it showed that the church walls rested on the massive concrete podium of a fountain house or nymphaeum of the Roman period. The fountain house, in turn, had been set down in the ruinous northern part of the building of the 5th century B.C. which has been tentatively identified as the Mint of Athens.¹³ Most of the corresponding layer of soft earth was removed also from inside the church where again the remains of the two earlier buildings came to light.

The exploration around the church was directed by Miss Margaret Crosby who had had much experience in this area in previous campaigns. The work inside the church was supervised by Miss Alison Frantz.

Church of the Holy Apostles

The 11th century Church of the Holy Apostles had long been recognized by specialists as outstanding among the several surviving Athenian churches of the Middle Byzantine period by reason of its unusual and highly refined plan and the

¹² The evidence has been set out in detail by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 f.

¹³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 29; XXIII, 1954, pp. 45-48.

beauty of its masonry.¹⁴ The average visitor's impression of the building, however, was adversely affected by the large 19th century extension toward the west which overshadowed the original eastern part. At the desire of the Department of Restoration in the Greek Ministry of Education, and under the general supervision of that Department, the American School undertook to remove the modern parts, to carry out urgently needed work of conservation on the old portion and to restore the building to its original form.¹⁵ The undertaking was made possible by a grant from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation of New York City.¹⁶ The field work was carried out under the immediate supervision of Miss Alison Frantz with the counsel of Mr. John Travlos on its architectural aspects.

After a careful photographic record and drawings had been made, the roof and walls of the western addition were stripped away. It proved necessary to remove also the modern pulpit and altar screen in order to replace the columns against which they had been set. Though fine examples of early 20th century ecclesiastical marble work, they were grossly out of scale with the building and greatly interfered with the intended architectural effect of its interior. The modern floor of marble slabs was likewise lifted, revealing that the whole area of the interior, except the sanctuary, had been occupied by tombs of both the Byzantine and Turkish periods, most of them large vaults of masonry. Finally, the modern plaster was stripped from the inner walls and ceiling; beneath it in places, especially in the eastern apse, appeared some inconsiderable remains of earlier paintings, scarcely earlier, however, than the 17th century.

The close examination of the structure made possible by the clearance has solved many problems regarding the previously disputed original plan of the church and its subsequent history (Fig. 2). It now appears that in the beginning the main body of the church was symmetrically cruciform in plan, having apses not only to east, north and south but also toward the west. The western apse, however, was largely concealed by a rectangular porch or narthex which communicated with the eastern part of the church through three doorways.

This unusual design was undoubtedly satisfactory from an aesthetic point of view, and the limited area of the interior (its maximum width being only 11.30 m.) was presumably adequate to the needs of the small parish the foundations of whose houses have been brought to light by the Agora excavations. Subsequent alterations, motivated by the need for more space for the congregation, culminated in the plan

¹⁴ Cf. especially A. Xyngopoulos, *Εὐρετήριο των Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Α'*. *Εὐρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων*, 1. *Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1929, pp. 77-79, figs. 71-75.

¹⁵ The School is under deep obligation to Professor A. Orlandos, head of the Department of Restoration, and to his departmental assistant, Mr. E. Stikas, for their lively personal interest and for invaluable counsel on all technical aspects of the work. The services of an experienced technician made available by the Department greatly facilitated the execution of the project.

¹⁶ The School records its deep appreciation to the officers of the Foundation and particularly to its president, Mr. Rushton H. Kress, who visited the site in the summer of 1954.

of the building as it was in 1954 in which the west apse had been reduced to two piers and the original porch had been extended so as to constitute a large open nave.

The walls of the church, being of excellent masonry and resting solidly for the most part, on ancient foundations, had suffered little from natural causes. They had fared less well at the hand of man. Irregular gaps in the original masonry and the late replacement of the northeastern column are probably due to bombardment in the War of Independence which is known to have caused much damage in the area of the Agora.

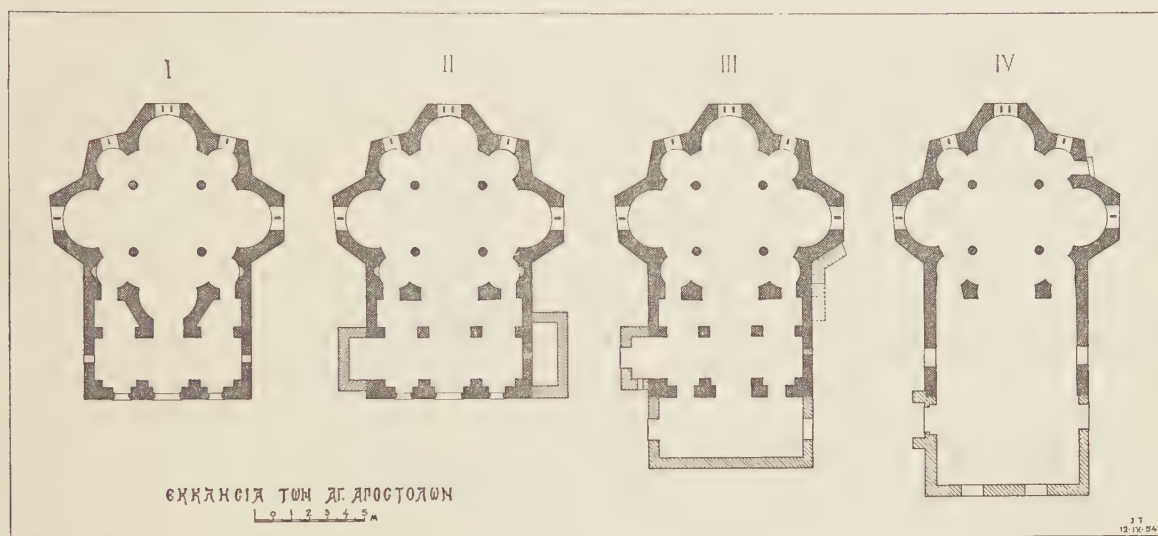


FIG. 2. Church of the Holy Apostles: Evolution of the Plan

Demolition and exploration having been completed in the summer of 1954, the work of conservation and restoration was begun in the autumn. By the end of the year the three faulty columns, i. e. the northeastern, southeastern and northwestern, had been replaced; the foundations and the inner faces of the original walls had been repaired and the western apse had been rebuilt to about one third its height.

The Nymphaeum

The semicircular fountain house of the type commonly called nymphaeum which came to light beneath the church and churchyard of the Holy Apostles is only one in a long series of hydraulic establishments which had stood at the southeast corner of the Agora, among them the Southeast Fountain House of the archaic period, various small installations of Hellenistic and early Roman date in the East Stoa, and the grist mill of the 5th to 6th centuries after Christ near the northwest corner of the Library of Pantainos.¹⁷ The site was recommended by its accessibility to pipelines coming from

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.

the east and also by the fact that it was the highest point in the region of the Agora so that the overflow could easily be directed to further use elsewhere.

The most imposing extant part of the newly found fountain house is the massive concrete underpinning for a floor of marble slabs, the plan of which was a segment of a circle slightly greater than a semicircle with a radius of *ca.* 7.10 m. (Pl. 25). This floor is bounded on the curved part of its periphery by a trench 2.60 m. wide from which a foundation of large stone blocks has been stripped to the last piece. Across the straight face of the floor lies a rectangular platform *ca.* 3.60 m. wide with three steps to permit access from the north. Toward the rear of this platform, and on the axis of the building, is a bedding, 1.64 m. square, for a monument.

Water was supplied by an aqueduct which approached the midpoint of the curved back wall of the building from the southeast. The upper part of this aqueduct had been exposed in earlier seasons; the conduit entered the area of the Agora excavations from the east at a point near the southwest corner of the Eleusinion and thence descended northward along the edge of the Panathenaic Way.

From the superstructure of the Nymphaeum sadly little has been found: a richly moulded crowning member curved in plan, a small fragment of a curved architrave with a guilloche carved in its soffit, a Corinthian capital of comparable scale, and various small fragments of elaborately carved frieze and cornice members. The existence of the curved architrave, which is shown by the treatment of its soffit to have rested on columns, indicates the use of a colonnade against the concave face of the curved back wall, an arrangement analogous to that of the nymphaeum at Tipasa in Algeria.¹⁸

Beyond this point the restoration of the plan must await the closer study of the remains.

In view of the rich character of the architectural detail and the general practice in monumental fountain houses of the Roman period, one would expect the Nymphaeum to have been freely adorned with sculpture. We may in fact unhesitatingly associate with the building a marble statue of the Venus Genetrix type which was found a few meters to the north in 1952.¹⁹ The fact that the copyist had replaced the original apple held in the left hand with a water pitcher had already at the time of discovery of the statue aroused the suspicion that an ornate fountain house was lurking in the vicinity. Several smaller fragments of an Amazon similar in workmanship to the "Aphrodite Hydrophoros" were also found in the vicinity, suggesting that the sculptural repertory consisted largely at least of classicistic adaptations of famous old works.

The nature of the concrete and the style of the few surviving bits of architectural marble would suggest a date toward the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. Such

¹⁸ S. Gsell, *Les Monuments antiques de l'Algerie*, I, Paris, 1901, p. 243, fig. 73, pl. LXV.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 53f., pl. 19, a and b.

a date would accord well with certain basic similarities between our monument and the Exhedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia. Both had the characteristic horseshoe plan and both presented a sculpture-adorned façade in a prominent position at the edge of a famous old square. It is tempting to believe that the building in the Agora drew its water from the aqueduct which was begun by Hadrian and completed under his successor in A.D. 140, and that it was perhaps conceived as a monumental termination to this, the most ample water system of the ancient city.²⁰

The Mint (Argyrokopeion)

The deep exploration around and within the church, in addition to bringing to light the Nymphaeum, also revealed that the building of the 5th century B.C. which was first discovered in 1952 and subsequently identified tentatively as the Mint extended much farther to the north than originally supposed and somewhat farther toward the east. Its overall area, indeed, proves to have been more than twice as great as indicated on the earlier plans; it measures *ca.* 22.00 x 27.50 m. as against the 13.60 x 16.60 m. of the part previously known.

The new discovery, furthermore, means that the group of flans which were previously supposed to have been found outside the northeast corner of the building, and which are the best evidence yet available for its identification, actually lay within the limits of the building.²¹

Since so much of the remaining foundations of the northern part of the Mint are overlaid by the Nymphaeum and the Church, careful probing and study will be required to fix its plan. It is already apparent, however, that the newly discovered area to the north comprised both closed rooms and open courtyards.

The fact that the Nymphaeum could be set down in the northern half of the Mint indicates that the older building was already partially ruinous or was in part demolished to make way for the new.

THE STOA OF ATTALOS PROJECT

Reconstruction

The reconstruction of the great colonnade which had closed the eastern side of the market square was begun in midsummer of 1953 and has been pushed forward rapidly throughout the subsequent 18 months. The construction is in charge of the firm of W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum of New York City who proceed under the general oversight of the Department of Restoration in the Greek Ministry of Education.²²

²⁰ W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, ed. 2, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 101, 203 f.

²¹ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 45-48.

²² For the beginning of the project cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 55-57. In this undertaking, as in the restoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles, we continue to profit from the professional

In the early months of the undertaking a large proportion of the total effort went into the prosaic but highly necessary tasks of draining the area of the building and reinforcing the ancient foundations. The girdle of drains that has been carried around the building at a level somewhat lower than its lowest foundations has proved very effective and should assure the dryness even of the basement storerooms. The close examination of the ancient foundations showed that the ground water through the ages had reduced the compacted clay formation on which the masonry rested to something little different from mud; this soft material was therefore scooped out and replaced with concrete under all those foundations which were to bear the weight of the building proper. The difficulty of carrying out this operation, especially in the course of an exceptionally wet, cold winter, is compensated for by the assurance of the stability that is so essential in connection with masonry of cut stone.

By the end of 1954 structural work had been completed in the basement storerooms that underlie the floors of both the colonnade and the terrace in the northern half of the building. Care has been taken in these parts to leave exposed and readily accessible representative parts of earlier monuments, such as a child's grave of the Mycenaean period, a room of the lawcourt of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. in which a group of bronze ballots was found in 1953,²³ some of the foundations of the great square peristyle which replaced the earlier lawcourt, and enough of the substructure of the Stoa of Attalos itself to illustrate the repeated changes that were made in its plan in the course of its original construction.

The rear wall of the Stoa, which had been demolished to floor level or lower through most of the length of the building, has now been restored in gray Piraic limestone to the full height of the first storey throughout the northern two thirds of its length (Pl. 27, b). It has been found possible to bond the new masonry with the ancient at the extreme northeast corner of the building where the ancient wall had survived to its full height. The original windows in the rear wall had consisted of narrow vertical slits, one for each of the twenty-one shops on each floor; they were intended, no doubt, more for ventilation than illumination. In order to assure adequate lighting for the museum to be installed in this part of the building, the new windows

counsel and the personal interest of Professor Anastasios Orlandos, head of the Department of Restoration. Mr. Manuel A. Tavaréz directs and coordinates the operation as Engineer in Charge. Mr. John Travlos is responsible for the original design of the building; Mr. George Biris is Consultant Engineer with special responsibility for the reinforced concrete. Mr. Constantine Mastoras supervises the working and setting of stone and marble. Messrs. M. Kourouniotes and A. Stavroudes have served as assistant architects. The knowledge and personal interest of these men has been seconded by the devotion of the foremen in the various divisions and by the skill of the technicians, notably the team of sixty marble workers now assembled. Only by a high degree of cooperation among this varied personnel has it been possible to cope with the complexities of a job in which ancient and modern methods of construction are so closely intermeshed.

²³ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 58-61.

have been made considerably larger than the old, though the original spacing has been retained.

In the front part of the building the reconstruction of the limestone wall that supported the terrace has been almost finished and the terrace, some six meters in width, has been reconstituted in its full length (Pl. 27, a). The steps and stylobate of dark marble that are to support again the front columns, and the gutter of Piraic limestone to carry off the drip from the eaves, have been re-laid in full; they bring home to the visitor the tremendous length of the building.

On November 10th, 1954 the first of the new columns was erected: one of the Ionic order in the inner row of the ground floor (Pl. 26). By the end of the year a second Ionic column had been completed and two others partially erected, while of the front Doric columns eight were complete and two in process of erection. All the Ionic bases on the ground floor had been laid, and four architrave blocks had been put in place above the Doric columns in the front of the building.

Some of the greatest technical problems were encountered in the wall which contained the doors of the ancient shops. In order to retain the ancient blocks of marble and limestone, most of which had suffered in the fire which destroyed the building, it was here necessary to support the ancient fabric by means of reinforced concrete piers inserted in the heart of the wall. By the end of the year, however, work on this wall had proceeded far enough to permit the complete framing of two of the shop doors and the erection of the jambs for three others. The framing of the shop doorways, which have an open height of 3.42 m. and an open width at the bottom of 1.71 m., calls for exceptionally large blocks of marble and special skill, since the two jambs, the threshold and the lintel are each cut from a single piece of marble.

In addition to the stone and marble members that have already been set, a large proportion of the limestone blocks needed for the upper walls have already been cut and a start has been made on the carving of the Ionic bases and the Ionic and Pergamene capitals of the upper storey. Studies are in progress for the making of the terracotta roof tiles and for the replacement of the great wooden joists and rafters of the ancient building.

If marble deliveries continue at their present rate, it is anticipated that the reconstruction of the northern two-thirds of the Stoa, on which work is now being concentrated, can be completed by the end of 1956.

In the course of the year two plaster models of the Stoa have been completed by the technician John Bakoulis under the direction of John Travlos. One of the models, at a scale of 1:200, shows the building in its full length and permits for the first time a true appreciation of its proportions (Pl. 28, a). The other model, at a scale of 1:50, includes only the north end of the Stoa (Pl. 28, b). It is intended to illustrate the interior arrangements of the building and also to include more detail than was possible at the smaller scale.

Well of the late Archaic Period beneath the Stoa Gutter

Before a start was made on rebuilding the stone gutter which ran the length of the Stoa front, it was deemed wise to adjust the level of one of the few ancient blocks which had survived in place toward the south end of the building, but which had settled slightly. When the block was raised the cause of its settling soon became apparent: it had been laid across the mouth of an early well. The well when cleared proved to have a depth of 9.70 m. The inflow of water at the time of excavation was slight, and the fact that but few water jars appeared in its filling would suggest that it had proven unsatisfactory as a source of water in antiquity. This will help to explain why, after a short period of use, the shaft was abandoned as a well and used as a dumping place for a vast mass of broken pottery, enough to fill some sixty-five 5-gallon containers as it was brought to the surface.

Since the pottery from the well ranges in date from the decade 520-510 B.C. to the decade 490-480 B.C., it is hard to escape the conclusion that the disaster which led to its destruction was the Persian sack of 480 B.C. We may assume further that the unproductive well had been deliberately chosen as a dumping place by the owner when he returned to clean up his property. The sheer bulk of the pottery, coupled with the large number of certain types of vase, e. g. 250 lekythoi, and the presence of several vases by each of several hands, suggests that the material came from a retail potter's shop on the edge of the market square. Of the shop itself nothing remains, a situation which has been observed in other instances in the Agora where wells had clearly been abandoned at the time of the Persian sack. This is to be explained in many cases, no doubt, by Thucydides' explicit statement (I, 90, 3) that as soon as the citizens returned they set about building new city walls and, to speed up the process, drew material from their own old buildings "sparing neither private nor public building from which anything of use for the work might be gotten, but pulling down all." So much the more valuable, therefore, is the evidence to be drawn from such wells as the present for the study of life in Athens of the late archaic period.

The group of pottery as such will be valuable for the study of ceramics inasmuch as it is one of the largest compact groups ever found of Attic vases of the immediately pre-Persian generation. Its interest is enhanced by the wide variety of types: large wine jars, scores of plain black-glazed vases, many partly glazed vessels for kitchen use, and a nice sprinkling of figured pieces in both black-figure and red.²⁴

The only large black-figured vase from the well is a column-krater on one side of which appears the struggle between Herakles and the Nemean lion in the presence of Athena and Iolaos (Pl. 29, b), while on the other side are five komasts.²⁵ Although the

²⁴ The following observations are based largely on the results of a preliminary study by Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki. Only a slight sampling of the material is attempted here, pending its detailed study and presentation as a group.

²⁵ Inv. P 24123. Pres. H. 0.282 m.; diam. of rim 0.30 m.

theme of Herakles and the lion is common in late black-figure, it is rare on vases of this shape, and the new piece appears to be the only example of the subject on a column-krater in which both Athena and Iolaos are included.

Among the 250 lekythoi a number of known vase-painters are represented: the Phanyllis painter, Arming Group, Marathon Workshop, Painter of Athens 581 and the Gela painter. It is particularly interesting that the Gela painter should be well represented, for hitherto he has been known chiefly from finds made in Sicily.²⁶ Among lekythoi attributable to him from the present group is a fine large specimen with a chariot scene and dog (Inv. P 24105), another with a fountain house scene painted on a white ground (Inv. P 24106), and a smaller piece bearing a curious picture of two bulls facing each other with a washbasin and palm tree between them (Inv. P 24067). A few examples of the Cock class have been noted and also of the Little Lion class, one of these, decorated with a single combat, executed in Six's technique. Many other lekythoi, as yet unassigned, tell the familiar stories of Dionysos and his followers, of heroic deeds, of the palaestra and of scenes from daily life.

For illustration we may choose a large and well made lekythos which has not yet been assigned to any known painter (Pl. 29, a).²⁷ It is decorated with a particularly interesting representation of a familiar subject, viz. the Introduction of Herakles into Olympos. The scene is unusually full, comprising as it does both the procession and the palace of Zeus. Herakles modestly brings up the rear, preceded by his patroness Athena, by Hermes and by Apollo who has here dispensed with his chariot and gives his undivided attention to his kithara. Within the palace, here represented by a Doric column, Zeus sits enthroned and behind him stands Hera. The lekythos may be dated *ca.* 510-500 B.C.

The red-figured vases from the well are few in number but choice in quality. Of exceptional interest is an addition to the short list of known lekythoi decorated in the red-figured style (Pl. 28, c).²⁸ A lively procession of warriors marches around the wall of the lekythos to meet in combat at the front. The arrangement suggests that the artist was a cup painter, and indeed a cup from the same hand in the British Museum, ascribed to the wider circle of the Nikosthenes painter, has long been known.²⁹

Of the red-figured cups from the well no less than four are inscribed *Χαίριος* or *Χαίρας καλός* (below, pp. 72-75).

Three other cups are attributable to Epiktetos. All have medallion pictures: a satyr on a donkey (Inv. P 24114), a boxing match (Inv. P 24110), and a naked girl who skips lightly over a footbath (Pl. 28, d).³⁰ She wears a kerchief bound around her hair and carries in her hands her soft leather boots which she has perhaps

²⁶ C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, pp. 78 ff., and Appendix VIII.

²⁷ Inv. P 24104. H. 0.305 m.; diam. 0.123 m.

²⁸ Inv. P 24061. Pres. H. 0.138 m.; diam. 0.081 m.

²⁹ London 1907.10-20.1; *A.R.V.*, p. 102; Pfuhl, *Mal. und Zeich.*, fig. 347.

³⁰ Inv. P 24131. H. 0.084 m.; diam. 0.178 m. Concave rim (Type C).

just taken off. The footbath, with its three feet and kylix-type handles, is probably to be thought of as bronze.³¹ The taut figure of the girl and the skillful way in which the picture is disposed in the tondo are thoroughly characteristic of Epiktetos, and the love name Hipparchos, which appears in the background of the medallion (here spelled *ἵππαρχος καλός*), is also a favorite of this artist. The same model, in fact, and the same footbath appear on another cup by Epiktetos in Leningrad.³² Belonging to the decade 520-510 B.C., the Agora cup (Fig. 3) is the earliest piece of red-figure from the well, and appears to be slightly earlier than most of the vases which were in stock at the time of the disaster; it was found at the very bottom of the shaft and so may have been dropped in during the short period when the well was still in use.

The most unusual of the cups from the well will be a trifle later than Epiktetos', dating about 510-500 B.C. (Pl. 30; Fig. 4).³³ In the floor medallion a young man, crouching to right, is about to set forth; he wears a short cloak and a wreath of honey-suckle; in one hand is a knotted staff, in the other a rabbit, by the ears. He might stand as the general type of the youths seen in archaic Attic red-figure in palaestra scenes, in courting scenes and the like. Around his figure runs the signature *Γόργος ἐποίησεν*. Widely spaced around the exterior is a second inscription: *Κράτης καλός*.

The scenes on the exterior contrast both with each other and with the daily-life atmosphere of the interior. On one side is Dionysos and his crew: at the left we see the god and an attendant maenad, a rather confused young woman it would seem, since, although Dionysos' kantharos is obviously empty, she is carrying the replenishing pitcher upside down.

On the other side is one of the famous episodes of epic poetry, the fight to the death between Achilles and Memnon. The artist has chosen the moment before the last. The older hero, Memnon, has lost the use of his spear which has passed through the hide of Achilles' shield and become fixed. In endeavoring to free his spear, Memnon has thrown himself backwards, but in so doing he exposes his body to his adversary, loses his balance and his grasp on the grip of his shield. The younger hero, spear poised for the death-blow, seems to hesitate an instant, as if for the artist's convenience. The moment is even more dramatic and pathetic than those chosen a few years later by the Berlin painter for the two very similar scenes of single combat (Achilles and Memnon, Achilles and Hektor) which decorate the neck of his well known volute-krater in London.³⁴ The tragic atmosphere is heightened on the Agora

³¹ Cf. M. Milne, "A Greek Footbath in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1944, pp. 26-63. Our example will be of Miss Milne's Class Ac: Bowl with offset lip, two horizontal lifting handles and no carrying handles (pp. 51 f.).

³² Inv. 14611: *A.R.V.*, pp. 48-49, 53; Kraiker, *Jahrbuch*, XXIV, 1929, p. 173, figs. 15, 16.

³³ Inv. P 24113. H. 0.074 m.; diam. 0.18 m. Rim offset inside only.

³⁴ British Museum E 468: *A.R.V.*, p. 139, 102; Beazley, *Berliner Maler*, Berlin, 1930, pls. 29-31. [Sir John Beazley's full discussion of representations of this subject, in *Attic Vase Paintings in the*

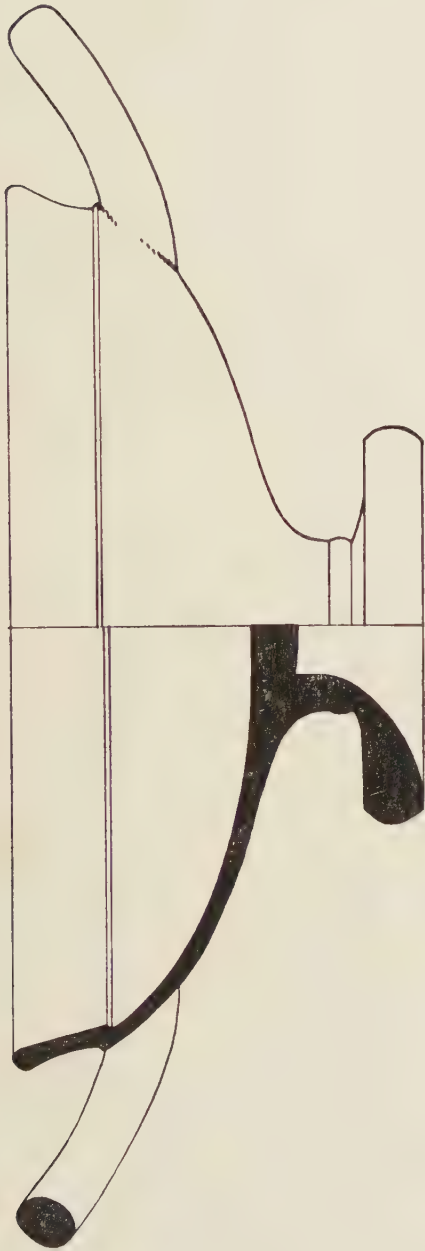


FIG. 3. Profile of Cup by Epiktetos (Inv. P 24131) 2:3

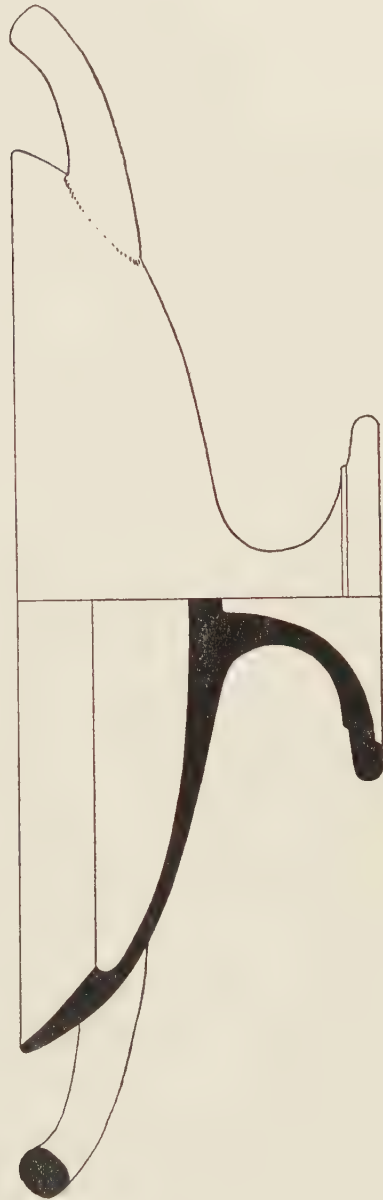


FIG. 4. Profile of Cup by Gorgos (Inv. P 24113) 2:3

cup, as on the London krater, by the presence of the two mothers: the wide-eyed Thetis urges on Achilles, while Eos, parting her lips in anguish and tearing her hair, contemplates the imminent doom of Memnon.

If the boy with the rabbit on the interior of this cup may well stand for all the youths so often called *kalos*, and the Dionysos of the exterior for the red-figure artists' happy portrayal of the god in convivial surroundings, then the magnificent figure of the victorious Achilles is even more an epitome, this time of the heroic ideal. Thus the three scenes on this small cup, differing so widely in composition and in mood, reflect the full repertory of vase-painting in the late archaic period.

The close similarity in ethos and composition which has been observed above between the combat scene on the Agora cup and those on the Berlin painter's volute-krater in London might be reinforced by many points of likeness in the drawing both of the figures and of drapery, as well as in the use of the unusual motive of the pierced shield, which occurs on the volute-krater by the Berlin painter in Cambridge.³⁵ It seems at least possible that the Gorgos cup is a youthful piece by the Berlin painter himself, in that case, both the earliest work and the only cup thus far known from his hand.³⁶

SCULPTURE AND METALWORK

The limited excavation carried out during the year could not have been expected to produce much sculpture, nor did it. On the other hand, the systematic study which Miss Evelyn Harrison is now devoting to the whole mass of sculpture from the excavation has yielded many dividends. In addition to these, the recognition by Dr. Frank Brommer of an Agora fragment as part of the figure of Amphitrite from the west pediment of the Parthenon is of special interest (below, pp. 85-87). Another fortunate discovery is reported by Miss Harrison in the immediately following paragraphs.

A battered male torso retrieved from a marble pile in the center of the exca-

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part II, Boston, 1954, pp. 14-19, was not available when this account was written. The new cup may now be added to his list (p. 18) of the uninscribed Attic examples.]

³⁵ M. Robertson, "Origins of the Berlin Painter," *J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, pp. 23-34, pl. VII. Robertson (p. 34) points out that this motive was used also by Phintias, one of the teachers of the Berlin painter.

³⁶ The attribution, first suggested by Miss Lucy Talcott, has been favorably regarded by Sir John Beazley (letter of November 13, 1954) and by Professor Martin Robertson (letter of December 15, 1954).

One is inevitably led on to speculate as to the identity of Gorgos. The name is well known at Athens (J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901, Nos. 3083-3087) but it appears here for the first time in a ceramic connection. If the *ἐποίησεν* of the signature is to be taken in its more common meaning, Gorgos would have been the potter only; but occasionally a painter, Douris for instance, signed with the verb *ἐποίησεν*. Hence it may be considered possible that we have in Gorgos the actual name of the Berlin painter, a possibility which was pointed out by Professor Martin Robertson (*loc. cit.*).

vations³⁷ proves to be part of the figure of Theseus from the Sinis metope of the Hephaisteion.³⁸ The fragment has been fastened back into place with two bronze dowels (Pl. 24, b). Though it retains very little of the original surface, it gives for the first time a fairly clear idea of the pose of the figure and so enables us to restore the composition with more accuracy than before. Both arms were raised; the left shoulder was pressed close against the background of the relief while the right adhered less closely. If we imagine the left arm extended sidewise, the right arm bent and raised with the elbow slightly forward, we get a position of shoulder and back muscles that corresponds to that of our fragment. The left hip projects a little more than the right, showing that the direction of the stride was toward the spectators' left.

These features suggest a treatment of the theme which is familiar to us from red-figured cups of the Classical and Late Classical periods.³⁹ Theseus pulls down the top of the pine tree with one hand and with the other tries to drag Sinis toward it, while the brigand clings in desperation to the trunk of the tree. The cup by Aison in Madrid provides the closest parallel.⁴⁰ The hair-pulling motive explains the strong inclination of Sinis's head toward the left which can be observed on the remains of the metope. There is no good evidence for the position of Sinis's right hand. If it were extended in a gesture of helplessness as on the Aison cup, there should be traces of the attachment of the fingers either on Theseus's body or on the background. The two drill holes in the background which Sauer used to locate the hand⁴¹ seem rather to be made for a metal attachment, and served in all probability for Theseus's sword. The baldric will have been indicated in paint only, for there are no attachment holes for it in the torso. Sinis may have grasped Theseus's arm in an attempt to free himself. This is a common motive in hair-pulling scenes and it would provide additional support for the arms of both figures.

The large drill hole in the taenia at the top of the metope doubtless served for the attachment of the arched middle section of the tree. This could have been cut in a separate piece, attached at the center by a metal dowel and cemented at either end to the portions that adhered to the background.⁴² The tail of the bull in the Marathonian Bull metope was similarly cut in a separate piece.

³⁷ Inv. S 1833. Pres. H. 0.288 m.; max. depth of relief *ca.* 0.117 m. Found in the marble pile that marks the location of the stage of the Odeion of Agrippa.

³⁸ South II (Koch).

³⁹ London E 84 (Kodros Painter, *A.R.V.*, p. 739, 4), Harrow 52 (resembling works of the Phiale Painter, *A.R.V.*, p. 660), Madrid 11265 (Aison, *A.R.V.*, p. 800, 20; *C.V.A.*, Madrid 2, III—I D, pls. 1-6). On the relation between the three cups see Kardara, *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, pp. 293 ff.

⁴⁰ The drawing of Plate 24, b (right) is based on this cup. The radial instead of rectangular composition which the cups demand produces certain differences from the metope. Thus the torsos of the figures are set more obliquely, and either the feet overlap, as on the Aison cup, or the hair-pulling is abandoned in favor of arm-pulling in order to allow more spread at the top of the picture.

⁴¹ *Das sogenannte Theseion*, p. 160.

⁴² The analogy of the vase-paintings and the large size of the attachment-hole both suggest that

Even more than the other metopes of the Hephaisteion this one is remarkable for the degree of separation of the figures from the background. Except for the torso, no part of Theseus touched the background anywhere, and the surface of the background is everywhere carefully smoothed into a single plane, so that it provides no clue for the restoration. The round pits which Sauer took for marks of attachment are actually the scars left by Turkish musket balls, dating from the days when the south cella door was used as a practice target.⁴³ One such shot may have brought down our torso. That it had earlier lost arms, legs and head is apparent from the heavy weathering of the breaks. The whole figure seems to have been lost as early as 1686.⁴⁴ The position of Theseus's left foot is fixed by the trace that is still visible where it crossed the right foot of Sinis. No trace of Theseus's right foot survives, but a position centered under the body would give greatest stability to the figure. That the foot did not extend to the corner of the metope is confirmed by the smooth, flat finish of the plinth near the left edge.

The cross-pull in opposite directions that forms the basis of this vigorous composition appears in a less developed form in the metope of Herakles and the horse on the front of the Hephaisteion and is used with splendid effect on the Parthenon.⁴⁵ Even though we have not succeeded in recovering all its details, the Sinis metope now emerges as one of the most progressive and effective in the Hephaisteion series.

An outstanding addition was made during the season to the growing series of ancient clay impressions taken from fine metalwork.⁴⁶ The new piece has recorded for us what would appear to have been one of the metal terminals of a belt about 7 centimeters wide with two loose rings for tying (Pl. 31, c).⁴⁷ The plaque is filled with a single figure in high relief: a warrior seated and bowed with weariness or grief. Shield, spear and conical helmet are clearly visible, and the baldric implies also a sword. The warrior has spread his cloak on his rocky seat; his hair is long and dishevelled. Tempting though it is to speculate on the identification of the figure, certainty may well be impossible; positive confirmation is lacking for such conjectures as might immediately occur to one, such as Philoktetes, Ajax or Odysseus. But even

there may have been a short branch, perhaps with some suggestion of foliage, hanging down at this point, but the absence of evidence for pine trees in stone has induced us to keep the restored drawing as simple as possible. The tip of the tree in front of Theseus's shoulder was no doubt also more interesting than we have shown it.

⁴³ Cf. Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴⁵ In the metope South XXVII (Smith, *Parthenon*, pl. 22, 1) and, most dramatically, in the center of the West Pediment.

⁴⁶ Cf. D. B. Thompson, "Mater Caelaturae," *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285-316. Mrs. Thompson will prepare the detailed publication of the newly found piece.

⁴⁷ Inv. T 3393. The ancient impression measures 0.115 x 0.113 m. Its back is rough and deeply marked with finger prints.

should the figure remain anonymous, the piece brings us very close to a superb piece of fine metalwork of the end of the 5th century.

We may include here also a couple of objects which come from a well discovered in the southeast corner of the square, close alongside the Panathenaic Way. The shaft was 11.50 m. in depth and was filled almost solidly with broken pottery having a lower limit around 400 B.C. Perhaps the most interesting items from this vast mass of debris were four water pitchers with theatral scenes which are published elsewhere in this issue by their finder Miss Margaret Crosby (below, pp. 76-84). The well also yielded a fine series of plain black-glazed vases of the close of the 5th century. A large proportion of the pottery consisted of broken wine jars, many of which bore dipinti or graffiti which are gradually yielding sense to the persistent researches of Miss Mabel Lang. Along with them came an ostrakon of Kleophon, son of Kleippides, the notorious lyre-maker and demagogue of whom another ostrakon had been found in 1951.⁴⁸ The context in which the new piece came to light agrees well with the conclusion based on the discovery of the first, viz. that some ballots were cast against Kleophon on the occasion when ostracism was used for the last time, viz. the day, apparently in 415 B.C., when Hyperbolos was banished.

Also from the well is a plastic oinochoe in the form of a woman's head (Pl. 31, b).⁴⁹ The major part of the head was made in a mould, but the ringlets and the compact wreath which rests on the forehead were fashioned separately and applied. Dating as it must from the close of the 5th century, the piece falls near the end of the long series of plastic head vases made in Athens. The vogue for such things, which was at this time dying out in Athens, was to flourish for another half century in northern Olynthos.⁵⁰

Another noteworthy find from the same well is a pair of official measures of bronze (Pl. 31, a). The smaller of the two vessels had been stacked upside down inside the large, and the two have become inseparably united by the corrosion of the metal. The dimensions and details of the larger vessel, however, can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy.⁵¹ It is cylindrical in shape with a slightly concave profile. Top and bottom are surrounded by plain bands. The vessel stands on three low feet cut from the lower part of the wall. On the upper of the two bands is engraved

⁴⁸ Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 114 f.

⁴⁹ Inv. P 23822. Pres. H. 0.148 m. Mouth and handle of vase broken away.

⁵⁰ In modelling and technique our vase stands closest to Beazley's Group V: the Spetia Group (*J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, pp. 72-74). For head vases of the late 5th and early 4th centuries from the Pnyx in Athens cf. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, 1943, pp. 156-158. For specimens from Olynthus cf. D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, IV, 1931, Nos. 300, 408, 409; VII, 1933, Nos. 390-404; XIV, 1952, Nos. 400-416.

⁵¹ Inv. B 1082. H. inclusive of feet 0.087 m.; outside diam. at top 0.08 m., at bottom 0.085 m.; inside diam. at top 0.07 m. The exact determination of inside height and inside diameter at the bottom had not yet been made at time of writing.

the inscription: δημοσία Ἀθηναίων, followed by one certain and two problematic stamps, none of which has yet been read with assurance.

The feminine gender used in the inscription of this measure, in contrast to the neuter employed on the official measures of terracotta, may imply that the noun *kotyle* is to be understood. The cubical content of the larger vessel must approximate very closely the figure of 273 c.c., which was long ago calculated by Hultsch as the equivalent of the Attic *kotyle*⁵² and which has been shown to be close to the mark, although perhaps a little low, by the evidence of the 2-chous klepsydra found in the Agora and of terracotta measures from the Agora and the North Slope of the Acropolis.⁵³

The newly found measures are the first examples in bronze yet known from Athens. They closely resemble the numerous extant specimens in terracotta, but, since the shape and the crisp details are perhaps more appropriate to metal than to clay, we may infer that the prototypes were of bronze.⁵⁴

We are informed by an inscription of the late 2nd century B.C. that sets of official weights and measures were kept in the Tholos and the Acropolis at Athens, in the Piraeus and at Eleusis.⁵⁵ The numerous examples in terracotta found in the current excavations around the Tholos obviously come from that repository, and the isolated specimen found in the well on the North Slope of the Acropolis may perhaps derive from the Acropolis set. But where had the newly found bronze measures been stored? The evidence of the place of finding must not be pressed too hard, but it is tempting to see some significance in the propinquity of the well in which they were found to the building that has been tentatively identified as the Mint. It is conceivable, for instance, that the official weights and measures were made in the mint or that they were there checked and stamped by technicians who were experienced in doing precision work in metal and who possessed the necessary equipment.⁵⁶

LANDSCAPING

Early in November, 1954, Mr. Ralph E. Griswold, architect in charge of the landscaping of the Agora, returned to Athens to initiate the program which he had drawn up after his visit of the previous year.⁵⁷

⁵² *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, Berlin, 1862, pp. 82 and 305.

⁵³ For the klepsydra cf. S. Young, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 279; for the measures from the Agora cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 111 f.; for the measure from the North Slope cf. O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 223.

⁵⁴ Broneer, writing in 1938, concluded his discussion of the official terracotta measure found by him on the North Slope of the Acropolis with the words "it seems necessary to suppose that the clay vessels were made for practical use as the near equivalents of metal archetypes, such as have been found in other parts of the ancient world." (*Op. cit.*, p. 224).

⁵⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1013. A fragment from another copy found in the Agora Excavations has been published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 127-131, no. 27.

⁵⁶ In *I.G.*, II², 1013, 29 f. it is specified that the mina weight should be checked with the scales in the Argyrokopeion.

⁵⁷ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 66 f.

Supplies of top-soil and manure have been collected from local sources. Nursery stock of many kinds has been contributed by various local bodies. From the Royal Estate at Tatoi have come oaks of four varieties, buckthorn, myrtle, schinus, broom, smoke bush, arbutus and heather. Other stock has been presented by the Government Forestry Service from their nursery at Kouponia (in the eastern outskirts of Athens), by Mrs. Argyropoulos from her nursery at Kaisariani, and by Mr. Vorres, Mayor of Amarousi.⁵⁸

Systematic planting began early in December in the western and northern parts of the Agora. Here too assistance has been received from local groups, notably the Girl Guides of Athens who on December 12th arrived one hundred fifty strong and planted some thirty laurels along the northern edge of the excavation, where they will replace the grove of laurel and of olive that is known to have shaded the ancient Altar of Pity in this area; the new shrubs will at the same time screen from view the retaining wall of the electric railway that skirts the north side of the area (Pl. 31, d).

The new planting was favored by abundant rain in December. But against the return of summer a system of irrigation pipelines was drawn up, the source of water being the city mains, and a start was made on the actual laying of pipe.⁵⁹

The Temple of Hephaistos (Theseum) which looks down on the Agora from the west will inevitably be one of the most prominent elements in the Agora park. The current excavations had benefitted the temple by isolating it and permitting it to be viewed from a lower level. At the same time, however, the modern enclosure walls to east, west and north of the building had become increasingly obtrusive and had cut off the temple in an unnatural way from the market place. In the months of November and December, 1954, the offending walls were demolished, a level earth terrace some five meters in width was carried along the north and east sides of the temple and informal paths were laid out to conduct the visitor from the hilltop down into the excavation.

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⁵⁸ Grateful acknowledgment is here made for these specific contributions, as well as for many donations of money from groups and individuals both in Greece and in the United States. Valuable service in the implementation of the whole program has been rendered by the large and active Athenian Committee for the Landscaping of the Athenian Agora. Professor Gorham P. Stevens has provided most effective liaison between this Committee and the American School of Classical Studies.

⁵⁹ General Charles L. Booth and engineers of the Water Company of Athens gave valuable technical advice in planning the system of irrigation and rendered much help of a practical nature in making the installation.

SOME CHAIRIAS CUPS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 32-33)

THE fragment of a red-figured cup, a), Plate 32, found in the season of 1953 in the filling of a well near the southwest corner of the Athenian Agora, was illustrated in the annual report for that year (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 15, e). It is republished here for the sake of comparison with some other cups (Pls. 32-33; Fig. 1) found in the opposite corner of the market place in the succeeding season, in still another well, the well beneath the gutter of the Stoa of Attalos, described above, pp. 62-66.

One of the first red-figured pieces to come from this new well is b), Plate 32. (For descriptions of this and the following pieces, see below, pp. 74-75).¹ The similarities between the figure of the naked hetaira, kneeling beside her courtyard altar and offering a fragrant wreath to the flames in honor of Aphrodite or another, and the figure of the woman bending over her bath tub are so great as to suggest not only the same hand but the same model. The thinly proportioned arms, which contrast with the ample curves of the body, are the same in both; the same also is the exaggeratedly long nose with its overhanging tip. On the next piece, c), Plate 33, the tight, rigidly wrapped sakkos seen on the girl at the altar appears on quite a different figure, but the ears are oddly applied in the same way and the same great disk earrings are worn. This is a different girl, snub-nosed, and gentler than her sisters. Her thyrsus proclaims her a maenad, but she is perhaps no more than an hetaira in fancy dress. A small fragment of a cup from the Acropolis (B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II, Berlin, 1929, pl. 13, no. 233) may be compared for the arrangement of the chiton edge, with each fold precisely scalloped in the same way. The fourth piece, d), Plate 33, shows by contrast a young man, bent almost double over his lyre. His pose has the same insecurity of balance that

¹ Many of the observations noted here are Barbara Philippaki's; in particular, she suggested the association with the Acropolis fragment noted below, and was the first to point out the distinctive character of the letter forms on these cups. She and I are alike indebted to Aliko Bikaki for her meticulous transcriptions, reproduced on Figure 1.

Sir John Beazley, in *Paralipomena*, pp. 2289-2291, assigns the pieces figured here as a), b) and d) to the painter of Agora P 24102 and adds the cup fragment with a woman's head in profile, Agora P 23146, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 15, f. By letter (January 28, 1955) he suggests that the maenad cup, here c), and the Acropolis fragment which goes with it, should for the present be kept separate from the work both of this painter and of the Chairias painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 88).

can be seen on the hetaira at the altar; his remarkably long nose recalls that of the woman on the cups a) and b), the feet are like those of the girl on c), and the awkward arm is even less convincing than the others we have seen. A small fragment

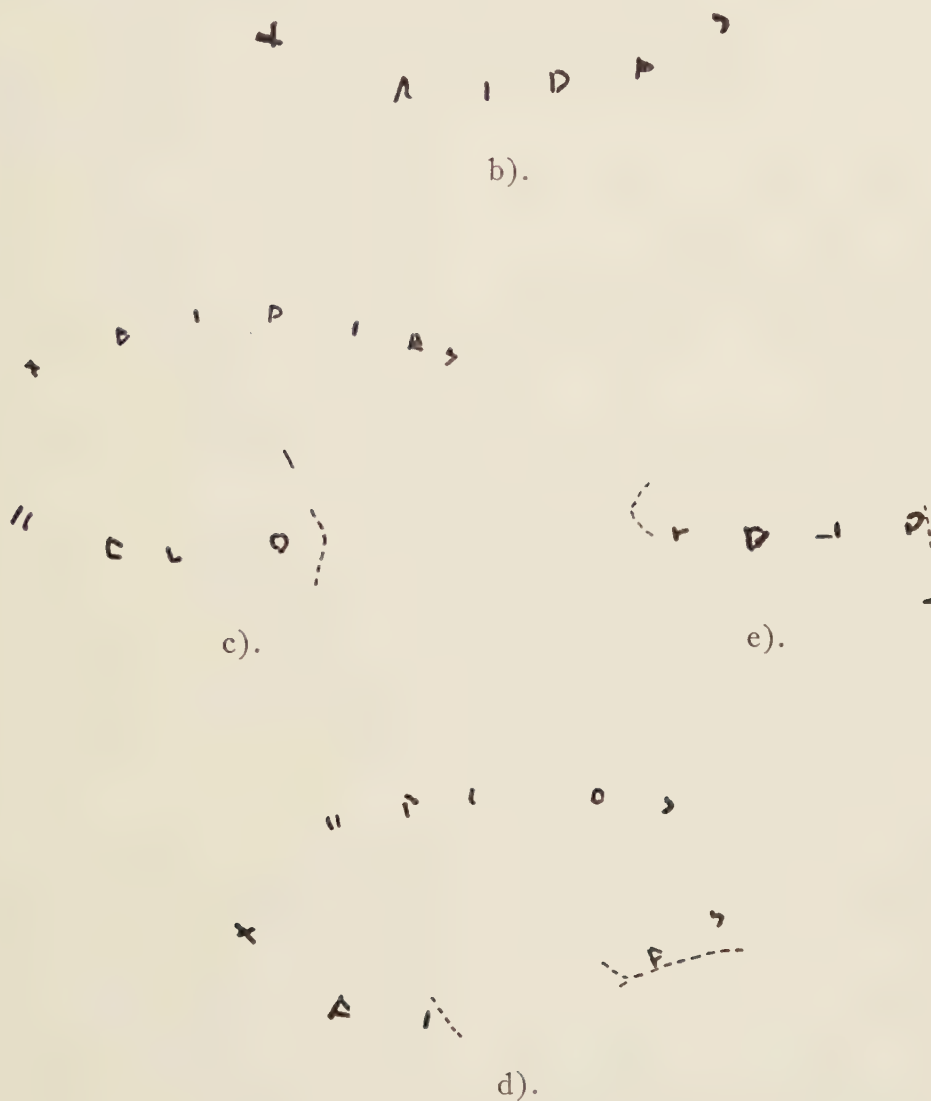


FIG. 1

of a fifth cup, e), Plate 33, seems, so far as it is preserved, to come from a near-replica of the lyre-player's figure. The double-bordered zigzag fall of the cloak worn by these komasts is similar to that of the maenad's short himation. Students of style

may recognize other likenesses between these pieces, but the connections noted here are perhaps sufficient to suggest that all five cups are closely related.

Another association may also be noted, and that consists of the inscriptions which appear in the medallions of four out of the five. On the cup with the girl at the tub, a), no inscription is preserved; each of the others bears a kalos-name as follows: b) *Χαιρας*, c) *Χαιρίας καλό[ς]*, d) *Χαι[ρί]ας καλός*, e) *Χαιρ[ίας]*. The kalos-name Chairias is used by Phintias and by others of his time (*A.R.V.*, p. 918; Chairias I). Its appearance here would be of no special interest were it not for the stylistic associations already noted between the cups illustrated and, as can be seen on Figure 1, the close similarities in letter forms, indeed in handwriting, between the four new pieces. One may call attention particularly to the *alphas*, *rhos* and *sigmas*. These same slovenly but characteristic letters appear, so far as one may judge from illustrations, on two cups assigned by Beazley to the Chairias painter and on a third assigned to his manner (*A.R.V.*, pp. 88-89).² Of the two attributed pieces each shows a lyre-player reclining. On both, the edging of the drapery-fall, the thin arms and bent-back wrists, the sideburns and the exaggerated profile all associate these pieces with the Agora version, the standing lyre-player of d), Plate 33.

Not all the cups noted can be by the same hand, but given the associations of style, vase-shapes and letter-forms a very close workshop connection may be established. And in the painter of Agora P 24102 (note 1, above) to whom four out of the five pieces shown here may be assigned, there appears a warm and direct personality, of some special interest in that he is one of the few painters of archaic red-figure to be represented by a substantial series of vases found in the Athenian Agora.

NOTES

a). Agora Inv. P 23165. Pl. 32.
Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 15, e and p. 53.
I: Woman at lekane.

b). Agora Inv. P 24102. Pl. 32.
H. 0.085 m.; diam. 0.172 m. Mended from several pieces; a little of the rim and floor missing, and chips (woman's face). Offset rim (shape C); the shape of the Louvre Chairias

painter cup, MNB 2040, *A.R.V.*, p. 88, 1, is very close; similar, but the stem slightly shorter, Würzburg 498 (H. Bloesch, *Formen Attischer Schalen*, Bern, pl. 33, no. 4). I: Naked woman at altar; sakkos; wreath outstretched. Relief contour. Red for wreath, altar flames and inscription: *Χαιρας*. For the misspelling of the name, compare the cup once Siena, Chigi, now Havana, Lagunillas, *A.R.V.*, p. 919, top. The letter forms are close.

² For new photographs of these cups we are indebted to M. P. Devambez, Musée du Louvre, Paris; to Dr. C. H. E. Haspels and H. Groothand, Allard Pierson Stichting, Amsterdam; and to Dr. Elizabeth Rhode and Dr. W. Scheffler, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and Schloss Celle; also, for a photograph of the Lagunillas cup (*A.R.V.*, p. 919, top) to Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer.

c). Agora Inv. P 24116. Pl. 33.

H. as restored *ca.* 0.07 m.; diam. 0.187 m. Mended from several pieces; fragments of floor and rim missing, and the foot, broken off just below the ring. Plain rim; for this rim with the disk foot and ring above compare Bloesch, *op. cit.*, pl. 33, no. 5. I: Maenad running right, looking back; chiton, himation, sakkos, earrings and necklace. Relief contour. Red for inscription: *Χαιρίας καλός*].

d). Agora Inv. P 24115. Pl. 33.

H. 0.07 m.; diam. 0.175 m. Mended from several pieces; much of rim and wall missing, one handle, and chips. Shape B; slender stem,

the lightly profiled ridge on the surface of the foot is set off on either side by a scraped groove. Compare, for the shape, the cup in Athens signed by Phintias as maker, *A.R.V.*, p. 24, *a*; Bloesch, pl. 16, 2. I: Komast right, walking as he plays the lyre; wreath; short cloak over his left shoulder. Relief contour. Red for wreath, kollopes of lyre, plectrum-cord and inscription: *Χαι[ρί]ας καλός*.

e). Agora Inv. P 24315. Pl. 33.

Max. dim. 0.054 m. Small piece from the floor of a cup similar to the last. Part of the komast's back, right arm and cloak preserved, and of the inscription in red: *Χαιρ[ί]ας*]. Relief contour.

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FIVE COMIC SCENES FROM ATHENS

(PLATES 34-37)

FOUR unglazed household water pitchers painted with comic figures probably borrowed from the theater were found in the filling of an ancient well in the Athenian Agora in the spring of 1954.¹ The well lies just inside the southeast corner of the market square, close to the Panathenaic Way. It had been filled with a vast amount of pottery of the end of the fifth and the start of the fourth centuries before Christ. One of the latest datable pieces is a red-figured oinochoe (Pl. 36, b) showing two Nikai at a tripod,² made presumably in the closing years of the fifth century. The well was thus apparently abandoned and used as a dump soon after 400 B.C.

The unglazed oinochoai with painted polychrome decoration from this well-filling represent a category hitherto unknown in the Agora collections. Only one other jug like them has indeed so far been located; it is in London, and was purchased in Athens in the late nineties (Pl. 37, a, c). The Trustees of the British Museum have kindly given us permission to publish it here with the four examples from the Agora.³

This seems to be the first compact group of vases found in Athens itself decorated with informal caricatured scenes related to the theater, comparable to the phlyax vases from South Italy or the Kabeiric group of Boeotia.⁴ The fact that three of the five scenes have parallels from South Italy reinforces the belief that the phlyax vases reflect scenes from Athenian Comedy.⁵ Because of the interest of theater scenes contemporary with Aristophanes, the following notes and descriptions are published by the excavator in order to make this new material quickly available to students in the specialized field of theatral representation.

¹ City grid, Q 15: 2 (Well to North of Nymphaeum). I am indebted to Professor T. B. L. Webster for much helpful comment on these vases, as further noted below. For the date of the deposit, I have followed the suggestions made by L. Talcott and B. Philippaki; the bulk of the material appears to be only slightly later than the group published by P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 298-351. The photographs are by Alison Frantz, except that of 5, by P. E. Corbett. The water colors are by Piet de Jong.

² Inv. P 23896. H. 0.218 m.; diam. 0.179 m. The front part of the mouth restored in plaster; the handle mended in antiquity. Partial relief contour; details in dilute glaze and white.

³ I am particularly indebted to Professor Bernard Ashmole for his generosity in allowing me to include this piece, and to P. E. Corbett for his careful description of it (below, 5, p. 82).

⁴ M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1939 (hereafter *H.T.*), p. 93, note 30, suggests that the Kabeiric vases do represent informal farce; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, Oxford, 1927, p. 269, denies any theatral connections.

⁵ See T. B. L. Webster, *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 15-27 and *Bull. John Rylands Library*, XXXVI, 1954, pp. 563-587.

Although a distinct group of vases such as this with roughly executed grotesque figures has not before been found in Athens, occasional caricatures and theatral scenes do appear on Attic red-figured vases especially in the late fifth century. The best known is the oinochoe in the Louvre by the Nikias painter where Herakles and Nike appear in a chariot drawn by centaurs and preceded by a flute player (Pl. 34, b).⁶ It is perhaps not surprising to find certain similarities between the Louvre oinochoe and our pots. The rendering of the hair on **1** and the beard and hair of the second figure on **3** is very like that on the figures of the Louvre oinochoe. The lips of the figures on **3** seem closer to theater masks than those on the Louvre figures, but the reverse is true for the eyebrows: the figure on **1** has relatively normal eyebrows whereas both the flute player and the centaurs have one eyebrow raised and one down.

The pitchers themselves are old friends: oinochoai of thin, gritty, micaceous, russet to gray-brown clay with large trefoil mouth, a single rolled handle sloping down from the rim, and a ring foot (Pl. 37, b). A glance at the Agora shelves shows that they are ordinary domestic pitchers familiar to many Athenian households.⁷ The figures on these few with painted scenes are drawn directly on the unglazed surface in matt brown or red outline and then filled in with solid colors. The quality of paint and range of colors—black, white, pink, various shades of blue and green—are like those used on terracotta figurines. A similar use of matt paint on the same unglazed gritty fabric is found on some decorated kernoi from the Agora of the beginning of the fourth century.⁸ There the decoration is apparently limited to leaves and wreathes. The technique of outline drawing with colors added for the solid masses is essentially the same as that of matt-painted white-ground lekythoi. Outline drawing on unglazed clay is also found on a few fragments of Corinthian oinochoai of the late fifth century,⁹ but the workmanship of the Corinthian pieces is far finer and there is no direct

⁶ Louvre N 3408: *A.R.V.*, p. 848, no. 22; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 572; see now Rumpf in *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, pp. 9-11, figs. 5-7. I am indebted to M. P. Devambez for new photographs of this vase. Other red-figured caricature and theater scenes of the late fifth century include: oinochoe from the Athenian Agora with Hephaistos at the forge (Inv. P 15210: G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, fig. 19); oinochoe with Perseus in the Vlastos collection (*J.H.S.*, LXV, 1945, pl. V); and two small choes with children dressed as actors (Louvre CA 2938: van Hoorn, fig. 147; and Athens, Nat. Mus. Inv. 17752: *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, p. 132, fig. 10; van Hoorn, fig. 148).

⁷ The fabric is traditional for cooking-pots, jugs and water jars; cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement II, p. 199. It is remarkable for its thinness and for the fact that it appears regularly to have been moulded or slip cast, not made on the wheel, although the ring foot (as in our examples) may be thrown, and separately attached. The history of the oinochoe shape shown here, in this fabric, may be traced in Agora deposits at least from the early sixth century into the fourth century B.C. Several examples identical with ours, but undecorated, came from the closely contemporary well near the southwest corner of the Agora which contained the water clock, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274-275.

⁸ Examples were found in a kernos pit (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 208) which can be dated by a red-figured chous, Inv. P 12293 (van Hoorn, fig. 254), found with them.

⁹ van Hoorn, p. 57 and fig. 457 (from Corinth: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 310, fig. 40); fig. 458 (Athenian Agora Inv. P 16427).

relationship with our pots. These seem closer both in drawing and spirit to the grotesque figures on the vases from the Kabeirion in Boeotia.¹⁰ Minor differences in detail on the five painted oinochoai, such as the presence or absence of a wide white fillet around the neck of the pot or differences in the rendering of leaves and inscriptions, might suggest different hands, but the five almost certainly come from the same workshop and are of the same date, that is close to 400 B.C. Let us now look at the individual pieces.

1. Tyro and her sons, Pelias and Neleus. Pl. 34, a.

Agora Inv. P 23856. Pres. H. 0.14 m. Broad band of white around neck of pot, on which is painted a wreath of bluish-green ivy leaves. Pink for face, black for hair, white for inscription.

Only the upper part of the oinochoe is preserved, with part of an inscription and the head of the right-hand figure. The inscription is incomplete at the left but can easily be restored to read [ΠΕΛΙΑ]Σ ΤΥΡΩ ΝΗΛΕΥΣ,¹¹ and the picture identified as the recognition scene from Sophocles' *Tyro*. Her twin sons by Poseidon were exposed at birth; as young men they return to free her from her wicked step-mother Sidero, bringing with them the σκάφη in which they had been cast out as a means of identification. In literature this was one of the familiar recognition scenes, ridiculed by Aristophanes in *Lysistrata* (line 139 and scholia), cited by Aristotle in the *Poetics* (c 16) and described by Menander in the *Epitrepontes* (lines 108-116). In art the scene was popular in Italy. The three figures are found on six "Etruscan" mirrors one of which is inscribed "Pelias, Tyria, Nele," and more elaborate versions of the scene, including the step-mother and father, appear on a bronze situla and on a miniature terracotta altar (and fragment of its mould) from Medma near Rosarno in Calabria.¹² The latter is of Italian origin and said to be a local copy reflecting an Attic original of the late fifth or early fourth centuries; Rizzo¹³ suggests that it may be a copy of an Attic votive relief commemorating a dramatic victory. On the inscribed Etruscan mirror (Fig. 1)¹⁴ Neleus is at the right as he is on our painted oinochoe where one could restore an almost identical grouping. A small terracotta

¹⁰ The group of pots with caricatures drawn in outline from Rhitsona in Boeotia offers a close parallel for a very small class of highly individualized pots (A. D. Ure, *J.H.S.*, LXIX, 1949, pp. 18-24).

¹¹ I assume that the short vertical white hasta between the *omega* and *nu*, clearly visible on photograph and drawing, is an error on the part of the artist. He would seem to have started the *nu* in its normal position directly after the *omega*, then noted that the point of the leaf intruded, so moved the letter further to the right and forgot or was unable to erase his initial false stroke.

¹² L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris, 1926, pp. 219-230; for full list of representations and bibliography see note 9, p. 224 (to which add C. Robert, *Hermes*, LI, 1916, pp. 273-302); Engelmann, *Jahrb.*, V, 1890, pp. 171-179.

¹³ *Mem. della R. Accad. di archeologia, lettere, e belle arti di Napoli*, IV, 1919, pp. 123-158; see also Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

¹⁴ Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, CLXX; Rizzo, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, p. 137, also reproduced in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Neleus. Figure 1 here from Rizzo's illustration.

group in the National Museum at Athens of a woman with two babes in a shallow tub or boat at her feet probably represents the beginning of the story, the exposure.¹⁵ Our pot would seem to be the first example of the famous recognition scene so far found in Athens, and probably the earliest of those known.



FIG. 1. Etruscan Mirror. Tyro and Sons

2. Komast. Pls. 35, a; 37, b.

Agora Inv. P 23900. H. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.18 m. Intact except for two holes in wall and a few chips and cracks. Wide band of white around the neck with rounded ends hanging down to either side of the picture. Brown for outlines; bright pink for flesh; black for hair and oinochoe; white for boots.

A single dancing figure fills the panel formed by the pendent ends of the band around the neck of the pot. He wears a scarf swinging from his arms, and boots with turned-up toes and wide cuffs.¹⁶ There are traces of a white fillet around his head.

¹⁵ *Jahrb.*, VI, 1891, p. 61, pl. 2.

¹⁶ Undecorated cuffed boots reaching half-way up the leg such as these are sometimes worn by komasts in Attic pottery of the fifth century, cf. van Hoorn, figs. 109, 173. They are also often worn by silens on South Italian pottery of the late fifth and fourth centuries, cf. A. D. Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*, Leipzig, 1938, pls. 4 d, 10 a, and 27 b, and Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, London,

He carries a staff in his right hand and a black oinochoe hangs from his left arm. With thick lips and the big, possibly padded, belly the figure is not unlike those of comic actors.¹⁷ A red-figured oinochoe of about 420 B.C., in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, shows a dancer similarly equipped with oinochoe, staff and cuffed boots.¹⁸ The presence of the oinochoe there as in our caricature suggests that the reveller is celebrating the Anthesteria.

3. *Obeliaphoroi*. Pls. 35, b; 36, a.

Agora Inv. P 23907. H. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.185 m. Mended from many pieces; considerable fragments of wall missing. Around the neck a broad white band with a hanging rounded end at each side and a shorter bit above extending nearly to rim of pot. From this band hang three ivy leaves with veins naturalistically rendered. Brown for outlines; pink for flesh; green for leaves and spit; black for hair, beard and boots; white for garment, *obelias* cake and wide band around neck of pot.

Two bearded running figures carry a white object on a spit. The leader wears a short white garment, a chitoniskos or exomis, slipped below his right shoulder, and probably a double fillet. The second man wears a white cap and black cuffed boots. The broken horizontal line across his thighs suggests that he too may be wearing a short chiton. Both have the exaggerated noses and lips of caricature, which may be intended to represent comic masks. The scene is almost duplicated on a phlyax bell-krater of the early fourth century in Leningrad (Pl. 36, c).¹⁹ Here two grotesque figures in phlyax costume carry a similar white object in their upraised left hands and the one at the right carries a situla in his right hand. They are preceded by a flute player. Dr. Bieber suggested that two slaves were carrying a juicy roast in preparation for a feast.²⁰ The object carried on both vases would seem rather to be an *obelias* cake, the large loaf baked on a spit and carried on the shoulders of *obeliaphoroi* in processions in honor of Dionysos.²¹ According to Pollux the loaves were of one, two, or three

1936, fig. 61, pls. VIII, XXXIV c. It is not always possible to distinguish the corthurni of tragedy, borrowed from Dionysos, the high boots of travellers, and the ordinary shoes of daily life, probably worn in comedy, from each other. See Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 228-234, p. 235 for recent discussion and bibliography.

¹⁷ Professor T. B. L. Webster suggests, by letter, that the figure might be a woman and compares it with that of Konnakis on a fragment of the mid-fourth century from Tarentum, *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 1947, p. 14, fig. 2.

¹⁸ *B.M.M.A.*, XXXIV, 1939, p. 231, fig. 1; also van Hoorn, fig. 173.

¹⁹ Bieber, *H.T.*, p. 280, fig. 378, reproduced here by courtesy of the Princeton University Press. See Webster, *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, p. 24 for date.

²⁰ Bieber, *H.T.*, p. 281. Two blobs of white on the phlyax krater are perhaps white frosting rather than meat drippings. Cf. Pollux, VI, 79: ὀνομάζετο δὲ τινα καὶ πηνία, ἃ τοῖς πλακοῦσιν ἐπετίθετο προσεικότα πηνίοις· λευκὰ δ' ἦν τὴν χροάν. Heydemann, *Jahrb.* I, 1886, p. 285, note 132, identifies a white coating on a round cake as πηνία or sugar-icing. Perhaps the gravy (ἔτνος) which the daughter of Dikaiopolis ladles on to the round cake in the mock celebration of the rural Dionysia is an Aristophanic version of sugar-icing (*Acharnians*, line 246).

²¹ Athenaeus III, 111b; Pollux VI, 75 and Photius, *s.v.* ὀβελίας ἄρτος.

medimnas in size, and Photius writes:—ὀβελίας ἄρτος· περιπλασμένος μακρῷ ξύλῳ καὶ οὕτως ὀπτώμενος· γίνεται δὲ παραμήκης καὶ γαστρῶδης. Similar long twisted objects on spits found on some red-figured choes have been identified as *obelias* cakes by van Hoorn.²² One is also shown leaning against a herm beside which maenads dance, on an unpublished calyx-krater in the National Museum at Athens.²³ Pictures of *obelias* cakes on the choes, therefore, need not mean these cakes were present only at the Anthesteria. They may well have been carried in other Dionysiac processions.²⁴ On two of the choes the *obelias* is held vertically by a single figure,²⁵ and on the others it is placed approximately vertically in the background. With the two ends of the spit to use as handles, the large size of the *obelias* both as described and shown, and the statement of Athenaeus (III, 111b) that they were carried on the shoulders of the *obeliphoroi*, it seems safe to assume that in the processions the *obelias* cakes were carried by two bearers just as shown on the two caricatures.

Obeliaphoroi is known as the title of a comedy by Ehippos probably written in the three-seventies.²⁶ Our pot is too early by at least twenty years to reflect this play, but many Middle Comedy titles are repeats of Old Comedy titles, so there may well have been an earlier comedy of the same name.²⁷ The fact that we have both an Athenian and a South Italian copy of the scene suggests that it represents a comedy or perhaps informal farce rather than merely two *obeliphoroi* from a procession.

4. Dionysos and Phor —. Pl. 34, c.

Agora Inv. P 23985. Max. dim. ca. 0.155 m. Twelve joining fragments from one side. Badly damaged surface. Flesh apparently in pink over white underpainting, not in pink directly on the clay as on the other examples; hair in white; inscription in black.

The surface is badly damaged and the picture hard to decipher. Apparently two grotesquely fat figures face each other with an indeterminate object, possibly a dog, between them. The exaggerated fatness suggests the padded figures of comic actors although an accurate portrayal of a comic actor does not seem to have been intended. The padding in actors' costumes was limited to the body, and the legs are usually shown as of somewhat more normal dimensions.²⁸ The names of the two figures are

²² van Hoorn, p. 42, figs. 45, 225, 226, 227, 228, 256.

²³ Athens, N.M. 12909: Calyx-krater. A, maenads at herm; B, two youths.

²⁴ Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*, p. 59, suggests that *obeliphoroi* formed part of the procession of the City Dionysia.

²⁵ van Hoorn, no. 345, fig. 45; and no. 370 (not illustrated, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 97. 605).

²⁶ Athenaeus VIII, 359 a and XI, 482 d (Koch, *C.A.F.*, II, pp. 258 f., nos. 15 and 16); the play was also called *Homoioi*. See Webster, *Class. Quart.*, n.s. II, 1952, p. 15, for the date.

²⁷ I wish to thank Professor Webster for this suggestion.

²⁸ Cf. the actor on an oinochoe in the Louvre, CA 2938 (van Hoorn, fig. 147), or the early phlyax figure on the calyx-krater by the Tarporley painter in the Metropolitan Museum (Bieber, *H.T.*, p. 282, fig. 381; also Beazley in *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, pp. 193 ff.: ca. 400 B.C.). Assuming the

partially preserved in neat black letters. The ONYΞΟΞ at left can be restored as $[\Delta\iota\acute{o}]\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$. The name of the figure at the right, of which only the first three letters, ΦOP , are preserved, presents more difficulties. The only proper name beginning with Φop and associated with Dionysos that I have been able to find is that of Phormio, the Athenian general who in Eupolis' comedy *Taxiarchoi* is said to have given lessons in campaigning to Dionysos.²⁹ The restoration $\Phi\text{op}[\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu]$ would be a possibility, but without clearer details in the picture, certainly no more than a possibility. The adventures of Dionysos are legion.

5. Man Rowing a Fish. Pl. 37, a, c.

British Museum, 98.2-27.1. H. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.184 m. Purchased in Athens. Mended from several fragments, a few small pieces missing and the surface flaked away from one big area. Red for outline; light blue for fish, and a lighter shade, almost pale green, for fins; pink for oarsman; orange brown for oars. Mr. Corbett adds that a fragment of the figure was examined under microscope and was said to have behaved like fired clay; all the colors resist hot water, heat and alcohol.

A figure seated on a blue fish is rowing to the right with a pair of very long oars. He rests his feet on the back fins using them as a stretcher and seems to be looking around over his left shoulder to see where he is going. The scene is closely paralleled on a phlyax vase (Fig. 2),³¹ except that the oars are missing there and the fish as shown in the drawing has a short snout. The fish on the vase in the British Museum is certainly not a dolphin and the one on the phlyax vase, in spite of the snout, is most unconvincing as a dolphin. The fat fish, however, may well be substituted for a dolphin to enhance the comic effect, and so the subject of the scene is probably to be sought among dolphin riders.

Dr. Bieber has suggested either Taras or Arion as the rider on the phlyax vase; but the Athenian parallel connects the original of the scene with Athens rather than South Italy, so Taras becomes improbable. Arion of course has impeccable connections

object between the two figures to be a dog, Professor Webster suggests some connection between our scene and the Louvre oinochoe noted above, where a boy dressed as a comic actor faces a dog.

²⁹ Koch, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 325; Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, line 347. The play was probably performed in 427 B.C. (Kaibel, *R.E.*, s.v. Eupolis, col. 1231). A Phorkys is listed as a companion of Dionysos, and not identified as the sea god, by Höfer, Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, col. 2435, and by J. Schmidt, *R.E.*, s.v. Phorkys, col. 536, with reference to Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, XXXIX, line 101. In that passage Dionysos is exhorting his followers before the sea battle in India and is boasting of his powerful friends and allies, including Poseidon, Glaukos, Melikertes and Proteus. The natural interpretation would seem to be that it was the sea god Phorkys who was named in company with the other powerful sea figures. Thus on the evidence of Nonnus there is nothing to suggest a special connection between Dionysos and Phorkys that might reflect an otherwise unknown earlier story.

³⁰ I am indebted to Mr. Peter Corbett for the details and description of this pot, which I have not seen.

³¹ Bieber, *H.T.*, p. 275, fig. 372, from a Tischbein drawing, reproduced here by courtesy of the Princeton University Press; the vase now lost.

with the world of the theater but can the rider be Arion without a lyre? Other known dolphin riders such as Melikertes and Palaemon have no direct connections either with Athens or with the theater. Some of the nameless riders found on Attic black-figured pottery do seem to be borrowed from the theater, as for instance the warriors on a black-figured skyphos in Boston³² and possibly the nude youth on a black-figured lekythos in the Robinson collection.³³ Sir John Beazley has suggested that the youth



FIG. 2. Dolphin Rider on a Phlyax Vase

on the lekythos may be Theseus on his trip to the bottom of the sea, reflecting the version of the story told in the dithyramb by Bacchylides (XVI, lines 97-100) where Theseus is said to be carried by dolphins.³⁴ The adventures of Dionysos with the Tyrrhenian pirates in which the sailors are turned into dolphins was also the subject of a dithyramb. But neither the version in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysos* (VII) nor that shown on the monument of Lysikrates seems to demand a rider on a dolphin. It would be hazardous to suggest an identification between anyone of these and our caricatured rower.³⁵

It is for specialists in the field of theater representation to decide whether the scenes on the five vases are taken from the formal theater, tragedy, comedy, dithyramb,

³² Boston 20.18: Bieber, *H.T.*, p. 67, fig. 78. F. Brommer in an article on "Delphinreiter" in *Arch. Anz.*, LVII, 1942, pp. 65-75, suggests that the helmeted riders represent the chorus from an early comedy. E. Bielefeld, *Arch. Anz.*, LXI-LXII, 1946-7, pp. 48-54, suggests a dithyramb and connects the scene with the story of Phalanthos (I am indebted to Professor Webster for this second reference).

³³ *C.V.A.*, Robinson Collection, i, pl. 37, 3; C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, App. XV, no. 14.

³⁴ The suggestion by Beazley is quoted by Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 f., and reaffirmed by Beazley in *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 268. A very similar youth on a dolphin is used as a filler on a hydria by the Kadmos painter in Berlin (*A.R.V.*, p. 805, no. 21; *Mon. Ined.*, 14, pl. 2). A relief from Thasos may be a later version of the same figure, *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 347, fig. 15, there identified as Arion.

³⁵ For possible connections between the rider on the fish and the Anthesteria, cf. two miniature red-figured choes which show Eros riding a dolphin (van Hoorn, figs. 370, 371) and a third with a single fat dolphin (van Hoorn, fig. 518). On the latter cf. H. R. W. Smith, *C.V.A.*, San Francisco, i, 1943, p. 47.

satyr-play, or from more informal burlesques performed at one or another of the Dionysiac festivals. The five scenes would seem all to be associated with the world of the theater directly or indirectly through Dionysos and his festivals. The first by its inscription is related to Sophocles' *Tyro* (or a burlesque of the same). The second, if correctly interpreted, is associated with the Dionysiac festival of the Anthesteria. The *obeliaphoroi* on the third were members of processions in honor of Dionysos and the name was used for a later comedy. The fact that this scene is repeated on a phlyax vase suggests that it was taken from a specific play of some sort. The fourth scene portrays Dionysos himself; while the fifth, the man rowing a fish, is also repeated on a phlyax vase and so presumably also reflects a specific play. The two scenes repeated on the phlyax vases may well be copied from common originals in some more serious art form. Séchan and Rizzo³⁶ suggest an Athenian victor's monument as the original for the *Tyro* scene on the Italian terracotta altar. This could also have served for our vase and for the Etruscan mirrors.

Were these informal pots perhaps not made to be sold at one of the festivals of Dionysos, possibly the Anthesteria? We know that choes were sold at that festival.³⁷ Although it was not essentially a dramatic festival as were the Lenaea and the City Dionysia, trials for comic actors, ἀγῶνες χυτρινοί, were held on the third day,³⁸ and plays are reflected on some of the red-figured miniature choes associated with the Anthesteria.³⁹ Possible connections with the Anthesteria are also suggested by the fact that the painted pots are oinochoai, a shape especially associated with the Anthesteria, that two of them have big ivy wreaths on them resembling the wreathed choes of the festival,⁴⁰ and that one seems to represent a reveller at the Anthesteria.

These lively, colorful pots on display at some temporary booth or push-cart would have brought an extra note of gaiety to any festival, just as do the grotesque terracotta animals still sold at the festival of Hagia Marina, celebrated each July on the Plateia Theseiou just to the west of the Agora.

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³⁶ See above page 78 and note 13.

³⁷ [Scylax] *Peripl.*, 112, Müller, *Geogr. Gr. min.*, 1882, I, p. 94; cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, p. 97.

³⁸ [Plut.], *Vit. X Orat.*, 841 f and Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, line 218. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*, p. 15.

³⁹ van Hoorn, p. 36 and figs. 145-148 (the miniature choes, figs. 147 and 148, will almost certainly be connected with the Anthesteria); S. P. Karouzou, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 123-139 and Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*, p. 10, note 5, for comment on Mrs. Karouzou's article.

⁴⁰ For wreaths on the necks of red-figured choes see for example van Hoorn figs. 295, 300, 449, 451; for those around the necks of the choes shown in the pictures, *ibid.*, figs. 1, 2, 9, 85, 86, 173. For neck ornament rendered as wreaths and as head-bands, see J. D. Beazley, "Two Swords: Two Shields," *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*, XIV, no. 1, 1939, pp. 12-13.

A NEW PARTHENON FRAGMENT FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATE 38)

THE Parthenon pediments have been so much studied and discussed that we tend to forget how much is still lacking in our knowledge of them. Carpenter's happy discovery of the figure U from the West pediment¹ was dramatic proof that important additions may still be made. Since the compilation of Smith's British Museum publication,² however, there has been no comprehensive review of the fragments already assigned.³ It seemed inevitable that a careful study of all the marbles in the original would yield valuable new evidence for the two gables.⁴ Unexpectedly, it was the storerooms of the Athenian Agora Excavations that produced the first major discovery (Pl. 38, a) in the present investigations.⁵

It is a large piece of Pentelic marble with a rounded surface entirely covered by drapery, which falls down to either side in soft folds, as of thin material, and converges below to a narrower mass hanging free of the body. The principal face is marked by heavier weathering and a more complicated pattern of the folds. At the top, next to the right-hand break, is the edge of an overfold, from under which short ridges curve down toward the left. The main folds are swept back toward the right. The shape of the fragment and the direction of the folds suggested that this was part of the thigh of a large female figure moving toward the left. Its style, its size, and the fact that it was weathered on one side made it seem probable that the fragment belonged to one of the Parthenon pediments. The surface is finished with the

¹ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 1-30.

² A. H. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, 1910.

³ S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, Cambridge, 1921, is for the most part uncritical in his acceptance of Smith's list.

⁴ The discovery and identification of the Agora fragment published in the present article was made by F. Brommer in the course of a study of all the fragments of the Parthenon pediments. E. Harrison assisted in the mechanics of confirming the join and of assembling the casts. The photographs are the work of Miss Alison Frantz. Thanks are due to Homer A. Thompson, Director of the Agora Excavations, and to John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, for their help and cooperation.

⁵ Agora Inv. S 161. Found February 1, 1932 in a modern wall at the north foot of the Areopagus. P. H. 0.55 m.; P. W. 0.26 m.; P. L. 0.37 m. Broken at both ends and below. The marble has taken on a pale golden color on both sides and is much flaked and cracked. The tops of all ridges on the front of the fragment are chipped away. Those on the back are better preserved. The fragment has been transferred to the Acropolis Museum.

greatest care on both sides. The overfold at the top of the fragment is undercut with the stationary drill except at the back, where a corner of it lies flat against the leg. The forked ridges on front and back and the curved fold that bridges one of the broad furrows below the leg on the front are typical Parthenon tricks.

Further consideration showed that the East pediment, at least in the parts that are preserved, did not come into question. As for the lost parts of the same pediment, since there is no drawing by Carrey at our disposal, an attempt to place it there would have been difficult. There remained the West pediment, and specifically its right half, since the goddess was facing left. Carrey's drawing⁶ shows that in the right half of the West pediment only Iris and Amphitrite have a movement corresponding to that of the Agora fragment. As the right leg of Iris is preserved, only Amphitrite remained. A measured drawing of the break, when compared with the cast of Amphitrite that by good fortune exists in Athens in the Acropolis Museum, accorded so well that it seemed virtually certain that the fragment belonged. Nevertheless a cast of the broken surface was made in order to be entirely sure. It joined break for break, more exactly than one could have dared to hope. Thereupon a cast of the whole fragment was made and united with the cast of the torso (Pl. 38, b), from which the original had been separated at least since the time of Lord Elgin.

The right leg of Amphitrite appears still in position in the drawing made by Dalton in 1749,⁷ but we have no closer indication for the date and cause of its separation from the torso. That so heavy a piece should have wandered so far seems an even greater mystery, but to this we possess at least a clue. The thigh was recovered from the demolition of modern house-walls in the area between Asteroskopeion Street and the north foot of the Areopagus. In that same section was found an even larger piece of Pentelic marble, a fragment of a large architectural block of the classical period, which likewise came to light in the demolition of these houses.⁸ The remains of a large circular hole with rope-marks show that it was part of a modern well-curb before it was built into the house-wall. More interesting are the marks of a modern saw on one face of the block, marks that resemble those left on the backs of Parthenon frieze blocks when they were sawn off by Lusieri, Lord Elgin's agent, in order to lighten them for transportation. The height of the fragment, 1.015 m., and the treatment of the preserved ancient faces prove that it is a part of one of these blocks. Thus it is clear that at some time during or after the removal of the Elgin marbles at least one

⁶ H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e siècle, Dessins des sculptures du Parthenon attribués à J. Carrey*, Paris, 1898, pl. III; Smith, *Parthenon*, p. 15, fig. 27.

⁷ Smith, *Parthenon*, p. 4, fig. 6.

⁸ Agora Inv. A 2428. Found in 1932 in a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus. H. 1.015 m.; P. L. 0.60 m.; P. Th. 0.43 m. Back rough-picked, with a broad, rough anathyrosis along the top edge. End rough-picked. Top and bottom smooth. Remains of a T-clamp cutting and a dowel hole in the top.

wagonload of heavy stone was brought down from the Acropolis to the area where Amphitrite's thigh was found.

The addition of the new fragment restores to the figure some of the fine, liquid movement of drapery that marked Poseidon's charioteer as a creature of the sea. The folds are those of her thin chiton, which was open on the left side and blown back by the wind, covering the right leg but leaving most of the left leg bare. A small bronze pin in the top surface of the thigh (visible as a black spot in Pl. 38, a) may have served to attach the free ends of the bronze reins which the goddess held in her right hand. Fragments of the sea serpent beneath her feet have also been identified in the Acropolis Museum.

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THE DATE OF THE PERGAMENE ASTYNOMIC LAW

THE long Pergamene inscription first published by W. Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, pp. 47-77 and best known from the edition of W. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 483, has just been magistrally reedited with full bibliography by one of the masters of Greek Epigraphy, Günther Klaffenbach, *Abh. Ak. Wiss. Berlin*, Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1953 (published in 1954), Nr. 6. The inscription still presents a fundamental problem which is this: Why did someone in the Hadrianic Period¹ erect at his own personal expense a Hellenistic² law concerning the maintenance of Pergamene buildings, streets and installations? The law bears the heading --]ς ἀστυνομῶν τὸν βασιλικὸν νόμον ἐκ τῶν ιδίῳν ἀνέθηκεν, so that the identity, or even classification, of the *basileus*, its nominal author, constitutes part of the same question.

Is the law called a *basilikos nomos* because it emanated from a Hellenistic king like Eumenes II, who had died two and a half centuries earlier, or from the reigning Roman emperor Hadrian, who at Athenian request reedited and froze the laws of Draco and Solon?³ Against the assignment to the reigning emperor, which at one time, because of the absence of further identification, seemed inevitable to me, is the fact that the phrase *basilikos nomos* applied rarely to imperial legislation but commonly to royal legislation. Accordingly, it is better to agree with Klaffenbach and the *communis opinio* of modern scholars that the law is described as the *basilikos nomos* because it emanated from some long dead Hellenistic king, probably Eumenes II.

Why, then, did someone in the time of Hadrian set up a copy of this lengthy royal law? Legras and Cardinali assumed that the law had remained in effect ever since the Hellenistic Period when it was first promulgated. According to their answer (though, as Klaffenbach, p. 24 comments, they did not quite think it through), the law which obtained in the time of Hadrian was engraved as a public convenience. Kolbe and Prott did not face the problem at all. Klaffenbach attributes the inscription

¹ Klaffenbach has checked the opinion of earlier epigraphists who assigned the lettering to the Trajanic-Hadrianic Period. He too, like Prott and Dittenberger, concludes that the lettering has the greatest similarity with that of *O.G.I.*, 484, a dated Pergamene inscription of the Hadrianic Period. Two slight changes in the text, at points where Klaffenbach was the first to recognize problems, seem to me desirable. In line 17 read τὸ δ' ἔλ<λ>οιπον διάφορον instead of τὸ δὲ {λοιπὸν} διάφορον. In line 60 insert the word αἰεῖ into the restoration (which is too short) so that it reads τὰ [δὲ αἰεῖ γεινόμενα δ]ιάφορα and compare *S.I.G.*³, 589, τὸν αἰεῖ γινόμενον.

² The language of the law strikes everyone, including such connoisseurs as Bengtson, Klaffenbach, and J. and L. Robert, as Hellenistic.

³ Not only the laws of Athens, but also the laws of Megara. See J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides*, (Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc., 43, 1953), particularly Ch. VI.

merely to the antiquarian interests of the time and suggests that the *astynomos*, who may well have erected the monument, did so as a *summa honoraria*. For Klaffenbach the law had long ceased to be valid, and so its inscription really served no useful purpose at all. However, Klaffenbach admits that it would have been simpler to assume that the law was valid, when engraved, but he considers that this possibility is quite excluded, because (1) the money penalties of the time of Eumenes II would certainly not be those of the Hadrianic Period, and (2) the officials mentioned in the law are officials of the Hellenistic Period, while some of them are not attested for the Roman Period and one, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, even cannot belong to the Roman Period (in his opinion).

The first of Klaffenbach's objections is in our opinion surprisingly feeble. We may cite the example of the ancient Roman laws which remained valid for generations and centuries. As Rome moved out of the stage of barter into a money economy, the fines were converted from sheep and cattle, first into bronze, finally into denarii, but the laws were still called those of the Twelve Tables.⁴ Under the Principate an imperial constitution was often shortened, expanded or altered by some succeeding emperor but continued to be known by the name of the emperor who promulgated the original version.⁵ Both Roman and municipal laws underwent slight changes of modernization from time to time without losing the old names. The code may have a new designation but individual laws within the code retain their traditional names.

Klaffenbach's second argument, based on the officials who appear in the law, is much stronger. He is very dubious about the chances that ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων continued into the Roman Period. But in Roman Athens there was an official called the Treasurer of the Sacred Diataxis who seems in the third century to have been replaced by the plural board οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως.⁶ We are entitled to ask who at Pergamum corresponded to the Treasurer of the Sacred Diataxis at Athens, if not ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων. Until he produces another official in the latter's place, it is better to assume the presence of that official. Klaffenbach is even more dubious about the *nomophylakes*, who are attested for Hellenistic Pergamum, but not for Roman Pergamum.⁷ I think that their absence in our inscriptions is as accidental as the absence of reference to *astynomoi* and other officials whose presence Klaffenbach cannot attest but cheerfully assumes. These questions, however, are not too important for Klaffenbach, who on p. 24 continues as follows with the heavy ammunition:

⁴ H. Mattingly, "Aes and Pecunia," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth Series, III, 1943, pp. 21-39.

⁵ See, for example, F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*, Oxford, 1946, pp. 315 f.

⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 1941, pp. 133-4.

⁷ Fritz Freiherr von Schwind, *Zur Frage der Publikation im römischen Recht mit Ausblicken in das altgriechische und ptolemäische Rechtsgebiet* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte XXI, 1940), especially pp. 67 and 180, thinks that the activity of *nomophylakes* continued into the Roman Period and affected Roman practice.

Denn den Ausschlag gibt ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Nicht als ob es diese Einrichtung nicht auch in der römischen Kaiserzeit gegeben hätte, kaiserliche Kommissare sind oft genug in den Städten eingesetzt worden, aber die hiessen διορθωταί, ἐπανορθωταί oder λογισταί, niemals ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Das ist vielmehr eine der typisch hellenistischen Bezeichnungen für den vom König eingesetzten Stadtgouverneur, vgl. darüber H. Bengtson, *Strategie* II 240 ff. Damit ist es erwiesen, dass das vorliegende Gesetz in der Tat der pergamenischen Königszeit zuzuweisen ist.

To begin with, I can see no similarity between irregular "trouble-shooters" or emergency agents, such as διορθωταί, ἐπανορθωταί and λογισταί were, and the regular official ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Surely the ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως was a citizen of Pergamum, not an outsider like a *logistês*. The two types differ not only in that one occupies a permanent office, the other a temporary emergency office, but because one is a foreigner, while the other is a local citizen.

Secondly, the fact that the title ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως is a title of a city governor appointed by the Hellenistic king in no way proves that the institution of the city governor was merely dropped at Pergamum and that his full-time duties were re-assigned to others in a revolutionary reorganization. Since at Pergamum the glorious period was not the pre-Hellenistic Period, the ancestral constitution, upon which Pergamenes continued like everyone else to look back with appreciation, was here the royal constitution. Why could not an ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως continue to be appointed, if not by the Roman governor, then by the city itself? Furthermore, we are under no obligation to visualize the duties of the office as precisely the same. On the contrary, the absence of change in any office would seem incredible. But if Rome really imposed serious changes as I do not believe, she could have worked through old institutions to do so.

Again let us look at the situation in other free cities, such as Athens and Sparta. Both of the latter employed an administrative institution with a perennial officer who was a local citizen and whose title was ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως.⁸ We have the right to ask who at Roman Pergamum corresponded to the ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως of Roman Athens and of Roman Sparta, if not the ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως.

Why are ancient texts engraved or re-engraved long afterwards at much expense on bronze and marble? Sometimes they are old legal documents justifying some action or situation in the present, for example a first grant of powers, or a kind of charter, or an earlier decision. Sometimes they are honors, of which the record has disappeared

⁸ At Athens: *I.G.*, II², 1103, 1990, 3185, 3449, 3546, 3580, 3548 + 4342; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 39 and XII, 1943, p. 68; also on the front of the Sarapion Monument (for which see the new date in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 243-5). At Sparta: *I.G.*, V(1), 32 A and *B.S.A.*, XXVI, 1923-5, p. 200 (with A. M. Woodward's note on p. 203).

through a fire or through weathering; the authorities in such cases may feel that the honors of benefactors cannot be allowed to disappear whether or not relatives survive. Sometimes they are late expressions of family or civic pride in the literary performance of an ancestor. Sometimes a chronology in the form of a list of eponymous officials or in that of a chronicle may be engraved or re-engraved long afterwards because it is a useful work of reference. At Athens around A.D. 220 a board connected with the Asclepieum engraved a list of paeonistae and a copy of the Paeon of Sophocles.⁹ Was it for purely antiquarian reasons that they engraved the ancient paeon? It is unrecorded but probable that the paeon was still in use. Finally there is the case of the Laws of Draco and Solon which were published at Athens on marble around 400 B.C.¹⁰ In this case we actually have the evidence and can say that though the Laws of Draco and Solon were in some cases retouched or modernized to eliminate contradictions and obscurities, and to include new rules, they were published on stone primarily to make them easier to consult. The engraving served a useful purpose. In my opinion the engraving of a law of an Attalid king in the time of Hadrian would be analogous to the engraving of laws of Draco and Solon in 400 B.C., and should be that of a law which Pergamenes needed to consult in the Hadrianic Period, because it was still valid, though with some modernization. In Hadrianic Egypt laws of the Ptolemies were cited as "royal *prostagmata*"¹¹ which were still valid,—perfect parallels for the *basilikos nomos*.

While an aesthetic-antiquarian interest might conceivably be strong enough to effect the late publication on marble of a comparatively short work of great literary value like the Paeon of Sophocles, I cannot believe that a purely antiquarian interest in the way a proper maintenance of cisterns was enforced back in the days of Eumenes II, in the way rubbish and offal were kept off the streets, and such matters, would have induced anyone to expend his money on an inscription of considerably more than 237 lines. That is my main difficulty in following Klaffenbach. Furthermore, I doubt that the ways of enforcing proper maintenance of cisterns, cleanliness, security, etc. were even very different, and I feel that failure to identify the king is easy if the law had always been in use from the beginning, but is hard to swallow in the case of a late engraving of an obsolete law for purely antiquarian reasons. I fail to see the parallel between the useful publication of such interesting and helpful material as a chronicle and the utterly useless publication (useless for the common man, however useful to a few scholars) of an obsolete code for a police and street cleaning department.

Klaffenbach, who is too cautious a scholar to yield to temptation and to insert his conjectural restorations into the text, thinks of the expenditure as a *summa*

⁹ For the inscription see *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 308 f. (cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 109-13).

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

¹¹ M.-Th. Lenger, "Les vestiges de la législation des Ptolémées," *Mélanges Fernand de Vischer*, II (*R.I.D.A.*, III, 1949), pp. 69-81.

honoraria, and this is an excellent idea if the publication was that of a law by which men lived at Pergamum in the Hadrianic Period. But otherwise the donor would have disappointed the public which expected him to make urgent repairs or to make a distribution of grain or whatever was customary when repairs were unnecessary. Promising them in assembly an obsolete code of this character, he would not have cut a really good figure, which, after all, was the purpose.

JAMES H. OLIVER

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE



a. No. 1, Side A



b. No. 1, Side B



a. No. 1, Side A



b. No. 1, Side B



c. No. 1, B, Satyr 1



d. No. 1, B, Satyr 3



e. No. 1, B, Ariadne

(c-e, After cleaning)



a. and b. No. 1, c, Louvre F 55, Sides A and B



c. and d. No. 1, g, Louvre F 32, Sides A and B





a. and b. No. 1, *f*, London B 194, Side A, Left and Right



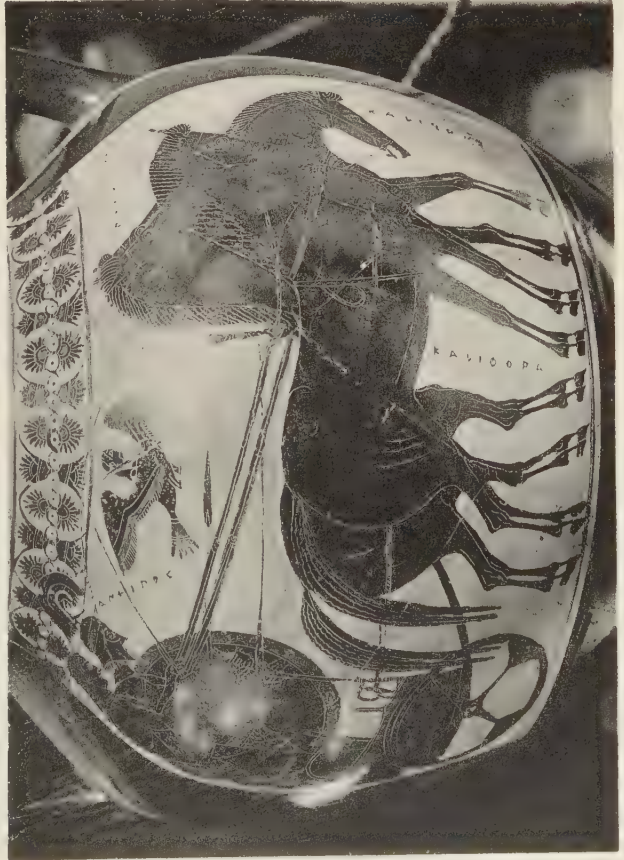
c. No. 1, *f*, London B 194, Side B



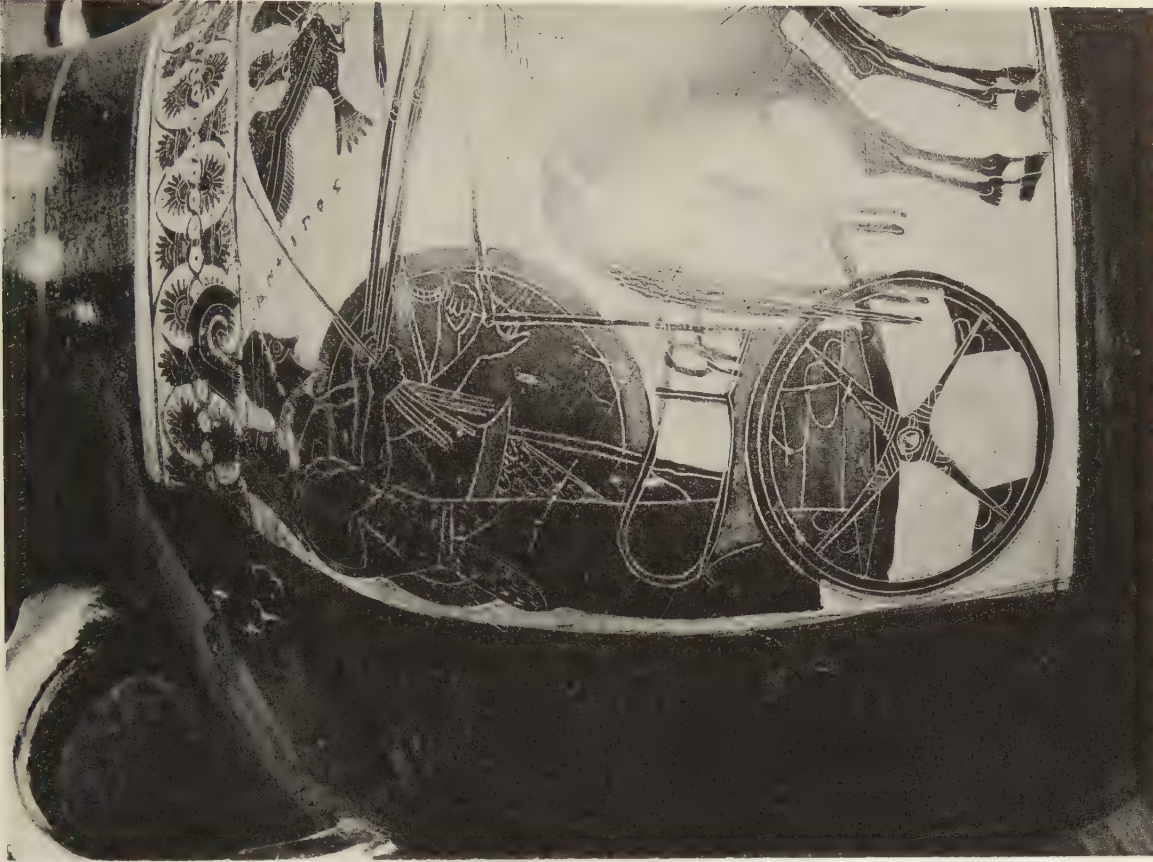
d. Louvre F 53, Side A, Geryon



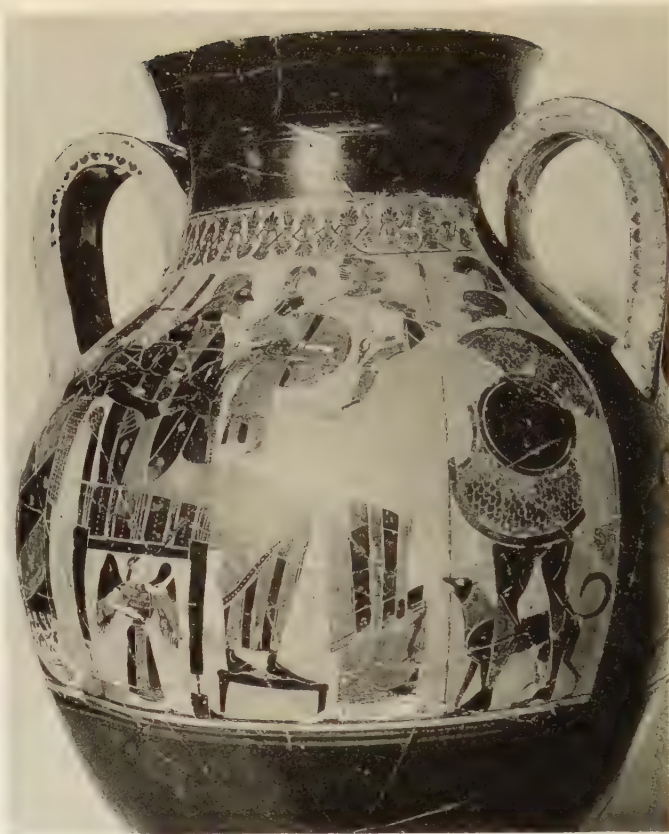
a. Louvre F 53, Side A



b. Louvre F 53, Side B



c. Louvre F 53, Detail Side B



a. Philadelphia MS 3441, Side A



b. Philadelphia MS 3441, Side B



a. No. 8, Side A



b. No. 8, Side B



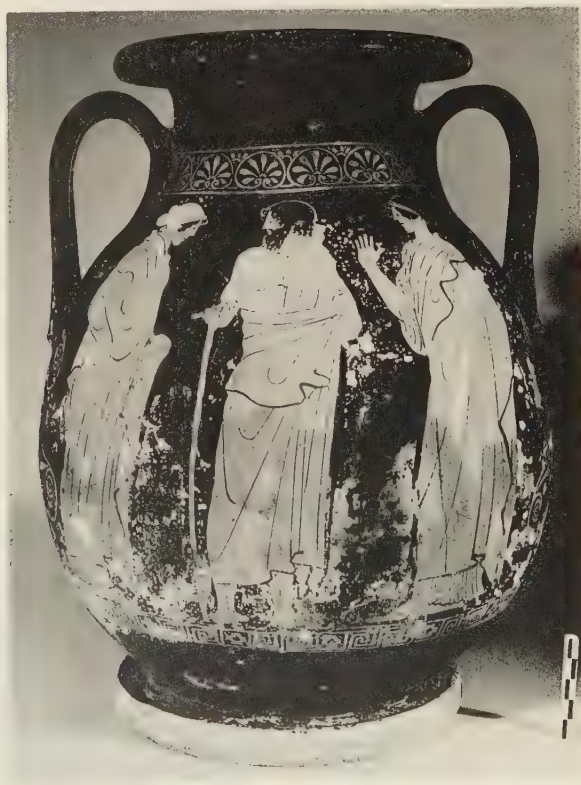
c. No. 5, Side A



d. No. 10, B 2



e. No. 10, Side A



f. No. 10, Side B



a. No. 10, B 1



b. No. 10, B 3



c. No. 10, A 1



d. No. 10, A 1 and 2



e. No. 10, A 2



f. No. 10, A 3



g. No. 10, A 3



h. No. 10, B 3



i. No. 10, A 2



j. No. 10, wine from jug of A 1



c. No. 14, Side A



a. and b. No. 13, Sides A and B



d. No. 16



a. No. 18, Interior



b. No. 19, Interior



c. and d. No. 24, Sides A and B





a.-c. No. 28, Side A, Side B, and Detail of Side B



d. and e. No. 29, Sides A and B

PAUL A. CLEMENT: GERYON AND OTHERS IN LOS ANGELES



a. Area D from West at End of Campaign.



b. Pithoid Jar in Matt-painted Ware, Used as Burial Urn.



c. Matt-painted Jug Used to Close Mouth of Burial Urn. (1:5)



a. Area D. Room of Middle Helladic House AH, from North.



b. Area D. Walls of House BJ below those of House BD, from South.



c. Area D. Middle Helladic Walls with Courses of "Potato Masonry."



d. Area D. Post Holes Marking Limits of Enclosure, from North. Early Phase of Middle Helladic Settlement.



e. North End of Trench J, from South, Showing Walls of Neolithic Period.



a. Neck of Large Matt-painted Jar from Early Stratum of Middle Helladic Layer.



d. Area B. Grave B.9. Middle Helladic or Early Mycenaean.



b. Area A. Walls of House D under Those of House M, from Southwest. Middle Helladic Period.



e. Area B. Grave B.12.



c. Area A. Parts of House D under House M, from South.



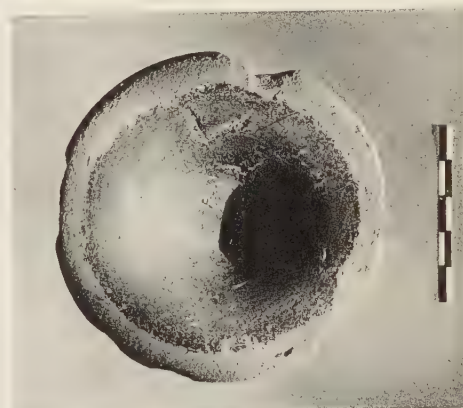
f. Middle Helladic Crucible.



a. Area B. South End of Shaft Grave during Excavation, from North.



b. Area B. Shaft Grave Cleared, from North.



c.-f. Bases with Graffiti from Filling of Grave Shaft. (ca. 1:2)





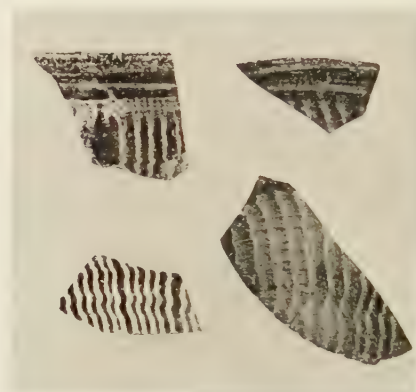
a. Matt-painted Ware, Fine Style. (ca. 1:2)



b. Matt-painted Sherd. (ca. 1:2)



c. Spouted Jar. L.H.I. (ca. 1:2)



d. Sherds with Ripple Patterns.
L.H.I. (ca. 1:2)



e. Fragments of Cups. L.H.I. (ca. 2:3)



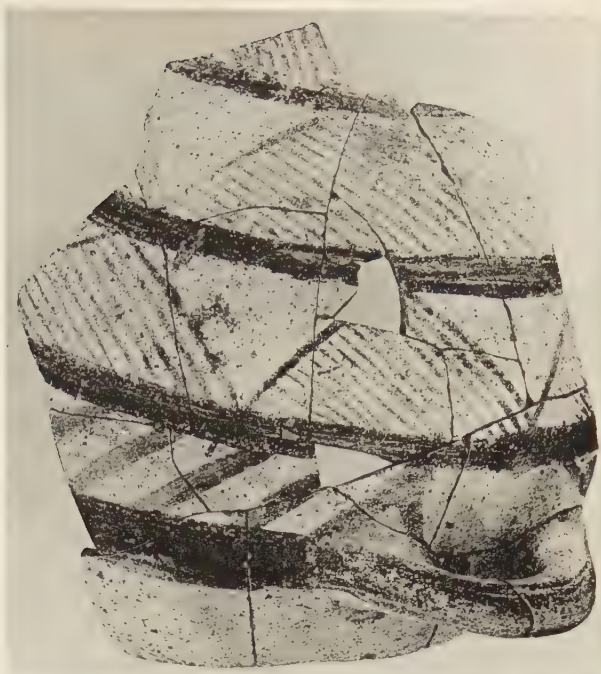
f. Fragments of Cups and Jars. L.H.I. (ca. 1:2)

Pottery from Filling of Grave Shaft.

JOHN L. CASKEY: EXCAVATIONS AT LERNA: 1954



a. Rim and Handle of Polychrome Matt-painted Jar from Filling of Grave Shaft. (1:2)



d. Fragment of Jar with Pattern in Lustrous Dark Paint on Light Ground, Middle Helladic Period. (ca. 2:5)



b. Sherds of Polychrome Matt-painted Ware from Filling of Grave Shaft.



e. Jar with Pattern in Light Paint on Red-Brown Surface. From a Watercolor by Piet de Jong. (ca. 1:4)



c. Sherds with Patterns in Light Paint on Dark Ground from Filling of Grave Shaft. (ca. 3:5)



a. Area B. Western Part of the House of the Tiles from Southeast.



b. Area B. Central Room and Adjoining Parts of the House of the Tiles from Northwest, Showing Round Cavities Left by Later Bothroi.



a. North Corridor (I-IV) from West.



b. North Doorway (A) from Northwest.



c. Room XI from Southwest.



d. Plaster on West Wall of Room XII, Showing Vertical Groove.



e. Plaster on North Wall of Room XII, Showing Horizontal Groove.



a. Area G from North.



b. Area B. Row of Rounded Stones in Late Stratum of Early Helladic Layer.



c. Area G. Part of Early Helladic Building G and Late Roman Kiln, from West.



d. Area G. Deposit of Early Helladic Pottery North of Room B, from Northeast.



a. and b. Deep Sauceboats from Area G.



c. Sauceboat with Hemispherical Body from Area G.



d. Beaked Jug with Plastic and Painted Bands from Area G.



e.-g. Cylindrical Cups from Areas G and B.



h. Patterned Jar from Late E. H. Bothros in Area B.



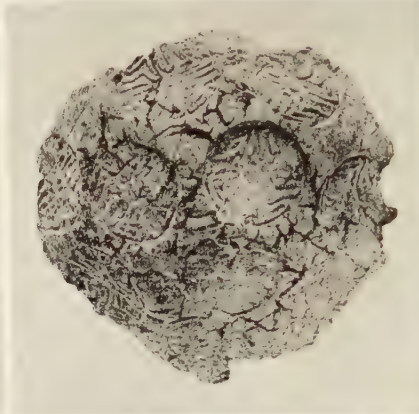
i. Two-handled Cup in Patterned Ware from Area B.



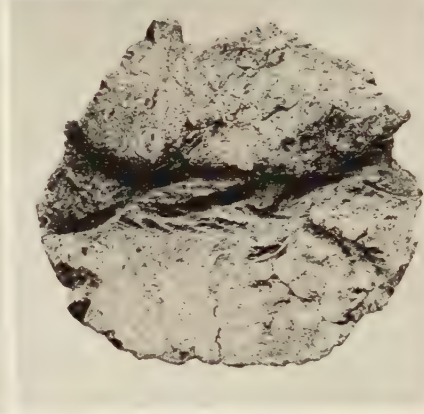
a.-c. Designs of Early Helladic Seal Impressions, Drawn by Piet de Jong. (1:1)



d. 2:3



e. 1:2



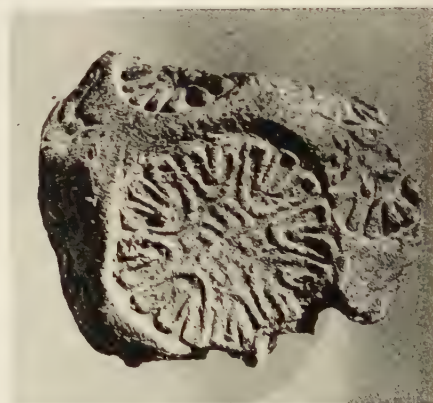
f. 1:2



g. 5:7



h. 1:2

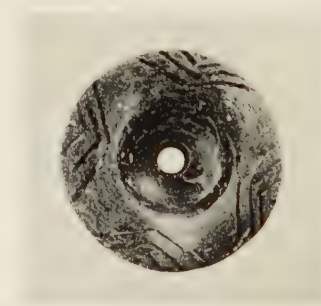


i. 4:5

d.-i. Early Helladic Sealings from Room XI, House of the Tiles.



j. and k. Fragment of Early Helladic Figurine from Area G, front and back. (ca. 5:7)



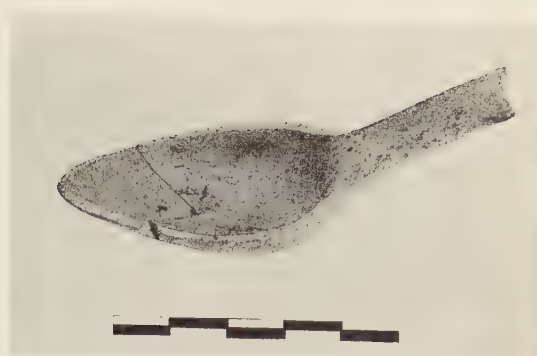
l. Early Helladic Whorl of Trojan Type from Area B. (ca. 4:5)



a. E.H. Bronze Blade from Area G. (ca. 3:4)



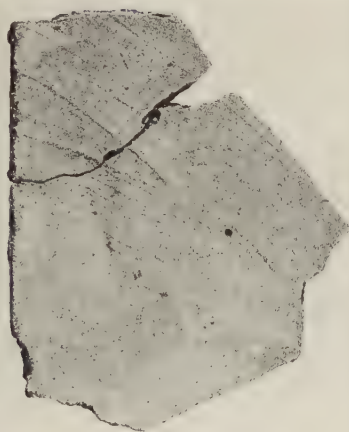
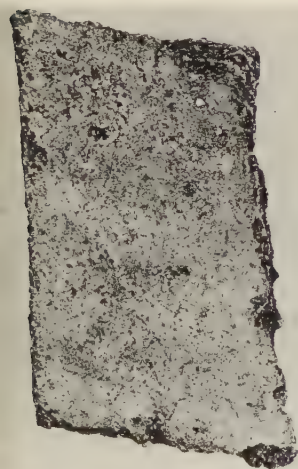
b. E.H. Bronze Blade from Trench J. (ca. 1:2)



c. E.H. Terracotta Spoon from Area G.



d. Neolithic Rhyton from Trench J.



e. Fragment of Coarse Tile from House of the Tiles, left, and Finer Piece from Earlier Stratum in Area G.



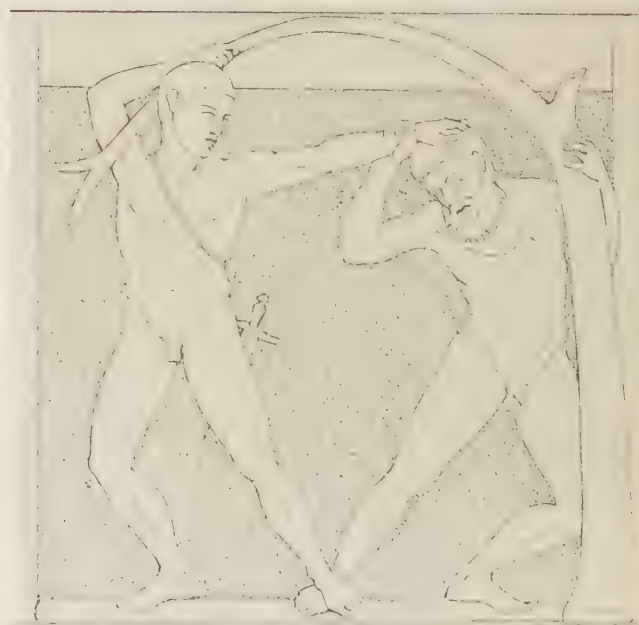
f. Brick from House of the Tiles. (ca. 1:5)



g. Fragments of Roof Tiles from House of the Tiles.



a. Southwest Fountain House, from North. Ruins of Heliaia (?) to left



b. Hephaisteion, South Side: Sinis Metope



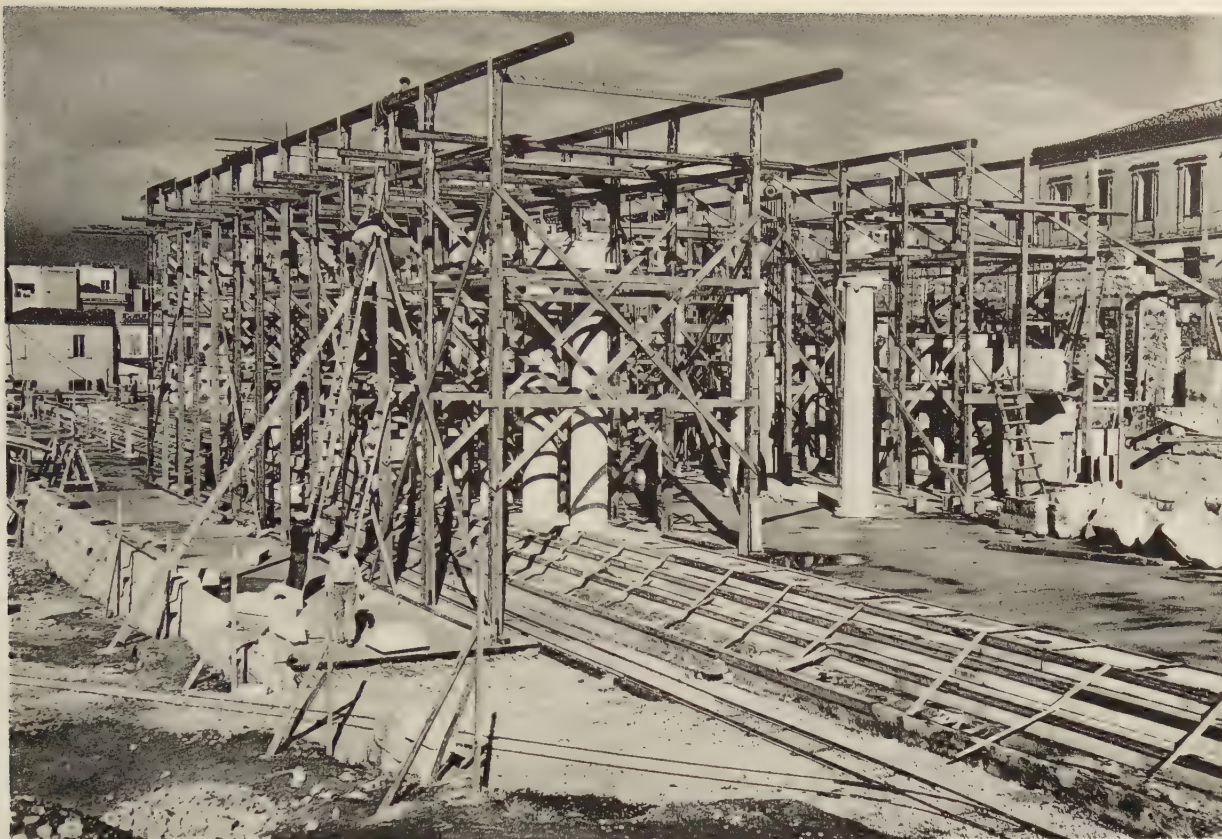
Church of Holy Apostles before and after final exploration, from North. Note Foundations of Nymphaeum in lower view

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954



Stoa of Attalos: first new Ionic Columns. November, 1954

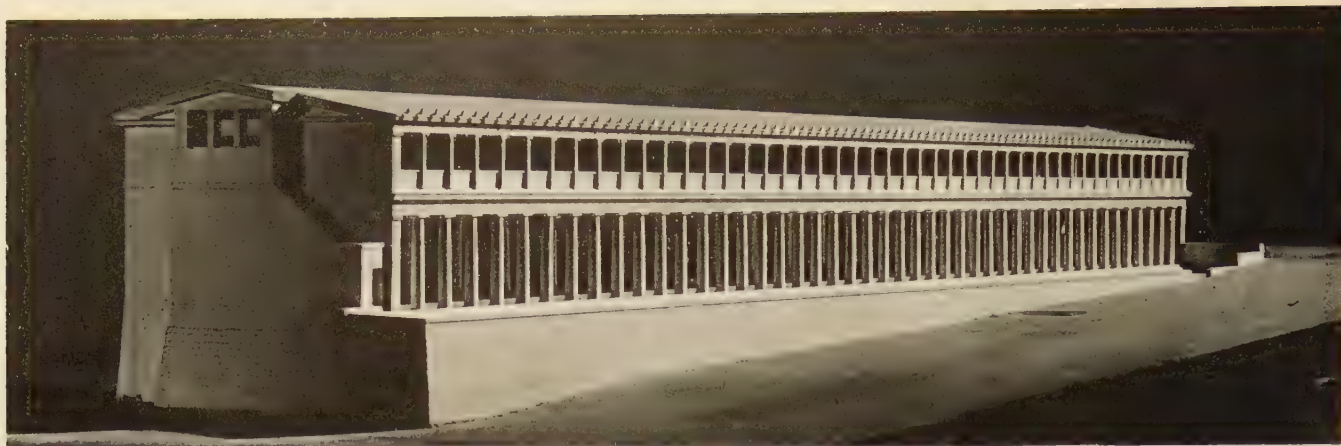
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954



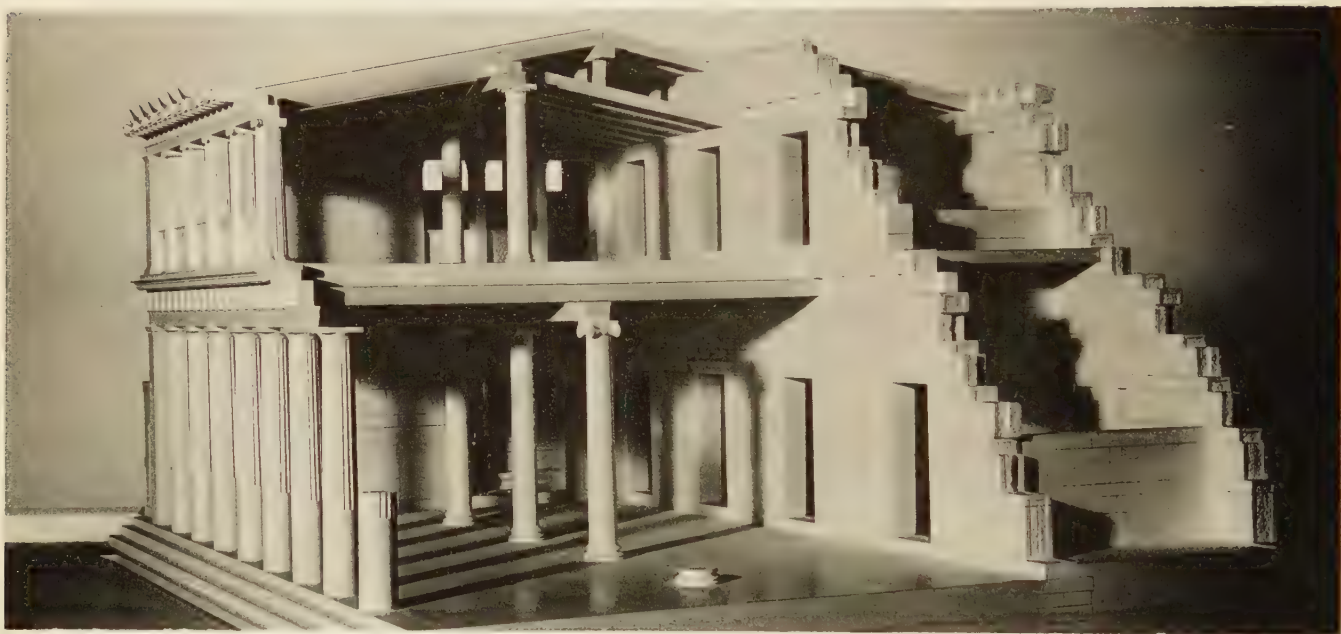
a. Stoa of Attalos, Restoration, from Southwest. December, 1954



b. Stoa of Attalos, Restoration, from Northeast. December, 1954



a. Stoa of Attalos, Model (1:200), from Northwest



b. Stoa of Attalos, Model (1:50), Interior



c. Agora Inv. P 24061



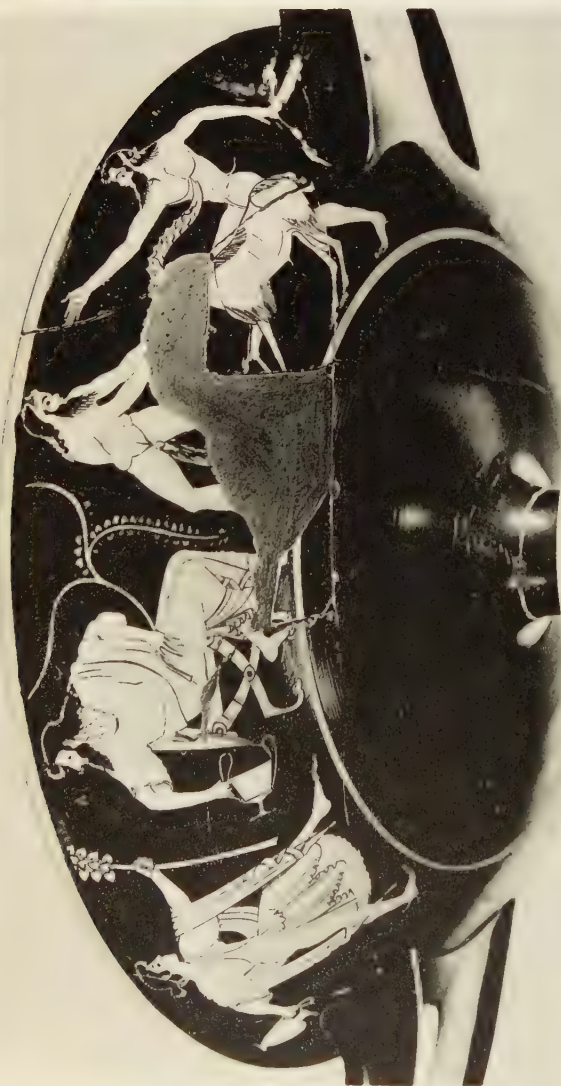
d. Agora Inv. P 24131



a. Agora Inv. P24104



b. Agora Inv. P24123



Kylix by Gorgos (P24113)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954



a. Pair of Bronze Measures (B1082)



b. Head Vase (P23822)



c. Cast from ancient Impression (T3393)



d. Girl Guides planting Laurel:
December 12, 1954



a). Agora Inv. P 23165. 1:1



b).
Agora Inv. P 24102.
Medallion 1:1;
Cup in Profile 2:3



c). Agora Inv. P 24116. 1:1



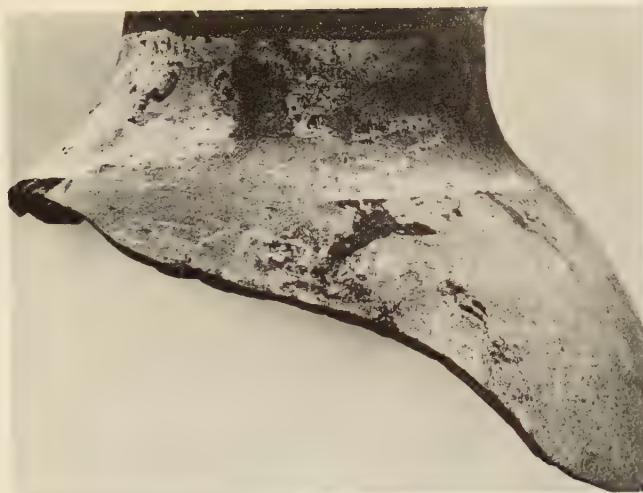
d). Agora Inv. P 24115. Medallion 1:1; Cup in Profile 2:3



e). Agora Inv. P 24315. 1:1



LUCY TALCOTT: SOME CHAIRILAS CUPS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. Polychrome Oinochoe 1:
Tyro and Sons (Agora Inv. P 23856).
Water Color at right by Piet de Jong



b. Red-Figured Oinochoe Louvre N 3408: Details of Centaurs and Flute-player. (Courtesy of Musée du Louvre)



c. Polychrome Oinochoe 4: Dionysos and Companion (Agora Inv. P 23985). Water Color at right by Piet de Jong



a. Polychrome Oinochoe 2: Komast (Agora Inv. P 23900). Water Color at right by Piet de Jong



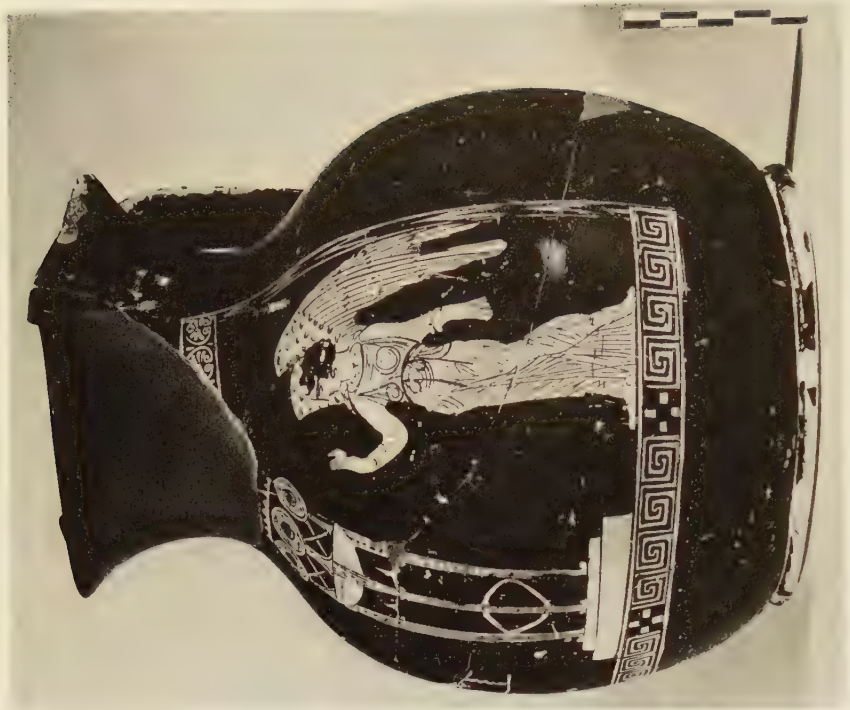
b. Polychrome Oinochoe 3: *Obeliaphoroi* (Agora Inv. P 23907).



a. Polychrome Oinochoe 3: *Obeliaphoroi*. Water Color by Piet de Jong

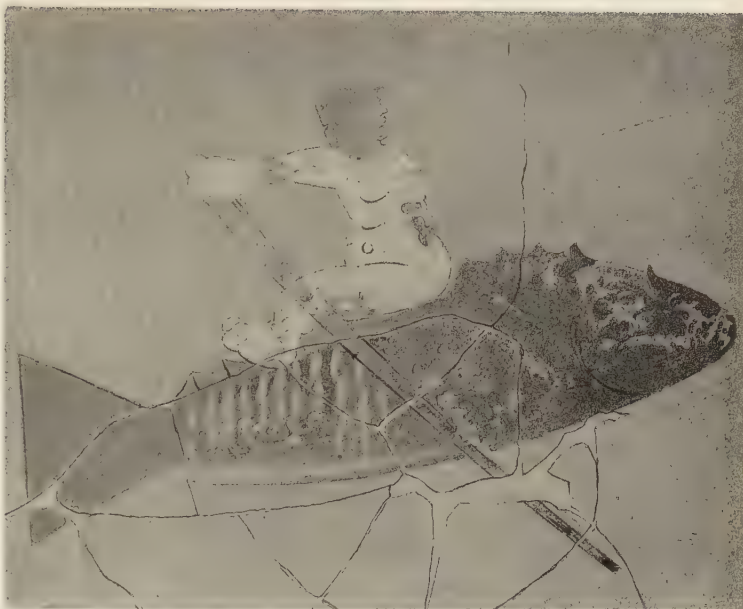


MARGARET CROSBY: FIVE COMIC SCENES FROM ATHENS

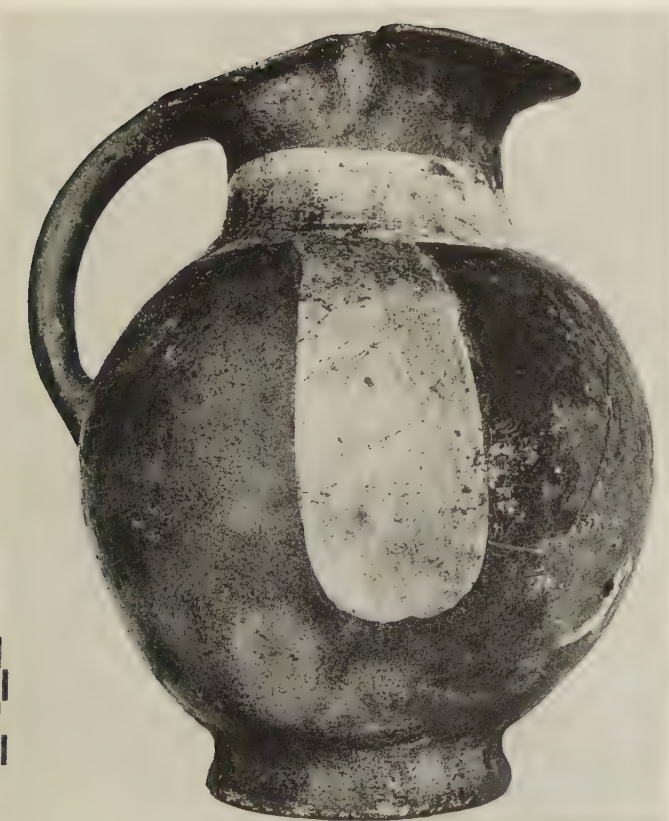


b. Red-Figured Oinochoe (Agora Inv. P 23896).

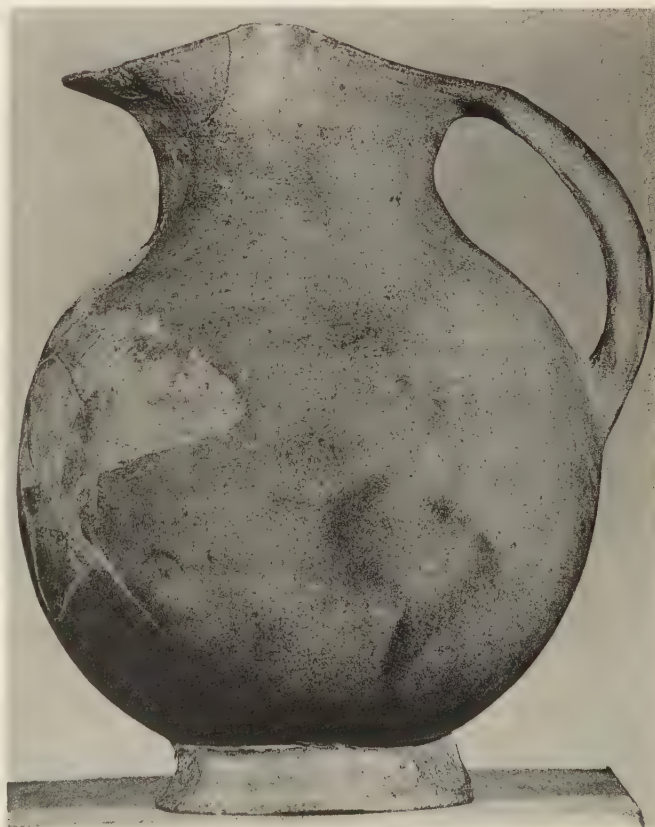
c. Phlyax Bell-Krater in Leningrad.



a. Polychrome Oinochoe 5: Man Rowing a Fish
(British Museum 98.2 — 27.1).
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
Water Color at right by Piet de Jong



b. Polychrome Oinochoe 2.



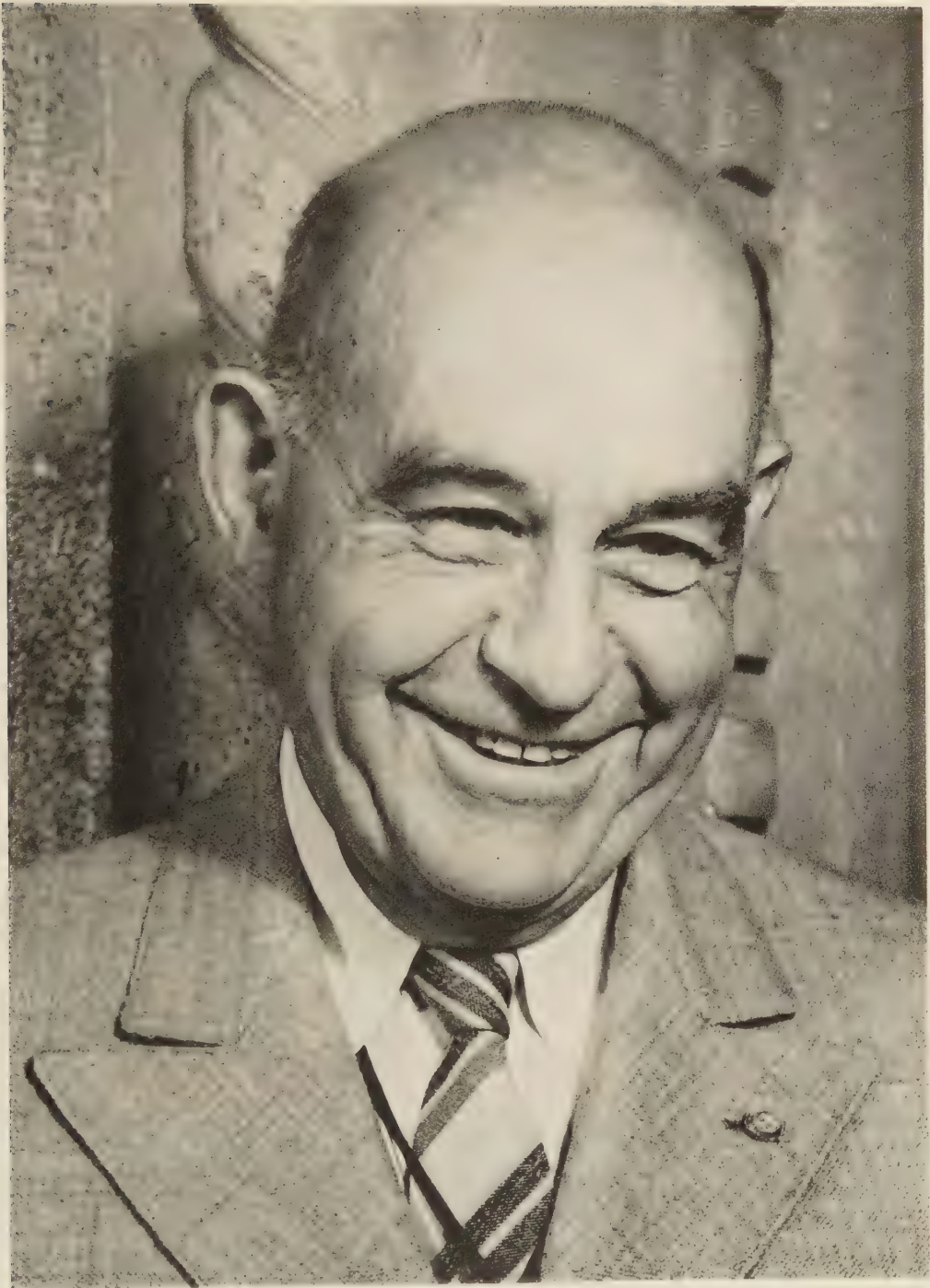
c. Polychrome Oinochoe 5



a. New Fragment of Amphitrite, West Pediment O, from the Athenian Agora



b. Cast of Amphitrite with Cast of New Fragment Attached



TO LOUIS ELEAZER LORD

MEMBER OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE 1926- ANNUAL PROFESSOR 1928-1929
VISITING PROFESSOR 1936-1937 DIRECTOR OF THE SUMMER SESSION 1931-1950
CHAIRMAN OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE 1939-1950 TRUSTEE 1939-
TREASURER 1950-1954

THE COMMUNITY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS DEDICATES THIS ISSUE OF HESPERIA WITH WARM APPRECIATION OF HIS LONG AND DISTINGUISHED SERVICES TO ITS INSTITUTION ON THE OCCASION OF HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY,
JULY 14, 1955

DOCUMENTS OF THE SAMOTHRACIAN LANGUAGE

(PLATES 39 AND 40)

66 NOW I shall survey the islands of Greece and of the Aegean Sea taking my start in Samothrace. Some authors say that this island was originally called Samos and that when what is now known as Samos had been settled the original Samos, because of the identity of names, was called Samothrace because of the near-by situation of Thrace. It was inhabited by men who sprang from the soil itself. Consequently no tradition has been handed down regarding who were the first men and leaders on the island. . . . The inhabitants who had sprung from the soil used an ancient language which was peculiar to them of which a good deal is preserved to this day in their sacrificial rituals.”¹

Diodorus Siculus thus begins his legendary story of the Greek island world. He goes on to report the legend of a flood at a time when men already lived in Samothrace and earlier than the great flood known from the stories of Deukalion and Pyrrha. The immemorially old origin of human and religious institutions in Samothrace, which Diodorus’ unknown source² claimed, induced him to start this section as he did. An old, certainly “pre-Greek,” language still surviving in the liturgy in his time (in the age of Augustus or, at the least, at the time of his Hellenistic source) is quoted as a living remnant of that remotest phase of human history. At least one word of this language, the Samothracian noun for Thursday, *paourakis*, has by chance found its way into Hesychius’ dictionary.³

Modern writers have connected the names of the Samothracian divinities Axiokersos, Axiokersa, Axieros with this language and speculated on its character.⁴ But the modern explorers of Samothrace had not found any documents of the “lingua sacra”⁵ mentioned by Diodorus and when we started our full excavation of the heart of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods in 1938, we did not expect to find such documents.

¹ Diodor. Sic., V, 47 (*F. Gr. Hist.*, III B, No. 548).

² See E. Bethe, *Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, pp. 424 ff.; E. Schwartz, *R.E.*, s.v. Diodoros, cols. 669, 678. As Schwartz points out, local historians were ultimately used for some of the islands, and this is certainly the case for Samothrace, though the use of this source animated by local patriotism may have been indirect.

³ Hesychius, s.v. *παυράκῖς*. τὴν πέμπτην Σαμοθράκης καλοῦσιν.

⁴ See B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Upsala, 1950, p. 88, with bibliography. The word *Koios*, though strictly speaking not documented for Samothrace, has also been used in this connection: see *ibid.*, p. 118, n. 4; A. D. Ure, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 194 ff.

⁵ For “lingua sacra,” see: G. Mensching, “Das heilige Schweigen,” *Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XX, Giessen, 1926, pp. 118 ff.

In fact, I had seen one of them myself, a fragmentary inscription on stone (No. 40 of the appended catalogue), on a visit to Samothrace in 1937 previous to our excavations. Afterward the stone temporarily disappeared from sight and this single scrap seemed too isolated for me to call attention to it.

But when we continued work in Samothrace after the interruption of the war and its aftermath, enigmatic inscriptions on vases began to appear here and there, some of which have been mentioned in our preliminary reports.⁶ In 1951 and 1952, more material was discovered⁷ indicating the widespread early use of a non-Greek language. Thus the time has now come to make these documents available for linguistic study. In fulfilling this duty, we have no illusions about the modest and enigmatic character of these finds. With rare exceptions, we must deal with fragmentary scraps of only a few letters or with complete inscriptions containing only one unit of two or three letters. In the appended catalogue of forty items, there may be fragments of Greek which have been included only as conceivably belonging to this language. The selection of such items for the catalogue has been determined by the date and type of inscription where these considerations suggest that they are not Greek. This is the case, for example, of Numbers 26 and 31. I had taken them to be fragments of Greek inscriptions before it turned out that many of the clearly non-Greek inscriptions, like No. 26, are incised on the outer lip of black-glazed kylikes,⁸ while none of the carefully incised archaic inscriptions on vases is surely Greek. I may have been too generous in including certain items. But it seems safer to submit all that could possibly belong to this group.

With the exception of the fragmentary stele, No. 40, all the inscriptions are ceramic *graffiti*, found with one exception (No. 33, a tile) on vases. They are invariably carefully incised in letters as large as space would permit and, save where incompleteness is indicated in the catalogue or the value of a letter is uncertain ($\Psi = \chi$ or ψ or ξ for example), the reading leaves no doubt.

A few general statements are needed for a correct evaluation of the material. As to chronology, the bulk of the inscriptions is archaic, dating from the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. Seven items come from archaic layers beneath and around the Arsinoeion (4, 5, 7, 13, 16, 25, 38). The fill beneath the renewed floor of the archaic Hall of Votive Gifts⁹ is identical in character with the fill of a "black pit" to the south of this building.¹⁰ Both fills in some cases contained fragments of one and the same vase. Though the fills were brought in in the second half of the 5th century,

⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 17 f.; XX, 1951, pp. 28 f.

⁷ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 6 f.; *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, pp. 32 f.

⁸ For examples of Greek archaic dedications in this position compare: *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-5, p. 162, fig. 13 (Chios); XXXII, 1931-2, p. 187, fig. 4 (Haliartos).

⁹ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 6 f.

¹⁰ *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, pp. 32 f.

their contents were mostly archaic and together they include the largest amount of the material submitted here. To them one may add typologically related pieces found in this region and clearly washed out of the fill under the floor. Altogether this material constitutes more than half of the documents so far preserved (**1, 2, 3, 6, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 34, 35**). Objects found inside and outside the Arsinoeion, in the "Arsinoeion Fill," can be safely dated by this building only before *ca.* 290 B.C. (**8, 9, 11, 12, 27, 29, 31, 36**), but this fill also contains much archaic material. Only one piece (No. **10**) found in it and included in the catalogue may be safely dated by shape and decoration as late as the 4th century B.C., while several may date from the preceding century. One piece of doubtful pertinence (No. **32**) was found in the foundation fill of the "New Temple" and may be as late as the early Hellenistic age. No. **33** is archaic because of its lettering, though it is a surface find. On the other hand, clearly Greek inscriptions appear commonly on vases and lamps in the Sanctuary only from the latter part of the 5th century on.¹¹

The indications are that the "lingua sacra" of Diodorus was actually to some extent a living language in the archaic age and gradually declined as such only in the 5th century until it disappeared in the 4th century. But in what sense the language remained alive centuries after the foundation of a Greek polis on Samothrace (around 700 B.C.) remains a problem. Were these dedications written by descendants of the pre-Greek inhabitants who still used their old language? Or are they—like Latin in the Middle Ages—documents of the continued if, in this case, religiously restricted use of a dying language by both natives and Greeks? The latter seems more probable. The stele seems to indicate the official liturgical existence of this language around 400 B.C.

As to the function of the ceramic inscriptions from the Sanctuary, it seems clear that most if not all of them have a dedicatory meaning. Such is the indication too of their more specific provenance. As we have seen, more than half of these inscriptions were found in connection with the "Hall of Votive Gifts." We have given this name to the building because in later times it was used for the exhibition of dedications. But the fill beneath its floor, from which a number of our inscriptions come, included remnants of archaic votive gifts, too, ceramic as well as of other varieties.¹² The occurrence of related combinations of letters in the *graffiti* from the Arsinoeion listed in the catalogue assigns them to the same category. In some cases, this dedicatory function does not, of course, exclude the possibility of fragmentary proper names of

¹¹ Under the circumstances, should the graffito —ΥΞΤΗ—, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 17, also belong to our group? I use this opportunity to correct the date given for the marble lamp, *ibid.*, p. 15, pl. 10, fig. 26. In spite of the archaic tradition of the shape, this example dates from the 4th century as Georges Daux has pointed out: the form of the E has a shorter center bar. Evidently such lamps of archaic type were still used and dedicated at that time.

¹² See *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 5 ff.

the dedicants. But short and complete texts such as *dentole* (3, 2?, 4?), *dēna* (6), *din* (7), *di* (11, 12), *le*. (14), *del* (19), *ag* (25) should definitely be related to the gods or to some dedicatory expression.

In a matter so enigmatic, it is not agreeable to contemplate the possibility that in instances where only two or three letters are combined an abbreviation may be involved. Previously, when we recognized the first examples, I suggested that ΔI may be an abbreviation of ΔIN and that a single Δ , found not infrequently, may have the same meaning,¹³ inasmuch as Greek dedications of the 5th and later centuries in Samothrace sometimes abbreviate the full form $\Theta E O I \Sigma$ to ΘE or even to a single Θ .¹⁴ I have also suggested that a complete graffito ΔK of which one example is preserved, may refer to ΔIN $K A B E I P O I \Sigma$ or ΔI $K A \Delta M I \Lambda \Omega I$.¹⁵

In the grouping of the catalogue, I have attempted to relate what obviously is related and it results that a large group, almost half of the ceramic material, seems to contain the same elements singly or combined (Nos. 2-5, 7-18).

This grouping is based on the perhaps not altogether unconvincing assumption that the same sound was sometimes transcribed as E , at other times, as I . One will speculate further on the relationship of the formula starting with ΔEN or ΔIN to ΔENA (No. 6) and $\Delta E \Lambda$ (Nos. 19-20), and on whether the ΔE of Nos. 21-23 belongs to either group. And, if dedicatory, how do these formulae relate to the stele, where the terminal *-le* of 3, 17, 18 recurs in line 2 (No. 40) and *tole* of 2 and 26 in line 8, while *vro* is not only found in 2, 3, but also in 1, and again in line 9 of the stele?

With these considerations, I trespass into the field that is properly the linguists' and after toiling over these scraps for a long time, I am glad to stop here, in the hope that they may make some use of this evidence.¹⁶

In the following catalogue, I have dotted uncertain readings. A vertical bar at beginning or end marks vacant space on the fragment, that is, supposedly, completeness. In the same manner, a horizontal bar indicates destruction and possible continuation of the original text on either side.

Unless normal, the forms of letters have been noted in each case. The most remarkable is the occurrence, twice, of the archaic Σ so far known in Greece only from Thera (Nos. 1 and 33).¹⁷

¹³ *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, p. 29.

¹⁴ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 341, fig. 17; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 15 ff., pls. 10, figs. 27, 28; 11, fig. 29; XX, 1951, pp. 28 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29, pl. 18 b.

¹⁶ I am greatly indebted to Professor Bonfante for his willingness to study this material and to add the first expert comment to this publication. See below, pp. 101-109.

¹⁷ See *I.G.*, XII, 3, pp. 92 f., 105, 127, 129, 139, 157 f.; *ibid.*, *suppl.*, p. 310. The Theran form is rather rounded, as on our fragment No. 33. The sharply angular form of our No. 1 is not found in Thera.

1. —ΕΡΟΤΕΧΒΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΚΑΕ—

On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Restored from two joining pieces. Acc. No. 52.747.

From "black pit."

Before the first ε traces of another letter.

χ(?) : Ψ; β: ⚭; ο: ⬠, O; σ: ⚭.

Pl. 39.

2. |ΔINTOΛΕ—

On outside of lip of small black-glazed kylix. Restored from several fragments. Acc. No. 52.628.

From "black pit."

ν: Ν.

Pl. 39.

3. |ΔΕΝΤ.Λ Ε|

On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Restored from two fragments, with a lacuna of one letter after the *tau*. Acc. No. 52.703.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

The lower end of the two last letters is lost and theoretically they could have been α and ρ. But the restoration ΔΕΝΤ[Ο]ΛΕ seems indicated.

Archaeology, VI, 1953, p. 34.

Pl. 39.

4. |ΔΕΝΤ—

Running downward on neck of sizable unglazed amphora, close to one partly preserved handle. Acc. No. 49.777.

From an archaic layer south of the Arsinoeion.

A possible trace of an O near the break at the right end: ΔΕΝΤ[ΟΛΕ?

Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 29, pl. 18 c.

Pl. 40.

5. —ΙΝ.—

Upside down in large letters on glazed interior of a large vessel. Same type of vase and graffito as No. 7. Acc. No. 49.255.

From fill near archaic altar beneath Arsinoeion.

Probably early 5th century B.C. See, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 17.

ν: Ν. Only the lower end of a vertical hasta of a third letter is preserved some distance to the right of the *nu*. Δ]ΙΝΤ[ΟΛΕ?

6. |ΔΕΝΑ|

On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Restored from two joining fragments. The upper part of the two last letters is lost but enough is preserved to leave no doubt as to the reading and to the completeness of the inscription. Acc. No. 52.522-663.

From "black pit."

ν: Ν; α: Α.

Pl. 39.

7. |ΔΙΝ|

Upside down in large letters on glazed inside of large double-handled vessel. Cf. No. 5. Acc. No. 48.476.

From an archaic stratum beneath the Arsinoeion.

Probably early 5th century B.C.

ν: Ν.

Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 17, pl. 11, fig. 3.

Pl. 39.

8. |ΔΙ.—

On fragment of a large unglazed vessel. Acc. No. 48.670.

From Arsinoeion fill.

From what is preserved, the third letter could have been Ν.

9. —ΔΙ.—

On glazed fragment. Acc. No. 39.782.

From Arsinoeion fill.

From what is preserved of the third letter, it could have been Ν.

10. —ΙΝ|

On outside of fragment of black-glazed, fluted kantharos. Acc. No. 39.707.

From Arsinoeion fill, 4th century B.C.

Δ]ΙΝ?

11. |ΔΙ|

On shoulder of large unglazed amphora. Acc. No. 49.848.

On the neck ΙΑ is more carelessly incised, possibly a numeral: eleven?

From fill of Arsinoeion.

Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 29, pl. 18 a.
Pl. 40.

12. |Δ|

In bottom of interior of fragmentary small black-glazed bowl. Other unintelligible scratches beneath foot. Acc. No. 49.111.

From Arsinoeion fill, outside the building.
5th-4th centuries B.C.

13. —|Δ— or, retrograde, —Δ|—

On outside, beneath lip, of fragment of small black-glazed bowl. Acc. No. 49.1003.

From an archaic stratum outside the Arsinoeion.

14. |ΛE|

Retrograde. Outside on lip of a fragment of a black-glazed kylix restored from several joining pieces. Acc. No. 51.914.

Unstratified. Found near Hall of Votive Gifts.

The lower part of the E is broken away (thus, theoretically, it could be a ϣ); after it, there is a lacuna leaving space, at best, for one more letter.

Pl. 39.

15. |Δ|—

On outside of concave lip of black-glazed kylix. Acc. No. 52.761.

From "black pit."

16. |Δ|—

Retrograde. On glazed fragment. Acc. No. 49.815.

From an archaic stratum to the south of the Arsinoeion.

17. —ΛE|

On outside of small black-glazed fragment. Acc. No. 51.816.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

18. —ΛE|

On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Acc. No. 52.858.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

19. |ΔEΛ|

On rim of large unglazed flat bowl or basin. Acc. No. 51.922.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

ε: Ε; λ: ϭ.

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 6, pl. 3 c.

Pl. 39.

20. —ΔΔEΛ—

Beneath the foot of a black-glazed archaic vase. One third of the foot is broken away and it seems likely that there were more letters. Acc. No. 51.382.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

The first letter could be an α (A).

21. |ΔE—

On fragment of rim of type and size of No. 19. Acc. No. 51.923.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

ε: Ε. The piece belongs either to a counterpart of No. 19 or to the same vase, on which the word ΔEΛ would then have been inscribed twice.

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 6.

Pl. 39.

22. |ΔE —

On outside of concave lip of black-glazed kylix. Acc. No. 52.636.

From "black pit."

23. —ΔE —

Outside, beneath lip, on fragment of black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 52.743.

Unstratified, from Hall of Votive Gifts.

What is preserved of the partly destroyed E would theoretically also allow for restoration as a Γ or Π.

24. —ΔAIIA —

On fragment of an unglazed vase. Acc. No. 51.435.

Unstratified, from Hall of Votive Gifts.

The first letter could have been a Λ, the second a Δ.

25. |ΑΓ|

Inside, beneath lip of small black-glazed bowl. Acc. No. 49.107.

From an archaic layer west of the Arsinoeion.

26. — ΠΙΤΟΛΕΞΙ —

Retrograde. On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Acc. No. 51.242.

Unstratified, from Hall of Votive Gifts.

σ:Ξ.

Pl. 39.

27. — ΣΙ|

Beneath foot of small black-glazed bowl. Acc. No. 48.442.

From Arsinoeion fill. 5th-4th centuries B.C.

28. — ΙΤΙΡ —?

On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Acc. No. 51.816.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

ρ:Ρ. If the inscription was written retrograde, this would be an initial Δ and one should read: — ΔΙΤΙ —.

29. — ΕΤΙ|

Upside-down on inside beneath lip of flat unglazed bowl. Acc. No. 49.917.

From an archaic stratum south of the Arsinoeion.

30. — ΑΡΚΑΙΕ —

Retrograde. Outside, beneath lip of small black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 52.660.

Found in "black pit."

Badly preserved. ρ:Ρ; α:Α. The fourth letter could be a Ρ.

31. — ΕΚΑΙΕ —

Retrograde. On foot of a large black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 49.560.

From an archaic context in Arsinoeion fill.

ε:Ε.

Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 29.

32. |ΤΑΕΕ —

On fragment of black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 50.28.

From early Hellenistic fill around foundations of "New Temple."

33. |ΘΙΟΒΗ| —

Along edge on fragment of a tile. Acc. No. 50.29.

Unstratified, from region of Arsinoeion.

θ:Θ; ο:Ο; β:Β (cf. No. 1); η:Η. The last letter could have been a Γ or Π as well as an Ι.



FIG. 1. No. 33.

34. — ΥΟΔΙΣΤ|

On outside beneath lip of small black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 51.301.

Unstratified, from Hall of Votive Gifts.

υ:Υ; σ:Σ; ς:ς. The first preserved letter could be a mutilated Κ.

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 7.

35. |ΤΩΜ| ΜΥ|

In two lines, possibly boustrophedon, beneath foot of unglazed vase. Acc. No. 51.294.

Unstratified, from region of Hall of Votive Gifts.

μ:Μ; υ:Υ. Possible readings: ΤΩΜΜΥ, ΜΥΤΩΜ, ΜΩΤΥΜ, ΥΜΜΩΤ.

Hesperia, loc. cit.

36. — ΦΙ|

Retrograde. Outside, on fragment of black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 49.947.

From Arsinoeion fill.

φ:Φ.

37. — ΑΧΙ|

Outside, beneath lip of small black-glazed vase. Acc. No. 51.340.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

χ (or ξ) : X. (See above No. 1).

38. — AN |

Retrograde. On inside of fragment of large vase of type of Nos. 5 and 7. Acc. No. 48.792.

From an archaic stratum beneath Arsinoeion.

ν : N.

39. — AOK —

On outside of lip of black-glazed kylix. Acc. No. 51.911.

From fill beneath floor of Hall of Votive Gifts.

40. Fragmentary block of reddish limestone. Pl. 40.

Broken above and at left. The lower end is in part preserved. Preserved height: 0.32 m. Preserved width: 0.205 m. Thickness below: 0.09 m.; above: 0.07 m. Right preserved edge also tapers upward. The side is finely tooled, the back roughly picked. The fragment is undoubtedly part of a free-standing stele which may have been twice as wide and considerably higher. The beginning, the end, and presumably half or more of the text, at the left, are destroyed. The preserved portion consists of the ends of 9 lines and part of two additional lines. Lines 1-9: height of letters 0.016 m.; lines 10-11: 0.01 m. Lines 1-8 are closely set one beneath the other, though not exactly, stoichedon. Line 9 is separated from line 8 by an interval of 0.01 m. Lines 10-11, in turn, closely set one above the other, are separated from line 9 by a large interval of 0.026 m.

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..... E
..... AE
.... ΔΑΟΗΤΟ
... ΥΕΛΑ
5 . ΕΒΛΟΣΕΗΘ
 . ΠΑΙΑΝΕ
.. ΟΝ·ΒΕΚΑ
.. ΟΛΕΙΤΡΑ
.. ΝΤΟΛΑ

10 .. ΕΥΕΝΤ..
.. ΟΝΟΣ

ο:ϙ; ν:N and (line 7) υ; ψ:Ψ (possibly χ, cf. No. 1). In line 7, before *beka* a dot in middle height. The lettering points to a date in the late 5th or 4th centuries B.C. The stone material is unusual and was no longer in use after the 4th century.¹⁸ That the major part of the inscription is not Greek and belongs to the language now documented by the *graffiti*, with which it exhibits several connections, is evident. But lines 10 and 11 could belong to a Greek postscript. The curious, indented ending of the lines gives the impression that we may have to do with a poem, possibly a hymn or prayer,¹⁹ and it will be noticed that lines 1-9 all end in vowels with what seems to be a system of assonances. The provenance of the stone is uncertain, inasmuch as the territory of the ancient town, where it was seen first, is full of material brought there in post-antique times from the near-by Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The stele may originally have been erected within the town or in the Sanctuary, but the latter is more probable.

Archaeology, VI, 1953, p. 34, ill.

KARL LEHMANN

¹⁸ I saw the stone near the beach in Palaeopolis on the occasion of a short visit to Samothrace in 1937 and made an apographon. At the start of our excavations, it had disappeared. After the outbreak of the war, in 1940, Mr. V. Kallipolitis, whom I had asked to visit Samothrace and inspect the excavations, found the stone again and rescued it for the local museum. He then sent me an apographon which corresponded to my own. In the meantime, I had shown the inscription to certain epigraphists who politely indicated that they thought my copy was incorrect inasmuch as the text made no sense. From the beginning I had the idea that this inscription might be written in a language other than Greek. There can be no doubt about the reading as the photograph shows. But before publication, it seemed advisable to await the possible appearance of other fragments and documents.

¹⁹ See the hymn from Palaiokastro, though of the Imperial period, supposedly a copy of an original dating about 300 B.C., *B.S.A.*, XV, 1908-9, pl. 20.

A NOTE ON THE SAMOTHRACIAN LANGUAGE

VERY little can be said about the texts found in Samothrace. Confronted with such a discovery, one is acutely aware of our ignorance concerning the ancient languages of the Balkan region.

One negative result, however, is apparent: these texts are certainly not Etruscan, nor are they in any way connected with that language. Etruscan, as is well known, had no voiced occlusives (*g, d, b*) nor had it voiced aspirates nor the sound *o*. Both voiced occlusives and the vowel *o* are rather frequent in our inscriptions.¹ Even the Lemnian stele²—granted that it may be somehow related to Etruscan, though it is certainly not Etruscan *tout court*—has no voiced occlusives, although it has several *o*'s.³

In the new Samothracian inscriptions there are, as it seems, only three examples of aspirates⁴ (χ in the form of Ψ and Ψ ; one \odot) but, after all, the material is not

¹ Samothrace was, in fact, never occupied by the Etruscans—or Tyrrhenians. See, Fredrich, *R.E.*, s.v., Samothrake, col. 2225: "Als Bewohner folgten auf die Karer, deren Sprache der Name der Insel angehört [? G. B.], Thraker vom Stamme der Saier, die auch am Festlande gegenüber sassen; nach ihnen wurde die Insel auch $\Sigma\alpha\acute{o}\nu\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ oder $\Sigma\alpha\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ genannt und der höchste Berg $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$, $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu$ oder $\Sigma\alpha\acute{\omega}\kappa\eta$ (*IG* XII 8, p. 37; dort sind auch die andern mythischen Namen der Insel aufgezählt). Die Tyrsener nahmen Samothrake nicht; das beweisen auch Terrakotten samischer Art (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXIV, 23) und das Relief im Louvre." See, also, Kern, *R.E.*, s.v. Kabeiros, col. 1401: "Tyrsener haben aber nie auf Samothrake gesessen, wohl aber Lemnos und Imbros um 700 erobert; vgl. Fredrich, *IG* XII 8, 36 f." Brandenstein expresses a different opinion, though with considerable hesitation (*R.E.*, s.v. Tyrrhener, col. 1913: "für Samothrake gibt es nur einen Indizienbeweis" [for "Tyrrhenians" G. B.]). A sharp distinction should be made anyhow between Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians; they have nothing to do with each other.

² See, also, Brandenstein, *R.E.*, suppl. vol. VI, col. 178; Della Seta, "Iscrizioni tirreniche di Lemno," *Scritti in onore di Nogara*, Città del Vaticano, 1937, pp. 119 ff., with bibl. Della Seta also publishes four new inscriptions on vases of the VIIth and VIth centuries B.C.: $\alpha\rho\zeta\iota\rho$ (or $\alpha\rho\lambda\iota\rho$), $\alpha\zeta\alpha\zeta$, $-\pi\alpha\omicron\lambda\alpha\zeta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\lambda\epsilon\rho\lambda\omicron\chi$: Ho , $\nu\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\mu\epsilon\zeta\alpha-$. The alphabet has no relation whatsoever to the Etruscan alphabet (p. 132). Phonetically, the new inscriptions agree with the Lemnian stele in ignoring all three voiced occlusives (γ, δ, β), but having *o*, which Etruscan lacks (p. 133). On the stele see, also, now Brandenstein, *R.E.*, s.v. Tyrrhener, cols. 1919 ff. and Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XXIX, 1942, pp. 89 ff.; XXX, 1943, pp. 216 ff. Brandenstein believes the four new Lemnian texts to be Thracian, not "Tyrrhenian" (col. 1918) because of their date, which he takes to be IXth-VIIIth centuries B.C. For historical sources concerning the Tyrrhenians at Lemnos, see, *ibid.*, col. 1912.

³ See the text in Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1932, p. 144. Lemnian has nothing to do with Thracian according to Kretschmer, Della Seta (*op. cit.*, p. 139), and Brandenstein, *op. cit.*, col. 1922. Della Seta also lists the differences between Thracian and Lemnian. For the bibliography of Lemnian up to 1948 see, also, D. C. Swanson, "A Select Bibliography of the Anatolian Languages," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, New York, 1948, pp. 21 ff.

On the Thracian language see the bibliography here below in note 15.

⁴ Since, in Thracian, the Indo-European aspirates **gh, *dh, *bh* lose their aspiration and fuse with Indo-European **g, *d, *b* (Jokl, *Reallex. der Vorg.*, s.v. Thraker, col. 289), we should

extensive. Even these examples are *not* certain. Otherwise, we find all Greek sounds with exception of ζ, the absence of which may be merely accidental, and including ϕ (w). The H of the stele and of No. 33 is probably long ē, not h. Diphthongs (αι, ει, ευ; perhaps ηι, No. 33) are certainly present; they are a well-known feature of Indo-European languages.

One characteristic that strikes me as important is the high frequency of vowels in proportion to consonants. In the first nine fragmentary lines of the stele—the last three may be Greek, as Professor Lehmann says⁵—I count nineteen consonants and twenty-six vowels, including H=η.⁶ The respective percentages in Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic follow according to Hirt:⁷

	Sanscrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic
Consonants:	58	54	56	59
Vowels:	42	46	44	41

In the modern Germanic languages, the percentage of consonants is certainly even higher than it was in Gothic.⁸ Professor Lehmann has already observed⁹ that all the endings of the lines on the stele are vowels,¹⁰ a phenomenon rather rare in the world (compare Italian, Old Church-Slavic, Old Rumanian, Japanese). But, of course, this may be purely accidental in the present instance.

theoretically find no aspirates in Thracian (cf., in fact, the ὄρνιτο for ὄρνιθι in the words of the Thracian, Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1679). But the voiceless stops of Indo-European (*k, *t, *p) are sometimes transcribed with aspirates (cf. Jokl, *ibid.*). This seems to correspond to a special articulation of these two series of sounds which is preserved in modern Albanian (Jokl, col. 290).

⁵ Above, p. 100.

⁶ The proportion varies in favor of the consonants, if we include all the other inscriptions and the two remaining words of the stele. We find there 79 consonants and 71 vowels; the total for Samothrace remains, however, 98 consonants and 97 vowels—a very high percentage of vowels in any case. I should add that the restoration of an ο in δειτ. λε is quite certain.

⁷ *Indogermanische Grammatik*, I, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 253, with bibl. I also take from Hirt's book the percentages of each vowel for Greek (see note 14 below).

⁸ According to G. Dewey, *Relativ (sic) frequency of English sounds*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1923, p. 125 ("A classified quantitative analysis of the commoner words and syllables of every sound of 100,000 words of representative English") the relative frequency for English sounds is (in percentages): consonants 62.10, diphthongs 2.58, vowels 35.32; therefore vowels + diphthongs 37.90. Since, however, every diphthong contains *two* vowels (according to the general opinion), the percentage of the vowels should be higher: making the necessary proportional changes, I reach: consonants 60.5, vowels 39.5 (in the *spelling* the percentages are different, because of the many silent vowels as in *shake*, *mouse*, etc., and of the double writings such as *dead*, *deed*, *food*: consonants 58.1, vowels 41.9).

⁹ Above, p. 100.

¹⁰ It is very interesting to observe that, according to most and the best manuscripts, the Thracian (Triballian) who is massacring Greek in Aristophanes, *Birds*, always ends his words in a vowel; here are the words with the verses:

1615 νά βαίσαιτρεῦ (or: ναβαισαιτρεῦ? βαβοῖ σατρεῦ? βαβακατρεῦ? βαβαῖ σατρεῦ? μαβαισαιτρεῦ?)

This high vocalic percentage appears again in the only known Thracian inscription, on the ring of Ezerovo which is contemporary, being of the Vth century; we find there 31 vowels and 30 consonants within a total of 61 letters; i. e., more than half are vowels. The frequency of individual vowels on the ring from Ezerovo is as follows: ϵ (10), η (3), α (10), ι (5), \omicron (2), υ (1). It is interesting to compare the vocalism of our language with that of other languages of the area, using the statistics of Della Seta.¹¹ The total figures for all the Samothracian inscriptions (reading \mathbf{H} as η , not h) with the exception of the stele are:¹²

α	ϵ	ι	\omicron	υ	η	ω
9(7)	24(21)	26(24)	7	2(1)	1	1

For the stele, the figures are:

α	ϵ	ι	\omicron	υ	η	ω
7	9	2	9	1	2	—

I keep the stele apart from the other inscriptions for, in the latter, the repetition of the same formula or formulas may give a distorted picture of the vocalic system. In fact, the surprising frequency of ι is not found on the stele and may, in the other texts, result from such repetition. Listing the letters in order of frequency, we obtain in these inscriptions the following order: ϵ , ι , α , \omicron , υ , η , ω , and in the stele ϵ , \omicron (both in equal number), α , ι , η (?), υ (ω is not represented). The total for all the Samothracian inscriptions is:

α	ϵ	ι	\omicron	υ	η	ω
16(14)	33(30)	28(26)	16	3(2)	3	1

or, including η under ϵ and ω under \omicron :

α 16(14), ϵ 36(33), ι 28(26), \omicron 17, υ 3(2).

The order in frequency of use is ϵ , ι , \omicron , α , υ .

Della Seta lists the frequency of occurrence in other "Aegean" languages as follows:

1628 f. $\sigma\alpha\upsilon \nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha \beta\alpha\kappa\tau\hat{\alpha}\rho\iota \kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ (= $\sigma\omicron\upsilon \nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\gamma \nu\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota \kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega$)

1678 f. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota \kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\nu\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\nu\alpha\upsilon \delta\omicron\rho\nu\iota\tau\omicron \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ (= $\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma \kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\gamma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \delta\omicron\rho\nu\iota\theta\iota \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$).

See, especially, the edition of Fr. H. M. Blaydes (Halis Saxonum, 1882) with the variants and the commentary at the end, and the Belles Lettres edition, by V. Coulon and H. Van Daele (Paris, 1940). Cf., on the other hand, the "broken Greek" of other, non-Thracian peoples (Scythian, Persian), *Acharnians*, 100 ff., *Thesmoph.* 1001, 1005, 1082 ff., 1176, which admits final consonants. See also J. Whatmough, *Cl. Phil.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 26.—Notice the frequency of α in these passages.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹² The numbers in parenthesis are the readings that are absolutely certain.

Lemnian:	<i>a</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>υ</i>
Phrygian:	<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>υ</i>
Carian:	<i>ε</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>υ</i>	<i>ι</i>
Lycian:	<i>ε</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>υ</i>	(<i>o</i>)
Lydian:	<i>a</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>υ</i>	<i>o</i>
Thracian (Ezerovo):	<i>ε</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>υ</i> ¹³
Eteocretan:	<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>υ</i>
Greek:	<i>ε</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>υ</i> ¹⁴

with which we compare:

Stele:	<i>ε</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>υ</i>
All the other inscriptions:	<i>ε</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>υ</i>
General average:	<i>ε</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>υ</i> ¹⁵

Two characteristics are common to the stele, the other Samothracian inscriptions and the ring from Ezerovo: *ε* is the most frequent and *υ* is the least frequent of all vowels. *o* occupies the same (third) place in the average of all the Samothracian texts, a position not very far from that (second) in the inscription on the ring. While there is a strong divergence in the frequency of *ι* between the two classes of Samothracian documents (fourth place on the stele, second place in the other texts), *ι* occupies an intermediary place (the third) in the inscription from Ezerovo.

¹³ I believe the reader will like to have the text here in transcription (from Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 148): ρολιστενεασν—ερενεατιλ—τεανησκοα—ραξέδαομ—εαντιλεζν—πταμμεραζ—ηλτα. It is written in an Ionian alphabet of the Vth century B.C. It may have two hexameters. There is no division of words.

¹⁴ The numerical percentages for Greek are: *ε* 32 (*ε* 19 and *η* 13), *o* 19 (*o* 13 and *ω* 6), *a* 17, *ι* 7, *υ* 6; for Sanscrit (where *ā* has absorbed Indo-Eur. **ē* and **ō*) *a* 19.78, *ā* 8.19, *i* 4.85, *ī* 1.19, *u* 2.61, *ū* 0.73. Cf. W. D. Whitney, *Sanscrit Grammar*, 3d ed., Leipzig and Boston, 1896, p. 26; *Idem.*, *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, X, p. 150; Förstemann, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, I, 1852, pp. 163 ff., II, 1853, pp. 35 ff. and Whitney, *op. cit.*, also give data for the consonants, which I have not counted. For the Romance languages see S. Pușcariu, *Die rum. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 89-92; for Spanish in particular, T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de pronunc. esp.*, 4th edit., Madrid, 1932, pp. 74 f., 114 f.

¹⁵ This rather high percentage of *o* in comparison to *a*, and the word *κόης*, *κόας* (see, below, p. 109; *η* becomes *a* in many Thracian dialects), seem to indicate that the Samothracian dialect did not change Indo-Eur. **ō* to **ā*. Some Thracian dialects preserved *ō*, some changed it to *ā*. See N. Jokl, *Reallex. der Vorg.*, s.v. Thraker, p. 285, 1; Brandenstein, s.v. Thraker, *Sprache*, col. 410. Probably the **ō* > *ā* wave, which engulfed Iranian, Slavic, Baltic, Germanic and, partly, Celtic, reached only the northern Thracian and Illyrian area. It did not reach the southernmost languages, Greek, Phrygian, Latin, and Italic at all. Note that *κόας*, *κόης* appears in southern Bulgaria and, it seems, in Samothrace, that is, in the southern section of the Thracian area. On Thracian personal names see also G. Matescu, *Ephemeris dacoromana*, 1, 1923, pp. 57 ff. I was unfortunately unable to see D. Detschew, *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache*, Sofia, 1952.

Diphthongs and groups of vowels are frequent both in Thracian and in Samothracian, as one would, indeed, expect in a language having such a very high percentage of vowels. We have in the inscription from Ezerovo:

εα (5), οα (1), ιηε (1)

and in Samothrace:

ευ, αε, αιε (twice), ααια (?), υε, αση, εηο, ιε, ει, ιο, υο.

In general, the vocalic structure of Samothracian is similar—though I should hesitate to call it a striking similarity—to that of the Thracian inscription on the ring from Ezerovo.

As to consonants, the inscription on the ring has the clusters σκ, σν, στ, λτ, ντπ; Samothracian has χβν (or ξβν?), ντ (in δυντολε several times but, also, in one instance, on the stele), λδ (No. 24; 7?), ρκ, τλ, σφ, λχ, λν, βλ (stele), τρ (stele), ψ (?stele, possibly a χ?). The clusters βλ and βν are particularly remarkable. All in all, consonantic clusters are certainly not uncommon in either language—nor, of course, in Indo-European, in general. The μμ in No. 35 is dubious.

A word that looks rather familiar to every Indo-European scholar is the βεκα (so separated from the preceding word by a dot) of line 7 of the stele, as Professor Lehmann observed independently of me. It looks very much like the βέκος attested by Herodotos, II, 2 to be Phrygian and having the meaning “bread” and, possibly, etymologically related to English “bake.”¹⁶ It also appears in a verse by Hipponax (fr. 80 Bergk; fr. 75 Diehl):

Κυπρίων βέκος φαγούσι κ'Αμαθουσίων πυρόν

which also proves the word to be Cypriote—and Cyprus is not very far from Phrygia. The word occurs twice in Neo-Phrygian inscriptions¹⁷ for which I give the translations offered by O. Haas.¹⁸

(33, part) : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος, τιδρεγρουν ειτου

“Brot und Wasser sollen ihm ungenieszbar worden”

(the Inscr. Friedrich 76 is identical in this passage).

(86, part) : οι βεκος μεβερετ αττιη κ'ετιττετικμενος ειτου

“ei panem ne ferat sit [?G.B.] stigmatiasque itato”

(Instead of *sit* which makes no sense, I should prefer, with Pisani, to write *hinc*).

¹⁶ For the etymology of βέκος, see Bonfante, *Armenian Quarterly*, I, 1946, pp. 88 f., with bibl.; Marstrander, *Norsk Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, II, 1929, p. 299 (who proposes a different Indo-European etymology: Arm. *bekanem* “I break,” etc.).

¹⁷ Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Nos. 33 and 86.

¹⁸ *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XLV, 1938, pp. 128 f.

W. M. Calder in *M.A.M.A.*, I, 1928, p. 212, reads βα[κ]ιοι βέκος μεβερε[ν] (“or μεβερε[ν]”) and translates “may he eat [βακιοι, cf. Gr. ἔφαγον?] the bread (? of slavery),” but with no explanation whatsoever.

Curses aiming at the prevention of eating and drinking are found in several languages.¹⁹ One must admit that Haas’s interpretation is little more than guesswork. But the meaning of βέκος as bread seems to be documented. I think, in agreement with Professor Lehmann,²⁰ that the character of the stele and the probably poetical form of the text indicate rather a religious hymn than a curse. The latter are written on tombs and on less conspicuous material.²¹ In this instance, for example, we might consider an invocation to the gods to grant “bread”—something like the Christian “*panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*.” Certainly βεκα, whether a feminine singular, a neuter plural, or a collective plural (cf. Lat. *locī: loca*), can well be morphologically related to Phrygian βέκος. If accepted as such, it offers a link between Samothracian and Phrygian. Another connection with Phrygian will be mentioned later.

I do not dare to attempt any interpretation of these poor remnants. One may consider the possibility that such forms as -εβνευσαντο (No. 1), -δεντο (? No. 3), διντο- (No. 2), -πιτο- (No. 26), -δασητο (No. 40), -εβλοσητο (*ibid.*), -ντο (No. 40) may be verbal forms of the type of Greek ἐγένεο, ἐγένετο, ἐζεύξαντο. βεκα, -ολειτρα, -νελα, -ντολα (2) could possibly be nominative feminine in *ā*. The -τρα of -ολειτρα could be the frequent Indo-European instrumental suffix *-trā*. -αρκαιε (No. 30), -εκαιε (No. 31) and -καε (No. 1) look as if they were related forms. As for εποτεχ (No. 1) on a drinking vessel,—if we isolate that as a word, which is only a guess—one might think of Lat. *phōtus*, Greek ποτήριον etc.²²

Besides these new inscriptions and the gloss πανρακίς: πέμπτη,²³ we know of the “Samothracian” language the names of four gods which, according to the Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I, 917, are, Ἀξίερος (= Δημήτηρ), Ἀξιοκέρσα (= Περσεφόνη), Ἀξιόκερσος (= Ἄιδης), to which προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κασμῖλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστίν ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διο-

¹⁹ See, for example, C. D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1928, p. 244; Buecheler, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXIII, 1878, pp. 40 ff., and Ovid’s *Ibis*. For these inscriptions see, also, Calder, *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 22 f.; Ramsay, *Öst. Jahreshefte*, VIII, 1905, Beiblatt, col. 95.

²⁰ Above, p. 100.

²¹ See, for example, Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904.

²² The ceramic inscriptions show frequent repetition of the same word or formula, appearing sometimes as δεντ(ολε) sometimes as διντ(ολε); this obvious oscillation between *ē* and *i* before nasals appears perhaps in Thracian (Tomaschek, *Sitzungsber. Wiener Akad.*, 128, 1893, p. 44), certainly in Phrygian, Armenian and in several “Aeolic” dialects (*lato sensu*) that were once in close contact with those peoples in Thessaly and Macedonia (s. Bonfante, *Armenian Quarterly*, I, 1946, p. 94, n. 17). Cf., above, p. 96.

²³ See above, p. 93 and note 3.

νυσόδωρος.²⁴ We have here an old group of three divine names beginning with 'Αξιο— which, of course, recalls the name of the river 'Αξιος; but after all these do not seem to be river-gods.²⁵ A Greek etymology was proposed for 'Αξιόκερσος and 'Αξίερος by E. Maass²⁶ and another by M. C. Waite.²⁷ But Kretschmer wisely observes:²⁸ “Ob mit mehr Recht, ist zweifelhaft; denn man darf bei den Kabiren nicht ihre fremde un griechische Herkunft vergessen, die es offen laesst, ob hier nicht un griechische Namen verliegen.”²⁹

The name of the fourth god Κασμῖλος or Καδμῖλος³⁰ is certainly related to Κάδμος.³¹ Kadmos, too, is closely connected with Samothrace.³² But Kadmos is obviously an Illyrian hero. Furthermore, in Samothrace, the presence of such an Illyrian hero as Dardanos³³—one might add Elektra, too—definitely points to an Illyrian element on the island.^{34, 35}

²⁴ For Dionysodoros, see E. Schwartz, *R.E.*, vol. V, col. 1004, Nr. 15.

²⁵ The second part of the names 'Αξιό-κερσος, 'Αξιο-κέρσα may contain the root of Sanscrit *kārṣati*, Avest. *karšaiti*, “to furrow,” for which see, for example, Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, I, p. 429: a not unfitting name for vegetation gods. Since Thracian is certainly a *satəm* language, the *κ* is quite in order. Prof. Lehmann rightly calls to my attention the name of the Thracian king Κερσο-βλέπτης (*R.E. s.v.*; Tomaschek, *Sitzungsber. Wiener Akad.*, 131, p. 47).

²⁶ *Archiv für Religionsw.*, XXIII, 1925, pp. 221 ff.

²⁷ *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 25 f.

²⁸ *Glotta*, XVII, 1928-29, p. 244.

²⁹ See, also, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Axieros and Kabeiros, col. 1402; Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, pp. 88 ff.; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XXX, 1943, p. 98.

³⁰ Καδμῖλος is probably nothing but an (Indo-European!) diminutive of Κάδμος (note the *ι*!); the two names are certainly identical—see Lycophron, 219 and Kretschmer, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, 1927-28, p. 84; *Glotta*, XXX, 1943, p. 98.

³¹ It, thus, seems possible that the mysterious ancient language of Samothrace mentioned by Diodoros as the language of the aborigines (above, p. 93) was Pelasgian, which I hold to be an Illyrian or “Proto-Illyrian” language. It would then be different from that of our inscriptions. (Cf., e. g., Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XXIV, 1935, p. 36, n. 3).

That Kadmos is an Illyrian hero one may conclude from an unbiased reading of the evidence available in Roscher (especially cols. 824 f., 849 ff., 888 f.) and *R.E.*, cols. 1466 ff.

³² *R.E.*, *s.v.*, Kadmos, cols. 1468 f.; Roscher, pp. 854 ff., 891.

³³ See, Roscher, *s.v.* Kadmos, col. 854; *R.E.*, *s.v.* Dardanos, col. 2171.

³⁴ Herodotos tells us (II, 51) that: ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὄνῃρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω. τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρήκην οἶκον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ . . . καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὁρθὰ ὦν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρήκῃ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

³⁵ See, also, Jokl, *op. cit.*, p. 283, 2: “Die ‘thrak.’ Insel Samothrake führt nach Strabo X, 472 ursprünglich den Namen Μελίτη, einen Namen, den wir auch in der Adria als Bezeichnung für eine dalmatische Insel und auf Kerkyra als Bergnamen wiederfinden, und den wir (s. *Albaner B.*, *Illyrier B.*) als illyr. kennen gelernt haben.” On the relationship between Thracian and Illyrian, see also, *ibid.*, p. 295. Μελίτη is also the ancient name of the island of Malta (see, *R.E.*, *s.v.*) where, however, I cannot find other Illyrian traces. Σάμος is also Illyrian according to Brandenstein, *R.E.*, suppl.,

The Κάβειροι also seem to be Samothracian deities.³⁶

Another conceivably Samothracian name appears in a prayer quoted by St. Hippolytus³⁷ which seems to come from Anatolia:³⁸ σὲ καλοῦσι Σαμοθράικες Ἰαδαμ[να] σεβάσμιον (Ἰαδαμνα for Ἰαδάμ is a restoration of Bergk). This we may connect with a Phrygian gloss of Hesychios, *s.v.* Ἰαδαμνείν: τὸ φιλεῖν. καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον Ἰαδάμνα λέγουσιν. It may be a taboo-name.³⁹ The Phrygian origin of the Kabeiric cult asserted by Stesimbrotos of Thasos and recently defended by O. Kern⁴⁰ cannot, therefore, be rejected *a priori*.⁴¹ The connection of the Phrygian Κορύβαντες with Samothrace should be recalled, too.⁴² A Thracian origin of the *Samothracian* (!) language and cult is not incompatible with these observations. We know that Thracians and Phrygians were closely related peoples.

We might add the priestly title κοίης or κόης (Hesychios, *s.v.* Κοίης: οἱ δὲ κόης: ἱερεὺς Καβείρων ὁ καθαίρων φονέα) as also possibly Samothracian. Pettazzoni has com-

vol. VI, col. 176 (and Σάμινθος too). Cf., also, Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIV, 1925, p. 105; Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati*, 2, 3, p. 208 (with the texts).

³⁶ Κάβειρος can hardly be Greek, as Wackernagel admits, because the *k* of Sanscrit *Kubera* indicates a labiovelar for which we would expect *π* in Greek; the *β* = Scr. *b* would also be rather strange (Greek *β* usually derives from a labiovelar **g^w*). Moreover, nobody will assert that the Κάβειροι are Greek divinities. Wackernagel admits that the word might belong to another Indo-European language—Phrygian or Thracian.

Bibliography on the name Kabeiroi: Kern, *R.E.*, *s.v.*, col. 1400; Wackernagel, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XLI, 1907, pp. 317 f.; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, VII, 1916, p. 353; Washburn-Hopkins, *Actes du 16^e Congrès internat. des orientalistes*, 1912, pp. 53 ff., *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, XXXIII, 1913-14, pp. 155 ff. More bibliography will also be found in Pettazzoni, *op. cit.*, 2, 3, index p. 258; B. Hemberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff. Most etymologies are pure fancy. See, also, Kretschmer, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, 1927-28, pp. 82 ff., who believes the Kabeiroi to have originally been "Aegean-Anatolian," not Indo-European (see, especially, pp. 88 ff.): they were assimilated and transported to the East by the Indians who are mentioned in the cuneiform Hittite inscriptions. They are mentioned there as foreign gods under the name *Habiri*, according to Brandenstein, *R.E.*, suppl. vol. VI, col. 178. See now also Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XXX, 1943, p. 116.

³⁷ *Refut. omn. haer.*, 5, 7, p. 99, 17 Wendland. See, H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen, 1903, p. 34, 14.

³⁸ See, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Kabeiros, col. 1402.

³⁹ Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, N.S., XLIX, 1921, pp. 286 ff. ("De voce Thracia αδαπται") connects with this the Thracian word αδαπτα (plur. dat. αδαπταις) which appears in an epigram of Dioscurides in the IIIrd century after Christ (*Anthol. Pal.*, VII, 485). It must mean something like ἀγάπη (in its two senses).

⁴⁰ *R.E.*, *s.v.*, cols. 1401 f.

⁴¹ See Strabo, X, p. 472; also, Schol. Apoll. Rhod., I, 917 (Müller, *F.H.G.*, IV, 345) says that the Κάβειροι ἐντεῦθεν (that is from Phrygia) μετενέχθησαν. See, also, C. Fredrich, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 82, and P. Kretschmer, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, 1927-28, p. 83.

⁴² The Κορύβαντες, however, have (as it seems) an Illyrian suffix, just like, for example, the Ἰαβαντες and Πευκετίαντες. See P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIV, 1925, p. 105, XXVIII, 1940, p. 274; XXX, 1943, pp. 103 ff.; XXXII, 1953, p. 192 and also *R.E.*, *s.v.* Korybantēs.

pared it with the Lydian title *kaveś* which, in turn, has been related to Vedic *kavi-ṣ*: "seer," "poet," "*uates*," cf. Greek *θυο-σκόος*, German *schauer*, etc. On a hydria found at Duvanlji in southern Bulgaria (!), one reads the word *koas* (*η* frequently becomes *ā*) over the figure of a priestess.⁴³ I see no reason to doubt that the word is both Thracian and Samothracian.⁴⁴

In conclusion, the language of the new inscriptions and, in particular, of the stele may quite well be Indo-European, more specifically, Thracian—especially in its vocalism. The language is surely neither Greek nor Etruscan nor "Tyrrhenian"—whatever that means—unless we understand under the term Etruscan or "Tyrrhenian" something entirely different from the language documented in approximately ten thousand non-Latin inscriptions found in Etruria.

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⁴³ See, Ure, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 196 f., with bibliography.

⁴⁴ See, now, the important article by O. Masson, *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, I, 1950-51, pp. 182 ff.; also, Pettazzoni, *op. cit.*, 2, 3, p. 259, index.

EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA, 1954

(PLATES 41-56)

THE preliminary investigations of the Isthmian Sanctuary, which the University of Chicago undertook in 1952,¹ revealed the location of the Temple of Poseidon (Pl. 41, a) and brought to light other data for a topographical study of the site. The results were sufficiently promising to warrant further excavations on a larger scale, and an expedition for this purpose was organized in the spring of 1954. In the course of a campaign of seven weeks the whole area of the temple was excavated, the temenos of Poseidon was investigated (Pls. 41, b; 42, a, b), a large part of the ridge (Rachi) was cleared, and trenches were dug in areas to be explored more fully in future campaigns.²

¹ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 182-195.

² The excavation was in progress from April 28th until June 12th. The excavation staff consisted of the following members: Gustavus F. Swift, Jr., Research Assistant, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, was in charge of excavation in the temple area and of a brief investigation of the Fortress of Justinian; Esther A. Smith, Edward L. Ryerson Fellow from Chicago to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, supervised the work in trenches in the Temenos of Poseidon and in the Theater; Chrysoula Kardara, Assistant, National Museum, Athens, spent two weeks at the Isthmia excavating the settlement on the Rachi; and Oscar Broneer served as Field Director. The inventory of finds was completed by Esther A. Smith and Gustavus F. Swift after the termination of the field work. The survey and architectural plans have been made by Oliver M. Unwin, R. I. C. S. of London, in cooperation with George V. Peschke of Athens. Mr. Peschke also made the restored drawing of this sima for Plate 45, e. Three of the photographs, Plates 50, d, 54, c, 56, c, were made by Mr. John L. Caskey; those for Plates 44, a, c, 45, a, b, 46, a, b, d, 49, c, 50, c, by the author; one, Plate 48, b, by Esther Smith; all the others by Emile Seraff of the Emile Photo Studio in Athens. The Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Education was represented by Dr. Demetrios Pallas, Epimelites of Byzantine Antiquities. To him, and to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Argolis and Corinthia, I. Papademetriou, I am indebted for their wholehearted cooperation.

Funds for the excavations were provided by a generous donation from Mrs. Gustavus F. Swift and by contributions from the Greek Cultural Foundation for the University of Chicago. Mrs. Swift also made several visits to Isthmia in the early weeks of the campaign. To these donors the University of Chicago and the author are indebted for making the expedition possible. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens made available to the staff members accommodations in the excavation house at Corinth, use of a jeep, and many other facilities. Director and Mrs. J. L. Caskey did much to help make the expedition successful.

I am also indebted to Theodora Stillwell of Princeton, for volunteer work on inventories, photographic records, etc., and to Bonnie Bristow of New York, whose efficiency as typist and stenographer made it possible to complete the work during the last hectic weeks of the season.

Members of the Agora Excavation Staff: Lucy Talcott, Barbara Philippaki, Virginia Grace and Mrs. Josephine Shear offered valuable information and advice in their special fields of study.

As in the preliminary campaign the experienced foreman of the Corinth excavations, Evangelos Lekkas, was again made available by the American School. In addition to his duties as foreman,

THE TEMPLE OF POSEIDON

THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE

Beneath the fifth century temple and hidden by its floor there are some cuttings in the rock which can have had no immediate connection with the classical building. These and some wall blocks and early archaic roof tiles are all that remain of the archaic temple. The most conspicuous of the foundation cuttings lies in the axis of the later building (Pl. 42, a), at the west end of the cella, where it has been exposed for a length of *ca.* 9 m. At its western end it has been cut away by a somewhat deeper cutting, 2.28 m. long, which seems to have been made for a cult statue of the later building. About 17 m. farther east, the same rock cutting for the archaic temple has been partly exposed in an irregular channel, probably cut by the despoilers of the building in early Byzantine times; the rest is still hidden by the fill on which the floor rested. The archaic wall bedding apparently extended as far east as the doorway into the cella of the classical building, and it may have extended farther east. At the east end of the foundation for the north inner colonnade and within the east peristyle of the later temple can be observed other cuttings which seem to have been made for the archaic building. There are further traces of early foundations in the opisthodomos of the classical temple, where a clear-cut line in the fill beneath the floor indicates the existence of an earlier wall bedding. Judging from these cuttings, which extend from the east peristyle to the rear wall of the fifth century temple, we may conclude that the archaic building had a length of more than 40 m. Much of the fill beneath the floor of the later temple is still unexcavated and this probably conceals further cuttings for the foundations of the early temple.

In the east peristyle, approximately in the axis and beneath the floor level of the classical temple, there is a badly cracked and battered circular base (Pl. 50, c), 1.23 m. in diameter. Its top has been roughly cut away; at its highest point it now measures *ca.* 0.25 m. in height. It rests on hard earth but has no solid foundation. Nevertheless, it is probably standing in its original position and as such deserves consideration in connection with the archaic temple (see below, p. 129).

The only other rock cuttings now exposed which might be connected with pre-classical building activity are several circular cuttings in the rock, distributed at random over the area covered by the temple cella (Pl. 42, a). Most of the cuttings have

he negotiated with the owners for the purchase of the land on which the sanctuary of Poseidon is located. The complicated and time-consuming task of preparing the legal transfer of ownership was accomplished by Nikolas Yambourannis of Corinth, who offered his services at a greatly reduced rate of compensation. George Kachros of the Corinth Museum assumed the responsibility for the mending and care of the moveable finds.

The expedition enjoyed the hearty cooperation and good will of the village and its officers. The progress of the excavation was fully and ably reported in the local press and in the Athens dailies, the *Vima* and *Athinaika Nea*, and the *Kathemerini*.

a diameter of 0.30-0.40 m. at the top, narrowing toward the bottom until they reach a depth of *ca.* 0.30 m. What connection these irregularly spaced depressions can have had with any of the buildings on the site is not at present apparent.³ It should be observed in this connection that similar cuttings in the rock exist in the highest excavated area on top of the Rachi, where indications for the existence of some religious cult are numerous (see below, p. 125).

Building blocks of the pre-classical temple have been found in large numbers throughout the temple area, where they were used as filling material supporting the floor of the later building. They are particularly numerous in the east peristyle and at the west end of the classical cella. Their dimensions vary considerably. One nearly complete block from the west end of the temple measures 0.84 m. in length, *ca.* 0.80 m. in width and 0.25 m. in thickness; another block from the same part of the temple is only 0.76 m. long. On the underside of each block are two parallel grooves which usually turn the corner and extend up the two ends of the block. In a few cases there is a second set of cuttings at right angles to the others. The material is a rather soft, fine-grained poros. The stone cutting is, as a rule, comparatively rough; but on a few blocks one edge is smoothly finished. Both in the temple area and in an ancient dump along the north temenos wall (see below p. 119) these blocks (Pl. 43, a) were found in close association with terracotta roof tiles of a very archaic type.⁴ In view of the absence, except in rare cases, of significant cuttings indicating the architecture of the superstructure, it seems likely that the blocks were used chiefly for the socle of the building, the upper sections of the walls having been constructed of sun-baked bricks.

The archaic temple was demolished in a fire of considerable intensity, as shown by many of the bronze dedications within the temple which were melted by the heat. Some of the archaic building blocks are blackened by fire, and quantities of carbon and ash were mixed in the fill from the early building. A preliminary study of the objects from the destruction fill indicates that the fire broke out approximately at the time of the Persian wars.

THE CLASSICAL TEMPLE

The Temple of Poseidon does not seem to have been left for long in ruins. Sometime before the middle of the fifth century B.C. a new, splendid temple was constructed on the site of the archaic building. The overall dimensions of the foundations are 55.70 x 25.04 m., including the width of a footing trench on the outside of the outer

³ For the occurrence of similar cuttings with about the same dimensions, see Carl Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, p. 10.

⁴ Similar building blocks of the same material and roof tiles of an identical nature have been found in large quantities north of the archaic temple at Corinth. They came from an early predecessor of the existing mid-sixth century temple. See article by Mary C. Roebuck in this issue of *Hesperia*, pp. 149, 154-157.

foundations. The foundations for the peristyle were laid in trenches cut deep in the rock (Pl. 42, b). On the north flank and at the two ends, where the rock is of a firm consistency, the foundation trench varies in depth from a few centimeters to over one meter. On the south side the rock is softer, and here the depth of the foundation trench is nearly 1.50 m. The trenches also vary considerably in width. At the narrowest point on the north flank the trench is only 2.75 m. wide; on the south flank it has a width in places of 3.25 m. Very little of the foundation remains in place. On the north flank five blocks from the lowest course are left *in situ* at one point, and a single block retains its original position farther east. There are no foundation blocks *in situ* at the east and west ends and only a single block in the south foundation.

The foundation trenches for the cella walls are considerably shallower than those for the outer colonnade. Parts of the foundations for the walls are preserved; at one point, at the northeast anta (Pl. 41, b), two courses remain, with a total height of 0.71 m. The blocks are here tied together with double-T clamps, *ca.* 0.33 m. long. Four blocks from the lowest course of the foundation for the north cella wall, still lying in their original position farther west, have no cuttings for clamps. Two blocks from the foundation of the southwest anta are still *in situ*. They were fastened with double-T clamps to the adjoining blocks to the west but not to each other. The foundation for the columns *in antis* at the east end of the temple is missing, except at the very north end, where it had a width of 2.51 m. The trench at this point is 2.78 m. wide. The foundations for the two end walls of the cella have been entirely removed, and their rock-cut beddings are very shallow and indistinct. That for the east wall seems to have had a width at the bottom of *ca.* 2.50 m., whereas the foundation for the rear cella wall is only *ca.* 1.50 m. wide. This difference in width may be interpreted as evidence that the cella had stairs on either side of the entrance, leading to galleries as in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The foundation trenches for the inner colonnades are likewise very shallow; in most places they consist of nothing more than a smoothing of the rock. All the stones from the foundation of the south colonnade are missing; of those from the north colonnade four remain in approximately their original position (Pl. 43, b). The four blocks vary in length between 1.55 m. and 1.57 m. They have a smooth drafting along the vertical joints at both ends and at the bottom, but none at the top. They show various cuttings on top, some of which were made when the foundation was broken up for building material. The easternmost of the four blocks has deep grooves at right angles to each other for splitting the block into four pieces.

The foundation cuttings, together with the few extant blocks of the lower courses and the somewhat doubtful cutting for the base of a cult statue, are all the remains *in situ* of the classical building. The restored plan on Plate 43, c, based on these cuttings and on calculations from the few scattered blocks of the superstructure, is tentative. Numerous blocks from the south cella wall, lying in jumbled disorder as

found in the western half of the temple area (Pl. 42, b, right), have not yet been measured and studied. Among the important architectural members are the Doric column drums, the largest preserved fragment of which is lying in the position where it was found on the line of the north cella wall.⁵ Since it has a diameter of only 1.569 m., it probably comes from near the top of the column, if not from one of the columns *in antis*. The drum with the largest diameter, now lying along the south wall of the Justinian fortress, had a diameter on the arrises of 1.86 m.⁶ This was probably a bottom drum. A small fragment from a top drum (Pl. 44, c) preserves the triple grooves of the necking. Several pieces of capitals have been found with a profile rather similar to that of the columns in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. One large fragment of a capital from the outer columns, found near the southwest corner of the temple, has been recut as a corner triglyph for use at a later period (Pl. 44, b, d).

Both column drums and blocks of the cella show two distinct types of tooling, some being made with a straight, others with a toothed chisel.⁷ The capital (Pl. 44, b), later recut as a corner triglyph, is finished with the straight chisel; but some fragments of capitals and drums from the west colonnade (Pl. 44, a) are finished in the other technique. The blocks cut with the toothed chisel probably belong to a period of restoration. Although the capitals of these later columns have approximately the same profile as those of the earlier period, the curve at the top of the echinos is somewhat more abrupt and the annulets, in contrast to those on the earlier blocks which have the normal profile, are almost rectangular in section.

The preserved triglyphs do not all have the same width. The corner triglyph referred to above measures 0.293 m. across each glyph, making a total of 0.879 m. for the width of the triglyph. On another fragment found at the west end of the temple, the width of each glyph is 0.305 m., which would give the triglyph a total width of 0.915 m. No metope is preserved in its entire width. One fragment, 1.17 m. long, found along the north side of the temple, has a taenia at the top, 0.181 m. high and projecting 0.058 m. from the face of the metope. The taenia above the triglyph, preserved on an ancient patch which had been fastened by three dove-tail clamps, was 0.19 m. high.

Of the architrave only a few small fragments are preserved. The taenia at the top is 0.132 m. high; the regula is 0.129 m. high and projects from the face 0.06 m. The guttae are 0.04 m. long and have a diameter of 0.06 m. Of the cornice several fragments are preserved, none of which shows the complete dimensions of mutules or viae. The cornice was made in two courses, with a horizontal joint a few centimeters below the hawksbeak moulding. Several fragments from the drip at the bottom and from the hawksbeaks have traces of color.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 62a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 62b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

The fifth century temple was doubtless decorated with pedimental sculptures, at least on the east gable. Many fragments of a white, fine-grained marble were found, mostly in the eastern part of the temple area. They are, however, too small to indicate the subject of the group. One piece of a hand is from a figure nearly twice life size; two fragments of human feet, approximately life size, are flat on one side, and one retains the metal of a dowel by which it was fastened to a smooth background. There are some bits of drapery and other pieces less readily identified. Many of the fragments have been blackened by fire and partly turned into lime. All show the unmistakable quality of Greek sculpture of the fifth century B.C., reminiscent of the sculptures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The roof was probably all of marble. Large quantities of roof tiles, most of them showing the effects of fire, were found in the ancient dump along the north side of the temenos. They are, as a rule, made of the same fine-grained, white marble as the gable sculptures, readily distinguished from the coarser, grayish marble of the fourth century roof. The total dimensions of the pan tiles are not preserved. As a rule the tiles are thinner and more smoothly finished than those of the later roof. The cover tiles have the same width as those used in the fourth century restoration. The ancient dump in which the fifth century roof tiles were found also contained a fragment of a lion's head spout of white marble. This is the only piece that has been recognized of the simas from the fifth century temple.

This temple, like its predecessor, was severely damaged by fire, not to the extent, however, of requiring a complete rebuilding. We have a definite date for a conflagration (394 B.C.), which is mentioned by Xenophon,⁸ who relates that the soldiers of Agesilaos, stationed on the heights above Loutraki, looked down toward the Isthmia and saw flames arising from the temple. Xenophon comments on the fact that it was not known by whom the temple was set afire. The damage to the building was sufficiently extensive to require a thorough reconstruction. Some of the columns may have remained standing to the very top, others had to be partly demolished and restored. The cella walls seem to have suffered in similar manner. The difference in tooling helps to distinguish blocks of the two periods. The roof was apparently completely reconstructed in the fourth century; and like the roof of the earlier temple, it was made of marble. Possibly some undamaged roof tiles of the fifth century temple could be used in the fourth century reconstruction, but if we may judge by the condition and quantity of damaged tiles, discarded and thrown into the dump north of the temple, not many remained usable after the fire. The eaves tiles, to which the horizontal sima was attached, were probably all replaced. Each section of the sima had a width of 1.41 m. At the upper end of the eaves tile there is a bumper in the middle, cut in the same piece of marble as the tile, and having the same profile as the cover tiles.

⁸ *Hellenica*, IV, v, 4.

Thus the upper half was divided into two equal parts, 0.705 m. in width, which was the width of the normal roof tile.

A complete section of the raking sima (Pl. 45, a), measuring 0.46 m. in height and *ca.* 0.61 m. in length, was found at the west end of the temple. The profile, not known in Greece proper, finds its nearest parallels in simas from Rhodes and Asia Minor.⁹ The horizontal sima (Pl. 45, b-e) is likewise of unusual design. The top edge, between the lion's head and the antefix, curves following the line of the spiral design. The transition between the mane of the animal and the relief on the sima is formed by a conventional acanthus leaf which makes a loop at the top, where it is joined to the side of the head. The palmettes are not attached to the cover tiles, but are cut in one piece with the sima. The vertical joints run through the center of the palmettes, which measure 0.74 m. in height from the bottom of the taenia at the base to the tip of the middle leaf. On several of the existing fragments there is a horizontal joint across the palmette, with deep cuttings for doweling the top piece.

LATER ALTERATIONS

The later history of the temple is obscure. There is evidence of repairs made at various times during the lifetime of the building. Some fragments from the upper course of the horizontal cornice, preserving the hawksbeak moulding, are very carelessly carved and covered with a heavy coat of lime stucco, and pieces of column capitals are made in the same debased technique. It is unlikely that these crude repairs are from the fourth century reconstruction.

It is uncertain to what extent the architecture was altered by Roman restorers. Since no recognizable fragments of the interior poros columns have come to light, it might be supposed that these were replaced with columns of marble. Some support for this conjecture may be gained from the fragment of a marble column, with a diameter at the top of *ca.* 0.55 m., found in the eastern part of the temple. In conformity with their customary practices, the Romans apparently veneered the walls, at least in their lower sections, and paved the floors with marble slabs, as shown by immense quantities of marble veneer fragments. Most pieces of sculpture and of inscriptions from the temple site belong to Roman times.

Pausanias' enigmatic remarks about the small size of the temple¹⁰ would indicate that the classical building had been destroyed before the end of the second century after Christ and a smaller structure erected on the site. If such was the case all traces of foundations have disappeared.¹¹ Moreover, the material from the Greek Doric

⁹ See *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 187, note 12.

¹⁰ τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι, II, 1, 7.

¹¹ The discovery of many late lion's head spouts of marble within the temple (Cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 188, pl. 58d) might be interpreted as evidence for a late Roman temple. It is likely, however, that the heads came from the South and West Stoa, where many similar pieces were found.

temple was available at the time of construction of the Justinian fortification. For the date of this construction, which presumably occasioned the demolition of the temple, there is clear proof in the fortress itself.¹² Corroborative evidence came from our excavation of the temple site. In the debris filling the trench of the north colonnade of the temple a hoard of Byzantine coins was discovered (Pl. 46, a), the latest of which were minted in the reign of Tiberius II (578-582). The hoard could not have been buried before the foundation for the colonnade had been removed. After the stones from the temple had been carried away and built into the fortress the temple area appears to have been virtually abandoned. The only indication of later occupation is a small square foundation (Pl. 46, d) constructed over the trench for the south peristyle of the temple. It had a fireplace in one corner and pieces of millstones lay in the center of the room.

In the area immediately surrounding the temple only a small strip, *ca.* 2 m. wide, has been cleared on all sides. The only building remains of a permanent nature are on the south (Pl. 42, a). Close to the southeast corner of the temple there is a large poros block, somewhat over 2 m. long and *ca.* 1 m. wide; originally it may have extended up to the foundation of the temple. The top of the stone has been cut down, leaving a depression with a maximum preserved depth of *ca.* 0.10 m., but the block seems to have been higher originally and the hollow correspondingly deeper. The present surface is rough and unfinished and shows traces of lime. The block may have been used originally as the base of some monument, later made into a trough in which the restorers of the temple slaked their lime.

Along the south flank of the temple runs a curb of squared poros blocks well fitted together. The north edge, which is *ca.* 2 m. from the south edge of the temple foundation, is smooth and straight, whereas the south face is irregular. The course is preserved for a length of *ca.* 32 m. At its east end, nearly 8 m. to the west of the southeast corner of the temple, it turns a somewhat more than right angle toward the south. This east arm of the wall has been laid bare for a distance of *ca.* 6 m. It is wider than the east-west wall, and on its top is a clearly marked setting line, 0.30 m. from the east face. This indicates that the preserved row of blocks formed the lowest step of a long flight. The area south of the temple has a filling of rough stones and a strosis of hard earth and mortar, approximately level with the top of the east-west curb. It may be the pavement of a terrace supporting an altar of Poseidon.

Two terracotta pipes, one with a diameter of *ca.* 0.20 m., the other only 0.13 m. in diameter, run between the terrace and the south temple foundation. These are part of an extensive network of pipes bringing water from the fountain, to which the modern village owes its name, Kyras Vrysi, into the precinct of Poseidon and other buildings connected with the sanctuary.

¹² See Jenkins and Megaw, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, pp. 68 ff.

THE TEMENOS

The Temple of Poseidon stood in the approximate center of a rectangular temenos, which in Roman times was surrounded by walls and porticoes. The terrain slopes from south to north, very gently in the center of the area, where the temple was situated, more steeply on the north. This steep, north slope, which forms the edge of a deep gully, was used by the ancients as a convenient place for dumping earth and building debris. Thus the level area tended to grow gradually toward the north and was finally encompassed by a permanent temenos wall. There may have been a wall in the pre-Roman period, but the temenos was probably then of irregular shape.

In the ancient dump near the northwest corner of the temenos an area, *ca.* 16 x 18 m., was excavated this season in an effort to discover building material from the Temple of Poseidon and its archaic predecessor. At a depth of only *ca.* 0.75 m. a late Roman road extends across the area from east to west. It turns rather sharply toward the south at the west edge of the excavated area and probably turned west again toward a propylon in the west temenos wall, which has not yet been excavated. The fill south of the road, which had a depth of *ca.* 1.50 m., contained innumerable building blocks (Pl. 43, a) and large quantities of tiles from the archaic temple. It is obvious that this part of the area was filled up and leveled at the time when the charred remains of the archaic temple were removed, prior to the construction of the classical building. The pottery in this part of the fill (Pl. 51, b) agrees in date and character with the pottery found in the archaic deposit within the temple. This early debris continues beneath the Roman road into the unexcavated area farther east.

In the middle of the road, and in the approximate center of the excavated area, was found the opening to a manhole extending to a depth of 8.60 m. At the bottom a passage, 0.70 m. wide, extends 1.70 m. toward the west; its extension toward the east still remains to be explored. The upper part of the manhole is constructed mostly of re-used building blocks; in the lower part it is cut in rock. Very few pottery fragments of any kind were found, either in the manhole or in the passage; those found indicate a date in the late Roman period. Two large blocks closed the mouth of the manhole. They projected *ca.* 0.35 m. above the level of the road, thus indicating that the manhole and the water channel were in use after the road had been abandoned or diverted. At the depth of a little over 1.00 m. below the road level a terracotta water channel enters the manhole from the north. It is preserved for a distance of 9.50 m. and is then interrupted by the gully, which in ancient times appears to have been filled up at this point, at least to the height of the ground level in the temenos of Poseidon.

North of the road and approximately level with its surface there is an east-west retaining wall reaching a height of over 1.00 m. and making a right angle with a short north-south spur wall (Pl. 46, b, top). The two walls, which are constructed of ancient building blocks set on end, with smaller blocks filling the intervening spaces, were

probably built primarily as retaining walls when the area was filled with debris, although they might have served also as a temporary temenos enclosure. They have no solid foundation, and it is obvious that the area had been used as a dump before the walls were constructed. The area north of the retaining walls contained some debris from the archaic temple and also large quantities of marble roof tiles, most of them showing the effects of fire. These had doubtless been removed from the Temple of Poseidon after the destruction by fire at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

About 2.50 m. to the north of the upper retaining wall, there is a second wall (Pl. 46, b, bottom) running roughly east to west at a much lower level. It is built directly on the rock, which in places seems to have been dressed down slightly for the bedding of the stones. The building material is re-used, and some of the stones have the characteristic rope marks of the blocks from the archaic temple. The wall is roughly built with open joints as if it had been constructed in haste. Most of the blocks are set on edge, so that the thickness of the wall in places is only *ca.* 0.30 m. Such a construction can hardly have been very effective as a retaining wall, and many of the blocks have been forced out of place by the pressure of the earth behind them. North of this wall the rock slopes steeply toward the gully. The sloping layers of the ancient dump can be observed in the west end of the trench. The date of the fill grows gradually later toward the north, and at the very edge of the trench some Hellenistic and Roman pottery was found. Here, too, were discovered two blocks from a small Doric building, probably of the late fourth century B.C. (Pl. 46, c). One is a frieze block, 0.48 m. in height; the total width is not preserved. The width of the triglyph is 0.29 m. The second block is from the cornice, presumably of the same building. The plain band at the base preserves clear traces of the meander pattern, but the colors are not preserved. The blocks come from a small building, perhaps a treasury connected with the precinct of Poseidon.

At a point *ca.* 35 m. farther east an area, 17 x 9 m., was excavated to the north of the Roman temenos wall. Here a stretch of a well-built wall was discovered, partly constructed out of re-used material. It turns a right angle near the east end of the excavated area and extends toward a heavier wall parallel to the first. These remains may be part of an early temenos wall, with an entrance-way from the north at this point. In this area were found piles of archaic roof tiles and a great deal of black fill, containing corroded bronzes and pieces of iron. Among the bronzes are fragments of helmets similar to those found in the burnt debris from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon. It is obvious that the whole north slope of the hill had been used through several centuries as a dumping ground for debris from the temple area.

East of the excavated area just described the lower part of the north precinct wall is preserved as far as the northeast corner of the temenos. It is constructed of small stones laid in hard lime mortar. The north face is rough and irregular, even

above the ancient ground level, the approximate line of which is indicated in the construction of the wall. The south side of the wall, facing the temple, is smoothly finished and the stones are here roughly rectangular in shape, imitating brick construction. The wall is preserved in places to a height of 0.70 m. above the top of the foundation. The upper part of the wall may have been constructed of larger blocks and topped with coping stone, several pieces of which have been found all along the wall.

The subfoundation for the north temenos wall has been exposed at the northeast corner of the temenos. At a distance of *ca.* 15 m. farther south, a trial trench has revealed a section of the east wall, here constructed out of large poros blocks, most of which appear to be re-used. It is possible that the exposed part of the wall consists of foundations for a propylon connecting the Precinct of Poseidon with the Theater.¹³ The course of the east wall has been traced to a point *ca.* 45 m. south of the northeast corner of the temenos.

The southeast corner of the temenos has not been investigated. We may assume that there was another entrance, either on the axis of the temple or farther south, connecting the temenos with the Stadium. The route followed by Pausanias from the Stadium to the temple had a row of statues of victorious athletes on one side and tall pine trees on the other. Somewhere near the point where the road entered the precinct we may expect to discover the circular Temple of Palaimon which Pausanias saw on the left side of the entrance.¹⁴

The south and west sides of the temenos have been more fully investigated. The rock was here considerably higher than the ground level near the temple and consequently had to be cut down. Along the south side no foundations of buildings earlier than Roman times were encountered. A colonnade facing the temple was erected, probably in the second century after Christ. The lower courses of the foundation are constructed of rough building blocks of various sizes, laid in a deep irregular trench (Pl. 47, d). A stretch, *ca.* 40 m. long, from the southwest corner of the temenos has been exposed, and the foundation extends eastward into the unexcavated area. It is not certain that the precinct was completely rectangular, and further excavation in this part of the temenos is necessary before its full extent can be determined. Along the foundations for the colonnade were found many fragments of the marble superstructure of the stoa. The order was Ionic; the intercolumniation, so far as it is possible to judge from the spacing of the blocks in the foundation, was *ca.* 4.30 m.

¹³ Such a propylon has been indicated in the restored plan, Plate 43, c, but its dimensions and even its existence are still a matter of conjecture.

¹⁴ The work in this area was impeded by the lateness of the season, which caused the crop to ripen several weeks later than usual. In order not to cause undue destruction of the grain the further excavation of the east temenos wall and the search for the Temple of Palaimon had to be postponed.

The column shafts were unfluted and the bases appear to have been cut out of large blocks containing also a square plinth.

At the southwest corner the colonnade turned at right angles and extended northward along the west end of the temenos. At the very corner where the two colonnades met was found a complete cornice block, 1.70 m. long, 0.77 m. wide, with the sima cut in the same piece (Pl. 47, d, bottom center). The work is extremely coarse and careless. Three lion's head spouts, remarkably ugly and unevenly spaced, are preserved. The distance between two of them is only 0.58 m., the other two are spaced 0.68 m. apart. Within the west stoa, and considerably below its floor level, runs a terracotta water pipe, which is probably earlier than the foundations for the stoa. The southwest corner of the building is preserved in rock-cut beddings for the rear walls of the south and west stoas. Since both the southwest and the northeast corners of the temenos are now exposed, the total length can be calculated to be *ca.* 116.30 m. In the restored plan (Pl. 43, c), the northwest and southeast corners of the temenos have been omitted, since it is not certain that the precinct was completely rectangular, and the principal entrances from the east and west have not yet been excavated. The west colonnade was probably interrupted at the axis of the temple by a gateway through which the road toward Corinth issued forth. It has not been possible to determine whether the west colonnade was continued north of this propylon, since the whole northwest corner of the temenos has been washed away by the gully.

WEST WATERWORKS

While investigating the colonnade along the west end of the temenos, we discovered a complicated system of water basins, the purpose of which still remains uncertain. It consists of a reservoir of very irregular shape, *ca.* 6.40 m. long and 3.50 m. wide (Pl. 47, a, c). Two stairways, one at the northwest corner, the other at the northeast, lead into a stuccoed basin. Along the west side runs a bench, nearly 2 m. long. The walls of the reservoir consist for the most part of nothing but the native hard clay, covered with a good, watertight stucco containing small pebbles. To the south of this larger basin, and separated from it by a thin poros slab set on edge, there is a small tank, *ca.* 0.90 m. long, 0.56 m. wide. Its preserved depth is 1.45 m., and its floor is *ca.* 0.60 m. below that of the reservoir. In its present condition the tank has no visible connection with the reservoir. The tank received its water through a terracotta pipe entering the tank at the southeast corner, *ca.* 0.65 m. above the floor. The water was piped to the tank from a circular cistern, 3 m. to the southeast. This cistern is in the form of a well shaft, 2.60 m. deep and 1.10 m. wide at its widest point, but narrowing toward the top and bottom. A shallow channel, perhaps used as an inlet—it has no perceptible slope in either direction—enters the cistern from the northeast. A broad channel, *ca.* 0.55 m. wide, extends from just above the bottom of the circular cistern into the unexcavated area on the south.

There are no traces of walls or any kind of superstructure connected with these waterworks. If such walls existed, as they presumably did, they must have been removed when the Roman colonnade was constructed. Nor is there any certain clue to the purpose of the basin. From the pottery found in the fill it seems to have been in use in late Hellenistic times. The pottery consisted for the most part of coarse water jars, such as might be found in any waterworks. In the fill of the circular cistern, however, was found a krater (Pl. 52, d) with large handles, decorated on the sides with circular shields and a plastic snake crawling up each handle and looking into the interior. The presence of the two snakes would indicate that the water of the basin was used for ritual purposes, but in the absence of other votive objects its religious significance must remain undetermined for the present.¹⁵

TRIAL TRENCHES

THEATER

The Isthmian Theater is situated in a natural hollow, now a plowed field, midway between the Precinct of Poseidon and the Justinian Fortress (Pl. 41, a). Above the ground is visible a series of rubble foundations arranged radially in a circle along the outer circumference of the auditorium. Each foundation, constructed of hard rubble masonry, is *ca.* 1.10 m. wide and 3.75 m. long. The inner ends describe a uniform curve, indicating that there was a gallery beneath the auditorium at this point.

A trench, *ca.* 60 m. long and slightly over 3 m. wide, was dug diagonally through the building (Pl. 48, a). Of the auditorium nothing was found in the trench except the stepped cuttings in the clay bank on which the seats rested. The orchestra appears never to have been paved with stone slabs, and no traces of a gutter were found along its perimeter. Nowhere within the auditorium or the orchestra were any building blocks found, and only very few pieces of marble veneer, such as are usually found in large quantities in Roman theater buildings. If the auditorium had stone seats of the common type, they must have been completely removed some time before the building was finally destroyed, and long before the hollow was filled up to its present level. Deep layers of ash appear in the fill halfway between the surface of the plowed field and the orchestra level. It is difficult to see how this could have found its way into the theater except from a roof construction covering part of the cavea.

¹⁵ The relation of the reservoir to the Temple of Poseidon is comparable to that of the much earlier Lustral Room to the Temple of Asklepios at Corinth. Here, too, was a basin approached by steps and separated from a deep tank, or reservoir. See Carl Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, pp. 46-51, 158. While ritual baths appear to have been part of the cure in a sanctuary of Asklepios, in a sanctuary of Poseidon it may have had a different significance. The *thalassa* in the Erechtheion comes naturally to mind. For a discussion of the *thalassa* in ancient cult buildings and its influence on Christian churches see Demetrios I. Pallas, 'Η Θάλασσα τῶν Ἑκκλησιῶν, pp. 48-49, 150 ff. A wave of the Sea, erupting within the Sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea, was said to have blinded Aipylos in punishment for violating the sanctity of the place. Pausanias, VIII, 10, 3-4.

Along the north edge of the orchestra runs a stone sill, *ca.* 0.63 m. wide and projecting 0.15 m. above the orchestra level (Pl. 48, b). It is well worn on top and has a number of cuttings of a rather irregular nature. This cannot have been the foundation for the front wall of a Roman stage, but is more likely to be the sill for a proskenion of the Hellenistic type. At a distance of 2.34 m. from the south (front) face of the sill there is a stone wall, 0.46 m. thick, preserved only in its lowest course. It is built of carefully fitted stones, and its front, facing the orchestra, was covered with stucco. In front of the wall were laid bare three bases, spaced *ca.* 2 m. apart. They seem to have been inserted later than the construction of the wall, since the stucco extends behind the bases.

Directly behind the poros wall, there is a heavy rubble wall, 0.75 m. thick, and preserved to a height of 1.30 m. A similar, but heavier rubble wall extends at right angles to it toward the north and forms a corner with another east-west wall. These constructions, which are obviously of Roman date, constitute all that has been exposed of the scene building. Between the walls just described, and directly above stereo, were found a few sherds of Early Helladic and Mycenaean pottery.¹⁶ Behind the scene building there is an open area covered by a rubble foundation which may have been the bedding for a paved court. Five meters farther north there is an east-west wall constructed of squared blocks, and at the north end of the excavation trench, a section of another wall was exposed running north-south at nearly right angles to the wall described above. The two walls (Pl. 48, a, foreground) are constructed in the same type of masonry and are obviously parts of the same building. Whether this had some connection with the Theater or was a separate structure cannot be determined without further excavation.

The most remarkable feature about the Theater is the almost total lack of marble fragments and building blocks of any kind, except those still *in situ* in the walls. The explanation is probably to be sought in the nearness of the Justinian fortifications, for which the Theater, like other buildings of the sanctuary, provided ready-made material.

ROMAN BATH

At a point *ca.* 100 m. northeast of the Theater and close to the Isthmian Wall some Roman masonry appears above ground. A trench dug in this area revealed the walls of a Roman bath (for its location see Pl. 41, a). Parts of two rooms were excavated down to the floor level. In one room the floor and the hypocaust are preserved, and in the other are remains of brick piers for the support of the hypocaust. In both rooms were found many pieces of thick pane glass, of greenish color.¹⁷ The building

¹⁶ See article by Esther A. Smith on "Prehistoric Pottery from the Isthmia" in this number of *Hesperia*, pp. 142-146.

¹⁷ Similar pieces of pane glass were found in a Late Roman bath in Corinth. They were originally interpreted as coming from a skylight. Charles H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 540 and cf. Broneer, *Corinth I*, Part IV, *The South Stoa and Its Roman Successors*, pp. 149 f.

is sufficiently well preserved to merit further investigation, and its position in relation to the Isthmian wall is likely to throw light on the chronology of the fortification.

JUSTINIAN FORTRESS

Near the end of the season we cleared a short stretch of wall and one of the towers of the Justinian Fortress (Pl. 48, c) close to the section excavated in 1952.¹⁸ A few blocks from the debris of the wall could be recognized as coming from the Temple of Poseidon. One surprising discovery was made in this area. An inscribed block of dark gray limestone proved to fit the top of an inscription found in the Agora at Corinth some twenty years ago. Since the text deals with buildings at the Isthmian sanctuary, the discovery of additional fragments may prove to be of great importance.¹⁹ The new piece, which seems to have been used at one time as a paving block, retains only a few legible letters at the lower edge. Its discovery in this place proves beyond a doubt that the stone had originally been set up at the Isthmia.

CYCLOPEAN WALL

Another wall briefly investigated this season lies on the east side of the gully in which the Stadium is located. It is built in typical Cyclopean style of masonry. Only a short stretch was cleared, but other less well preserved sections can be observed on the wooded hillside farther north. It is clearly a retaining wall with a finished face toward the gully. No foundations of other buildings are visible in the vicinity and almost no pot sherds were found, either in the fill in front of the wall or in the near-by plowed field. The wall can have been used only as a retaining wall for a road, probably a part of the ancient communication system connecting the Isthmia region with Epidaurous and Troizen. The legend of Theseus' journey to Athens via the Isthmia presupposes a road somewhere along the east coast of the Argolis peninsula.²⁰

THE RACHI

The excavations on the Rachi²¹ consist of two sectors, a smaller one on the west at a higher level and a larger area on the lower, eastern part of the ridge. Originally,

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 185, pl. 56a.

¹⁹ For the text and discussion of this important document see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 181-190. Additional comments by Louis Robert, *Hellenica*, I, 1940, pp. 43-53.

²⁰ Cf. Harold N. Fowler, *Corinth*, I, *Introduction*, p. 106. The masonry of the wall at the Isthmia resembles a prehistoric wall at "Perdikaria," a photograph of which appears in Fowler's account, *op. cit.* p. 111, fig. 81.

²¹ For the location of the Rachi and its geographical relation to the Sanctuary of Poseidon see Plate 41, a, where the east end of the ridge is indicated to the left of the Stadium. In the preliminary report on the first season a view of the Rachi appears, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 54a. In that report the Greek word for ridge is transliterated "Rache" instead of the preferable form "Rachi," which will be used henceforth in articles on the Isthmia excavations.

a much larger part of the ridge was occupied by houses and perhaps shrines, but large sections to the east and west of the area excavated this year have been quarried away. Quarrying in this area seems to have begun in ancient times and still continues.

There are few recognizable traces of foundations in the western sector, but at the west edge is a rock cutting, *ca.* 1 m. wide, extending approximately from south to north; and a somewhat similar cutting runs at right angles to it. Close to this point was found a Doric capital, of advanced fourth century B.C. profile and unfluted neck, lying upside down on the rock. A square cutting, 0.10 m. on the side, extending through the capital from top to bottom, seems to indicate that the column was not part of a Doric building but had served as pedestal for some dedication.

In the center of the western sector are two pairs of circular depressions in the rock arranged as an irregular quadrangle. The largest measures *ca.* 0.30 m. in diameter and 0.30 m. in depth. There are other similar depressions which do not seem to be arranged in any significant relationship to each other. Several small deposits of miniature votive vases, mostly hydriai and pitchers and a few other shapes, were found near the highest point of the area (Pls. 47, b; 52, c).

About 25 m. to the southwest of the highest point of the area are five rock-cut steps leading up from the south. At the top of the stair is a rectangular cutting in the rock, and *ca.* 4 m. to the north of the stairs is a large cistern lined with cement. The whole south side of the ridge shows numerous cuttings, mostly made when the rock was quarried, but in some cases steps and foundation cuttings indicate other uses.

About 13 m. to the east of the area just described and at a somewhat lower level, are the remains of rather elaborate hydraulic works (barely visible in Plate 49, a, upper left). There is a rectangular tank, 0.58 m. wide and 0.66 m. long on the inside; its greatest preserved depth is 0.75 m. The inside is covered with stucco. To the south of it, at a height of 0.65 m. above the bottom of the tank, there are traces of a larger cistern, the preserved length of which is 1.70 m. and the width at least 0.80 m. From the tank a rock-cut channel, 0.12 m. wide, extends eastward, where it apparently connected with a circular basin, the diameter of which measures 0.66 m. at the top. The bottom of a similar basin is preserved *ca.* 1.50 m. further south. These two basins seem to have been arranged roughly in symmetrical relationship to the small tank and the cistern. East of the tank there is a deep cutting in rock, 1.20 m. long, 0.34 m. wide in the center but only 0.22 m. at the two ends, and 0.84 m. deep. Half way down to the bottom there is a slot on either side, and from the east end of the north slot a small hole extends through the rock toward the north. This was obviously made to lead off some liquid from the rock-cut container which doubtless at a higher level connected with the tank at the rear. This rather intricate system of rectangular tanks and circular basins is repeated, with variations, at two other points on the ridge. About 4 m. to the southeast of these waterworks are preserved five rock-cut steps of a stairway leading from the south to the top of the ridge.

On the lower level, *ca.* 20 m. to the east of the waterworks described above, a larger area of the hill was excavated with a maximum length of 42 m. from east to west and a maximum width of 21 m. (Pl. 49, a). It presents a confused picture of rock-cut beddings and traces of walls, not sufficiently regular or well enough preserved to indicate house types. Over the whole area were found quantities of broken terracotta roof tiles and a few pieces of marble tiles. In many parts of this sector were heaps of ash and charred material. A great deal of pottery was found scattered over the whole area.

The most conspicuous remains on the hill are the tanks and cisterns, all but one of comparatively small size. In some instances they are cut down into the rock, in other places they must have had constructed walls which have largely disappeared. They are covered on the inside with a hard cement, usually well preserved. The largest of these waterworks is a reservoir near the west end of the lower sector (Pl. 49, b, top center). It is practically square, measuring approximately 2.50 m. on each side. Its greatest preserved depth below the rock surface is 2.00 m. It is cut in rock and its walls were originally covered with a stucco of much poorer quality than that of the other cisterns in the area. In the approximate center of the reservoir is a pier, measuring 0.465 m. x 0.265 m. in section and having a total height of 1.85 m. It consists of one large block, 1.52 m. high, surmounted by a smaller stone, at the top of which is an Ionic capital with two fasciae and a crowning moulding. Within the cistern were found many broken terracotta roof tiles and quantities of ash, indicating that the roof construction was of wood and had been destroyed in fire. A little to the east of the cistern a rock-cut channel for the overflow extends toward the north to the edge of the rock.

About 2.50 m. to the east of the large reservoir are the remains of other waterworks consisting of a rectangular cistern and two circular basins (Pl. 49, b, center). The present depth of the rectangular basin is only a few centimeters, but originally it was deeper. At its northeast corner is an outlet by which its contents were emptied into one of two circular basins. The partition wall between these, which is only 0.12 m. wide at the narrowest point, is preserved up to the top and covered with cement, and there is no visible means of pouring the liquid from one to the other. So far as it is possible to judge from the existing remains, contents of the rectangular basin were drained off into the smaller of the two circular basins and from there, after the liquid had settled, it was perhaps scooped out and poured into the basin on the south. The lower part of a large terracotta storage jar was found close to the rectangular basin.

There is a rectangular cistern about 5 m. farther south and *ca.* 3 m. to the south of the large reservoir; and close to its south end and a little to the east of it are the remains of another group of containers, consisting of a rectangular cistern at a higher level and two circular basins, the tops of which are approximately level with the floor of the rectangular cistern.

The area to the east of these basins, in the approximate center of the lower sector, preserves the most tangible remains of human habitation. Here are traces of two walls roughly at right angles to each other. They are built partly of squared stones, which seem to be re-used, and partly of uncut field stones. They probably formed the southeast corner of a dwelling, the full extent of which cannot be determined. Over the whole area covered by these remains were found quantities of ash and carbonized material. Within the room were many fragmentary tiles of terracotta and marble, one complete stone from the top of a hand mill, two fragments of similar implements, a large terracotta trough and other objects of stone and terracotta.

Approximately midway between the east and west ends of the lower sector and close to the north edge of it are the remains of a building, the walls of which have almost entirely disappeared. At its west end is preserved a floor of hard packed earth which is blackened by fire. The east half of the building is occupied by a bath in comparatively good state of preservation (Pl. 49, c). West of the bathtub, in the approximate center of the building, was a stuccoed area, measuring *ca.* 1.52 m. in length and 1.15 m. in width at its widest part. It is separated from the tub by a ridge, only 0.08 m. in height. At its northeast corner it emptied its contents into a narrow channel leading northward. There seem to be two periods represented, the level of the later being *ca.* 0.21 m. above that of the earlier period. The best preserved part of the house is the bathtub, which is of the typical fourth century type with a seat at the wider, straight end and a depression for the feet at the curved end.²² It is partly hollowed out of rock and partly built of stone and covered with hard cement. The seat is 0.60 m. long, 0.27 m. wide and *ca.* 0.20 m. high. From this wide end with the seat the tub narrows toward the west end, where there is a circular cavity, with an upper diameter of 0.35 m. and a depth of *ca.* 0.14 m. The total length of the tub is only 1 m. On the right side is a small quadrangular tank, 0.54 m. long and 0.34 m. wide, separated from the bathtub by a thin poros slab set on edge. There is a narrow outlet at the bottom of the tank which joins the outlet from the larger rectangular basin in front of the bathtub. The two poured their water into a narrow channel sloping toward the north.

Slightly to the east of the bathtub are preserved the floors of two large shallow basins, and a little to the south of these there is a well preserved rectangular tank, measuring 1.20 x 0.80 m. in area, and 0.97 m. in depth. There are traces of an inlet at its northwest corner.

At the eastern end of the excavated area are scant traces of house walls and

²² Fragments of terracotta tubs of similar shape were found scattered over a wide area on the ridge. The type was common in the fourth century B.C. and later. A well preserved example was found at Tarsus; see Hetty Goldman, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 542, fig. 32. The tubs found at Olynthos lack the seat. See *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part VIII, pp. 199-200, plates 28, 53-54; and Part II, pp. 46-50, where references to ancient bathtubs are collected.

cuttings in rock, indicating that the whole area was thickly occupied with buildings. Here is preserved a rectangular cistern cut in rock (Pl. 49, a, left center), 1.60 m. long, *ca.* 1 m. wide at its widest point, and 0.85 m. deep. Along its upper edge is a shallow rabbet in which stone cover slabs were inserted. Some of the broken slabs were found in the tank and one, completely preserved but cracked in the middle, still occupies its original position. Close to the tank on the south side was found a pile of ash and calcined stones.

The extensive use of cisterns for the collection of water gives the impression that the whole ridge was fairly thickly settled in ancient times. It seems unlikely that its occupants were villagers and tillers of the soil, although some of the cement-covered tanks could well be explained as serving some purpose in connection with wine production. There seems to be no reason, however, for carrying the grapes grown in the valley to the top of the hill to be made into wine, unless the inhabitants of the hill lived there permanently and consumed the wine in their homes. Most of the cisterns seem to have been constructed for the collection and storage of water. In view of the dedications of miniature vases on the top of the ridge and other less tangible indications of cult, it seems likely that the whole area was occupied by temple servants who were permanently attached to the cults in some sanctuary at the foot of the hill, but had their private shrine in the settlement on the ridge. Numerous loomweights found on the hill (Pl. 56, e), several female figurines (Pl. 56, b), the gold earring found in 1952²³ etc., seem more suitable to female attendants of some goddess than to priests in the cult of the sea-god Poseidon.²⁴

The eastern end of the ridge has suffered so extensively from quarrying both in modern and ancient times that it hardly seems worthwhile to investigate the area. There are traces of several stairways both on the north and south sides and some other cuttings in the rock indicating extensive use and more permanent occupation than would have been occasioned by working the quarries.

SCULPTURE

Very little sculpture was found sufficiently well preserved to merit inclusion in an interim report. The fragments of a pedimental group from the Temple of Poseidon have already been mentioned.

The earliest piece of sculpture (IS 161) is the head of a lion (Pl. 50, d) of blue

²³ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 194, fig. 1, pl. 60d.

²⁴ The cult of Poseidon at Kalauria, however, was served by a young priestess, as we learn from Pausanias II, 33, 2. Not far from the Rachi, west of the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, was the Sacred Glen, Ἱερὰ Νάπη, in which were temples of Demeter and Kore, of Dionysos and of Artemis, *I.G.*, IV, 203, lines 15-17. In the village of Kyras Vrysi a remarkable vase was recently discovered, which carries a dedication to "Wise Demeter." See Eugene Vanderpool, *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, p. 232, pl. 45, 4.

fine-grained marble, the surface of which has flaked off as a result of exposure to heat. Enough of the neck is preserved to show that the head was turned sharply to the right. Round the neck is a raised line, indicating a collar, from which a leash extended below the chin toward the back. The lion belongs to a group of sculpture, one fragment (IS 3) of which was found in the trial trenches dug in 1952.²⁵ This is the lower half of a female figure in stiff archaic pose, holding a curved object in either hand. It is made of the same type of marble as the lion's head but has suffered less from the fire. On the analogy of an almost identical and better preserved figure from Olympia, and a complete example at Oxford, said to have come from Corinth, it is now possible to identify the two fragments from the Isthmia as part of the sculptural support of a *perrhiranterion*.²⁶ It consisted of three female figures standing on lions, each woman holding the tail of her animal in one hand and the leash in the other. At the top was a marble basin, probably supported on a central column and resting on the *poloi* worn by the human figures. There is good reason to suppose that the circular base (Pl. 50, c) found beneath the floor of the east peristyle of the classical temple (see above, p. 111) supported the group. A tentative restoration is shown in Fig 1.²⁷

The most significant pieces of later marble sculpture are parts of a marble frieze, several fragments of which were discovered in the trial trenches of 1952.²⁸ On one is preserved the upper part of a female figure (IS 6) leaning forward, with arms outstretched toward the left. The hand of a second figure rests on her back. A second piece (IS 171) of the same slab, discovered in 1954, adds the arm of the second figure (Pl. 50, b). The back of the slab has saw marks and in the upper edge is an iron pin. The material is white marble.

On a fragment of a second slab (IS 8), found in 1952²⁹ is preserved part of a male figure holding in his arms a woman who appears to be dead or dying. On a separate piece from the upper right corner, presumably of the same slab, is the upper part of a male figure to left, holding in his hand an object swung like a club. In the

²⁵ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 191, pl. 59d.

²⁶ *Olympia*, III, pp. 26 ff., pl. 5; F. Matz, *Geschichte der gr. Kunst* I, pp. 382 f., pls. 120, 246. I am indebted to Homer A. Thompson for kindly calling my attention to the Olympia group. The Oxford stand, published by Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.*, XVI, 1896, pp. 275-280, is made of "limestone of a kind common in most parts of Greece, especially the Peloponnesus." Smith comments on the crudeness of the work. Although he admits that the style may be archaizing, he concludes that it is an original work of the first half of the fifth century B.C. The style of the human figures and of the lions is much more advanced than that of the Isthmia fragments. A central column, shaped like an hour-glass, supports a circular base, which also rests on the heads of the women. In the top of the base is a large cutting through which a basin, presumably of stone, had been fastened to the stand.

²⁷ The restoration in Figure 1 was made by William J. Tallon of the Departments of Art and Education at the University of Chicago. For the use of *perrirhanteria* in ancient cult practice see S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, pp. 78 ff.; and cf. Demetrios I. Pallas, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.; Constantine G. Javis, *Greek Altars*, p. 184.

²⁸ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 191, pl. 58e, f.

²⁹ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 58e.

modeling it looks like the arm of a child. The marble is broken at the shoulder and there is no room in the corner of the slab for the complete figure to which the "arm" belongs.

Several fragments of reliefs, probably from the same monument, were found in the excavations of 1954. Three contiguous fragments (IS 169), and the right arm of a figure found in 1952 (IS 13) have been joined together, forming the largest preserved piece of the whole series (Pl. 50, a). On the left half of the slab is a male figure, his body in front view and his head turned in profile toward the left. A chlamys is thrown over his left arm and shoulder, and fastened on his right shoulder. In the



FIG. 1. *Perirrhanterion*, Tentative Restoration.

background is a circular object which can only be the petasos of Hermes, and thus serves to identify the figure. The head is well modeled and resembles very strongly the head of the fragment described above from the 1952 excavation. The left hand, which seems to hold the edge of the chlamys, is very clumsily rendered. The right half of the slab was occupied by a figure of Artemis, to right, represented in the act of drawing the bow. She wears the customary garment of the huntress, held in at the waist by a girdle and forming an overfold at hip height. The head is missing, but four locks of hair are preserved in low relief, two at the top of the head and two at the rear. The upper edge of the hunter's boot is preserved on the left leg. A small fragment (IS 170), apparently from the lower edge of the same slab, as shown in Plate 50, a, preserves the left foot of the Artemis figure. If this fragment is correctly placed,

the slab had a total height of *ca.* 0.50 m.; the preserved length is 0.58 m. Unlike most pieces of the same series, it was not made as a thin slab, but here the sculptured face has been broken away from a larger piece of marble. The maximum thickness preserved, including that of the figures, is 0.15 m. Along the top and the right edge, the background has been roughly shaved off as if a moulding had fitted against it. A cutting for a metal clamp is preserved in the top. The surface is heavily encrusted with lime, and the marble is cracked, presumably from exposure to heat.

There are some smaller fragments of the same frieze, all found within the temple, but these would add little to the interpretation. There can be no doubt that some of the figures are copied from a group depicting the slaying of Niobe's children,³⁰ but not all the fragments fit the known representations of the myth. There is a chance that more pieces of this important frieze will be found in future excavations within the temenos of Poseidon.

POTTERY

Some pottery was found in all the areas excavated in the course of the campaign. The prehistoric vases are discussed separately by Esther A. Smith (below pp. 142-146). The most important classical pottery came from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon and from the ancient dump north of the temple. A few of the better preserved pieces from these areas are described below. They have an important bearing on the date of the deposit as well as on the dating of the archaic temple. The excavation on the Rachi yielded a large amount of pottery, which seems to date chiefly from the fourth century B.C. It consists for the most part of coarse household ware which has not yet been mended or studied. A few of the miniature vases from the deposit on top of the hill are described below (Nos. 21-29).

1. IP 88. Pl. 51, a, b, c. From archaic deposit in the Temple of Poseidon.

Corinthian aryballos. H. 0.055 m., gr. diam. 0.059 m. Buff, slightly reddish clay, dark brown glaze with purple applied freely on the warriors but not on the woman's head at the back of the handle.

On the main zone is a battle scene in which six hoplites, three on either side, armed with spears, helmets and circular shields, face each

other in the center. The protagonist on the right, whose shield is partly hidden by that of his opponent, has a flying bird on the face of the shield; his two companions have identical devices, the protome of a panther holding up a paw to his face. Behind the combatants are two unarmed figures, mounted on horses, facing away from the warrior scene. Between the two horses, directly below the handle (Pl. 51, b, top right), is a seated hoplite to right, armed like

³⁰ Professor Ernst Langlotz first called my attention to the similarity of a figure on one of the fragments found in 1952 (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 58, f, reproduced here in Pl. 50, b) to the Artemis figure in representations of the Niobid story. Cf. E. Langlotz, *Die Antike*, IV, 1928, p. 33, Fig. 2. If the new Artemis fragment found in 1954 is part of the same series, we must assume that the smaller fragment shows some other figure than Artemis. The presence of Hermes would be difficult to explain in connection with the Niobe story.

the warriors on the front of the vase. On the back of the handle is the head of a woman with long flowing hair and a fillet round her head. The edges of the handle, rim and shoulder are decorated with conventional designs. On the bottom is a whorl pattern consisting of a series of crescents in dark brown, purple and the color of the clay.

By decoration this belongs to Payne's Warrior Group, which was common in the Early Corinthian period, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 288. Cf. especially his 495 and p. 99, fig. 31; but the shape is that of Middle Corinthian aryballoi, *op. cit.*, pl. 31, 2-4.

2. IP 114. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Corinthian aryballos. H. 0.06 m., gr. diam. 0.052 m. Grayish brown clay, possibly discolored by fire.

On the main zone is a series of warriors, to left, carrying circular shields, and with a double row of circular dots surrounding each figure. Purple circle on each shield and white dots around the rim. Concentric circles on rim, shoulder and bottom, and a tongue pattern below the neck.

Late Corinthian. Cf. *Necrocorinthia*, p. 320, B, fig. 160; Saul Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, Nos. 361, 362.

3. IP 120. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Aryballos. H. 0.06 m., gr. diam. 0.056 m. Reddish buff clay, surface poorly preserved.

Almost identical with the preceding and painted by the same unskillful, or merely careless master.

4. IP 333. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Aryballos in bucchero ware. H. ca. 0.053 m., gr. diam. 0.053 m. Dark gray fabric with polished surface, no glaze.

Parts of the rim and bottom missing. The decoration consists of depressed vertical lines extending from rim to base.

5. IP 324. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Aryballos. H. 0.064 m., gr. diam. 0.061 m. Brick red clay.

Handle, parts of rim and body missing. On the rim and below the shoulder, wide purple stripes; the rest of the vase is covered with black glaze.

6. IP 332. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Squat jug. H. 0.072 m., gr. diam. 0.068 m. Buff clay, darkened by fire. No decoration.

7. IP 82. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Aryballos. H. 0.064 m., gr. diam. 0.06 m. Buff clay, brown and purple glaze, which has mostly disappeared.

On the front of the vase is a large bird with outstretched wings, very badly drawn. On rim and shoulder, at the base and in the back are conventional designs and space fillers.

8. IP 107. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Aryballos. H. 0.06 m., gr. diam. 0.056 m. Light buff clay with very smooth surface. The glaze has largely peeled off.

The main decoration consists of large ram, rendered in brown and purple glaze. On rim, shoulder and bottom are radiating tongues, and space fillers are used on the back of the vase. The drawing is very similar to that on the preceding aryballos, and the two might well have been executed by the same painter.

9. IP 115. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Aryballos. H. 0.067 m., gr. diam. 0.06 m. Buff clay, dark brown and purple glaze, comparatively well preserved.

The decoration on rim and body consists of alternating purple and brown bands, separated by narrower bands in the color of the clay. On the shoulder and base are radiating tongues.

10. IP 87. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Aryballos. Gr. diam. 0.058 m. Smooth buff clay, dark brown and purple glaze in good state of preservation.

The rim and handle are missing. The main decoration consists of a large duck with outspread wings. Conventional fillers in the rear, and radiating tongues on shoulder and bottom. The incisions are deep and careless.

11. IP 68. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Alabastron. Gr. diam. 0.036 m. Reddish buff clay, dark brown and purple glaze, well preserved.

The top is missing. On the body are three bands with double rows of dots. Between the bands are double lines of purple paint. Tongue pattern on shoulder and bottom.

Cf. *Necrocorinthia*, p. 283, no. 376, fig. 121 B.

12. IP 116. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Kalathos. H. 0.045 m., diam. at rim 0.058 m. Reddish buff clay.

In the main zone are carelessly drawn zig-zag lines between rudimentary handles. Bands of purple and dark brown glaze above and below.

13. IP 110. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.

Top of Corinthian alabastron with tongues on rim and neck, and small dots on the body. Reddish buff clay, dark brown glaze, well preserved.

Cf. Early Corinthian alabastron, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 284, no. 377, fig. 121.

14. IP 72. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.

Top of Corinthian alabastron. Buff clay with a pinkish tinge.

On the rim are alternating purple and brown tongues, on the neck a row of tongues in brown glaze. Partly preserved on the shoulder zone, a row of lions, to right, with purple glaze used for their manes and other details of the body.

15. IP 111. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.

Fragment from lower part of Corinthian alabastron. Buff clay of fine quality.

Figure of a lion, to right, rosettes and dots used as space fillers. Below are purple lines on brown bands; on the bottom radiating tongue pattern. The fragment resembles the preceding and may be part of the same vase.

16. IP 330. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.

Bell shaped clay vessel with a circular hole and a pinched together handle at the top. Brick red clay, probably not Corinthian.

The decoration consists of concentric rings in dark brown glaze.

17. IP 356. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.

Fragment of Kleinmeister cup. Red Attic clay, good black glaze.

Part of the maker's signature --- ς με ἐποίησεν preserved. The four-bar sigma, which occurs twice, is rare on black-figured vases. Among the masters listed by Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, only two, Kittos and Lysias, use it.

18. IP 360 and 361. Pl. 54, b. Found in disturbed fill, probably part of the archaic deposit.

Fragments of Attic black-figured lekythos. Diam. at shoulder 0.07 m.

On the main zone was a chariot scene, in front of which are two hoplites. Very poor, careless drawing. At the top of the decorated zone is a band of interconnected dots, and on the shoulder two rows of tongues.

Date, 480-470 B.C. For the shape cf. C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, pl. 41, 4-5, by the Haimon Painter, which have the same type of foot, but they taper less abruptly toward the bottom. In this respect the Isthmia lekythos resembles the vases of Haspels' Emporion Painter, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-169, pl. 48, 3-5, whose style is closely related to that of the Haimon Painter.

19. IP 335. Pl. 52, a. From archaic deposit.

One-handled, Attic red-figured mug. Diam. at rim *ca.* 0.109 m.

Two of the fragments seem to have been blackened in fire and the clay is now a grayish red. On the piece in the upper right of Pl. 52, a the red color of the Attic clay is preserved. There is little doubt that all three pieces belong to the same vase.

The decoration was applied on a panel in front. On the largest fragment is preserved, in the upper left corner of the panel, part of the helmeted head of a warrior, to left. A small fragment from the bottom of the panel preserves part of a nude figure falling backwards with left knee bent back. The object at the right edge of the fragment seems to be his scabbard.

On the third fragment is preserved a large circular shield, held by a lunging figure, whose back and left leg are partly preserved. To the left of the shield at the edge of the break the lower part of another shield (?) appears.

On the rim of the largest fragment is an incised inscription *ἱερὸς Ποσειδόνος* — — —. The masculine form of *ἱερὸς* presumably agrees with the Greek word for the name of the vessel, possibly the rather rare form *ποτήρ*, or perhaps *κότυλος*, which in Athenaios, *Deipn.*, XI, 478, is described as a one-handed drinking cup.

Date: End of sixth century B.C. Related to the Painter of Berlin 2268. See J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vase Painters*, pp. 113-116, and cf. *C.V.A.*, Poland I, Goluchow, pl. 23, 2, 3. The attribution was made by Lucy Talcott.

20. IP 350 and 337. Pl. 52, b. From archaic deposit.

Four fragments of Attic red-figured hydria. The clay is now of an ash gray color, but this seems to have been the result of fire. One fragment (small piece at the top in upper row, Pl. 52, b) preserves the original red color of the clay.

A fragment from the shoulder (lower right in Pl. 52, b) preserves part of a lion to left. At the very edge of the shoulder is a pattern of squares with crosses in the center. There was a similar band at the bottom of the main zone. It terminates in a vertical band of interconnected dots. Of the figures in the main panel is preserved one foot and part of the drapery of a figure walking toward the right. At the base was a ray pattern.

The meander pattern of the borders is peculiar. Its closest parallels occur on vases of the Pan Painter, on which a wide variation of border patterns are found. The saltire squares are commonly interspersed in the regular meander pattern; on the Isthmia fragment they

occur in succession, with alternate squares open toward the top and bottom, and in many instances the squares are closed. Cf. Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, II, pl. 69, 65; J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, pls. 1, 2, 5, 18, 19, 24, etc.

21-29. IP 195, 171, 169, 189, 170, 84, 193, 192, 185. Pl. 52, c. From the excavations on the Rachi, all but one from a single deposit in the higher area.

Miniature vases that probably served no practical use but were mass-manufactured to be sold as containers of votive offerings. The three forms, hydriai, oinochoai, and kylikes, shown in the photograph, are the most common shapes from the various deposits on the hill. The vases are well made of pale buff Corinthian clay, and only rarely are they glazed. An exception is the miniature hydria 189 (fourth in upper row, Pl. 52, c), which is covered with a thin, lusterless paint in dark brown color.

30. IP 363. Pl. 52, d. From the circular cistern in the west waterworks.

Krater. H. 0.316 m., gr. diam. 0.296 m. The clay is pale buff, and powdery on the surface. The rim, the handles, and the snakes are covered with a thin, light brown wash; the rest of the vase is unglazed.

The rim is profiled and its lower edge is scalloped. On the shoulder are parallel grooves and a band of wavy lines impressed while the clay was wet. On either side of the handles are circular discs decorated with concentric circles. A snake, plastically rendered, is represented as crawling up over each handle and looking into the interior of the vase or drinking of its contents. The eyes, and spots on the skin, are indicated by small depressions made in the wet clay, and on the heads are crest-like projections.

COINS

The coins from the campaign of 1954 fall into three categories: a) silver coins from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon, b) a hoard of bronze coins from the temple area, and c) scattered coins from various parts of the excavations. The coins have all been cleaned but have not been identified or systematically studied.

In the course of the campaign 135 silver coins (Pl. 53) were found, all but two within the Temple of Poseidon. By far the largest number came from the archaic deposit beneath the floor of the fifth century temple, a few from disturbed fill that had probably been part of the deposit. With few exceptions the coins are readily legible, but many show signs of considerable wear, and some may have been damaged by the fire that destroyed the building. In general the coins of Corinth are in a better condition than those of Aigina. Some of the drachma pieces with Pegasos on the obverse and a female head on the reverse (Pl. 53, third row down) are exceptionally fine examples of engravers' art.

Nearly half (61) of the total number are coins of Aigina, 43 of which are staters; the others are smaller denominations. Corinth is represented by at least 56 coins: 14 staters, 12 drachma pieces, and 30 smaller coins. The remaining 18 are small, and a few are in a poor state of preservation. From a cursory study of these pieces it has been possible to identify three of Argos, two of Tegea, one of Sikyon, one of Eretria, and one of Naxos.³¹

Several of the coins appear to be counterfeits. One Aiginetan coin, with the usual figure of a turtle on the obverse and an incuse on the reverse, consists of a paper-thin shell of silver, which broke into several pieces when the coin was immersed in the cleaning bath. The inside was filled with a whitish substance, most of which dissolved in the process of cleaning. One Corinthian stater, with Pegasos on the obverse³² and an incuse on the reverse, has the color of bronze with only small patches of silver. Repeated attempts to clean it by the process used for the other silver coins have tended to intensify the bronze color and to cause some of the silver patches to decrease in size or disappear altogether. A deep vertical gash through the Pegasos was made in ancient times, apparently to test the metal. Many of the Aiginetan and some of the Corinthian coins have a thin cover of silver over a core of baser metal, which has turned black (Pl. 53, second coin in third row down). A chemical analysis of this metal may throw some interesting light on ancient counterfeiting. It is surprising to find several such coins brought as dedications to the temple.³³

³¹ I am indebted to Margaret Thompson for valuable advice and information about the silver coins from the temple.

³² The Pegasos on the obverse is very similar to that in Ravel, *Les Poulins de Corinthe*, I, pl. V, 65, but it is not identical with it.

³³ "False staters," *στατῆρες κίβδηλοι*, are recorded among the inventoried treasures of Artemis

Most of the silver coins were found in the stratified deposit containing pottery, bronzes, jewelry, pieces of iron, etc. Whereas many of the bronzes were so badly damaged by the fire as to turn them into unrecognizable lumps of metal, not many of the coins have been affected by the heat. Like the other objects from the archaic deposit, the silver coins were doubtless brought as dedications to the god. They are not a hoard in the strict sense of the word, since they were found individually scattered over a restricted area, nor is it likely that they were dedicated at one time by a single individual. A detailed study of the Isthmia coins in their relation to the deposit as a whole will be of importance for the chronology of archaic Greek coinage.

The hoard of Byzantine coins, found within the temple (see above p. 117, Pl. 46, a) contained 270 bronze pieces in all. Among them are 61 very small coins, and about half of these are without any legible marks on either side. Many of the small pieces belong to the class of coins usually grouped together under the term "Vandalic";⁸⁴ a few seem to be issues of the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, and one is a Pegasos-Trident piece of Hellenistic times. The other coins of the hoard are, with few exceptions, in excellent condition (Pl. 54, c). A cursory examination of the lot has revealed that a little less than one fourth of the total number are coins of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). Most of these are large clean specimens that look as if they had come fresh from the mints. Five of Justinian's mints, Constantinople, Theoupolis (Antioch), Kyzikos, Nikomedia, and Thessalonike are represented, in that order of frequency. A little less than half of all the pieces in the hoard are coins of Justin II (A.D. 565-578). These, too, are for the most part in excellent condition. The largest number of the coins of Justin are small pieces minted at Thessalonike. The larger coins of his reign were minted at Constantinople or Nikomedia; a few bear the mint mark of Kyzikos. At least five are coins of Tiberius II (A.D. 578-582). Two mints, those of Constantinople and Nikomedia, are represented among them. Since the largest number are coins of Justin II, who reigned thirteen years, and only a very few are coins of Tiberius II, we may conclude that the hoard was buried shortly after coins of Tiberius had come into circulation.

BRONZES

Objects of bronze from the archaic deposit were numerous, but many of them were found in such poor condition that they could not be included in the inventory of finds. The more significant pieces are described below.

Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis, *I.G.*, II-III, 1388, line 61; and an item of ἀργύριον κί]βδηλον from the Eleusinion also occurs among the Hekatompedon inventories, *I.G.*, II-III, 1393, line 33.

⁸⁴ See Katherine M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 11. Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II, pp. 101-102, has shown that most of the so-called Vandalic coins found at Corinth and in the Athenian Agora cannot have been minted by Alaric, but are likely to have been issued during the economic distress following the invasion of the Goths, either by imperial mints or possibly even by the cities, Corinth and Athens, themselves.

1. IM 112. Pl. 55, b, lower left.

Female figure. Total pres. H. 0.07 m.

In a contorted position, with the left shoulder raised and her head bent forward and toward her left. The front part is in poor condition and the face is missing. Some locks of hair fell over the shoulders on the front; their attachments at the head are visible, and parts of three ringlets are preserved below the left shoulder. The back is in somewhat better state of preservation. Here the hair and part of the drapery are tolerably well preserved. The whole lower half of the figure was destroyed by fire and is now a formless mass of metal.

2. IM 111. Pl. 55, b, lower right.

This is a companion figure discovered with No. 1. Pres. H. 0.065 m.

It represents a satyr in a crouching position, resting on his bent right knee. The face is poorly preserved, but his pointed left ear is clearly visible, and his face gives the impression that he is wearing a mask. On the back his hair falls in a solid mass to his shoulders and a hand seizes his hair from the top. Part of the goat skin that fell over his back and the hole for the attachment of the tail are preserved.

The two bronzes, which were found close together, doubtless form a pair. The dimensions of the figures are approximately the same, and the finish is very similar. This is particularly apparent in the fine strands of hair on the top of their heads. They probably represent a symplegma of a nymph and a satyr. The latter would have approached her from her right side.³⁵ As he crouched on the ground, with his head slightly above the level of her waist, she

seized his hair with her left hand, turning her head away from him in a gesture of modesty.

Because of the mask-like face of the satyr, and the action portrayed, it is not unlikely that the two bronzes represent actors in a satyr play. The two figures assume additional interest by being approximately contemporary with Aischylos' satyr play, *Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί*, the scene of which was laid in the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmia.³⁶

3. IM 312. Pl. 55, b, upper left.

Bronze bull. L. 0.058 m.

In good state of preservation with only the feet missing. The head is rendered with some attention to detail, but there is little modeling of the body, which is curved and elongated, as if the figure had been used as a handle on a bronze vessel.

4. IM 311. Pl. 55, b, upper right, and c.

Bronze bull in perfect state of preservation. L. 0.039 m., H. 0.027 m. It stands on a base, 0.037 m. long, 0.027 m. wide, perforated at the corners, and was probably intended to be attached to a higher base of wood or stone.

The muscles of the neck, the folds around the eyes, and the locks of hair between the horns are indicated by deep lines.

The figure, probably later in date than the preceding, shows characteristics of a different breed of cattle. The body has the heavy, low-slung form of animals bred for their meat. The legs are short and bent, as if unable to support the excessive weight. The resemblance to a Hereford bull is striking.³⁷

³⁵ For the pose of the satyr and the hand on his head cf. Satyr and Maenad scene on red-figured amphora, Pfuhl, *M.Z.G.*, III, pl. 104, fig. 362.

³⁶ H. J. Mente, *Nachtrag zum Supplementum Aeschyleum*, 1949, pp. 27-32. The fragments of the play mention the Temple of Poseidon, δῶμα Ποσειδῶνος Σεισίχθο[ρος] line 18, probably the archaic temple, and refer to the crown of pine branches given to the victors at Isthmia, line 79. These references were kindly called to my attention by Professor Bruno Snell.

³⁷ Cf. small bull from the Athenian Acropolis, A. de Ridder, *Cat. de Bronzes Trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 187, No. 514, which is, however, more elongated and less bulging.

5-12. IM 521, 744, 505, 534, 535, 142, 709, 200 + 636. Pl. 54, a.

Fragments of bronze helmets.

Helmets seem to have been common dedications to Poseidon, but few pieces are sufficiently well preserved to show their shape. Some were found within the temple area, the rest came from the ancient dump, north of the north temenos wall, which contained blackened debris similar to that found in the temple. The edges of these bronze fragments are decorated with

various designs executed in different techniques. A fairly common type of decoration consists of rows of small raised dots which were made by inserting pins in tiny holes that extend through the thickness of the metal. Usually the pins project slightly on one or both sides, and in some cases they have fallen out, leaving an open hole. One nose guard (Pl. 54, a, third, lower row) has on the back some letters of an inscription which has not yet been deciphered.

MISCELLANEOUS

A few objects of gold and silver were found in the archaic deposit from the Temple of Poseidon. In addition to the objects described below pieces of crumpled gold foil were found at all depths in the temple area. They had probably been used for the gilding of statues made of bronze, marble, or wood.

1. IM 615. Pl. 55, a, lower right.

Miniature gold bull. L. of base, 0.01 m., W. 0.005 m.

It was made in two halves fastened together, and the tail was soldered on as a separate piece. The animal was apparently conceived as standing, pawing the ground with his left forefoot and lowering his head as if ready to charge.⁸⁸ For all its smallness the engraver has succeeded in instilling an appearance of strength and vitality, and creating an illusion of monumentality. The gold bull was found by sifting the earth from the archaic deposit within the temple. On this evidence it is to be dated not later than the first two decades of the fifth century B.C.

2. IM 614. Pl. 55, a, upper right.

Gold object, probably a pinhead, shaped like a bishop's miter. L. 0.015 m.

The upper part, which has been squeezed out of shape, is divided into sections by means of depressed lines, and at the top is a spherical

knob. At the lower, open end is a loop pattern between raised lines and beadings. There are two large holes for fastening the head to the pin. For the shape cf. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery in the British Museum*, pl. X, 965.

3. IM 604. Pl. 55, a, upper left.

Tiny, almond-shaped gold bead.

4. IM 561. Pl. 55, a, center left.

Spherical gold bead with large hole through center. Diam. 0.006 m.

5, 6. IM 561, 562. Pl. 55, a, lower left.

Hemispherical objects of gold with two points clinched like staples, for attachment to some material such as leather or wood.

7. IM 565. Pl. 56, c.

Silver ring, with rectangular silver bezel on which is engraved the figure of a sphinx, to left, within a frame of simple rope pattern. The

⁸⁸ The position of the bull is rather similar to that of the well known grave monument of Dionysios of Kollytos in the Dipylon Cemetery, which is nearly two centuries later. A. Brückner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, p. 44, fig. 18; p. 66, fig. 37. An early example of the type was found at Olympia, A. Furtwängler, *Olympia* IV, p. 151, pl. LVI, 958.

engraving is sketchy and crude. The bezel was made as a separate piece and soldered to the ring.

8. IM 581. Pl. 56, d.

Scaraboid gem, of a smoky, whitish stone, probably chalcedony. L. 0.015 m., W. 0.011 m.

Terracotta figurines were found in considerable numbers in the temple area, in the ancient dump, on the north side of the temenos and on the Rachi.

9-13. IM 439, 114, 159, 164, 120. Pl. 56, a.

Archaic horse-and-riders, found in the temple and in the ancient dump close to the north temenos wall.

These are all made of the typical buff Corinthian clay and decorated in red, brown, or purple colors.

14. IM 115. Pl. 56, b, upper left.

Head of a veiled female figure, probably a priestess.

The clay is red, with a buff surface. Traces of white paint remain on the head and veil. The face is modeled with extreme delicacy, but the veil, which hangs down her back, is only sketchily rendered. This head was found in the ancient dump north of the temenos of Poseidon.

15. IM 116. Pl. 56, b, upper right.

Beautifully modeled head of a woman wearing a kerchief that comes down over her forehead, where it is held in place with a fillet and turned back over the head. The rear edge of the kerchief is broken away. There is a deep fold in the center, where the hair would have been parted. The hair is gathered together at the nape of the neck, and roughly moulded ringlets hang down the back. The clay is of a grayish brick-red hue, and traces of white paint remain on the face. The kerchief may be the distinguishing mark of some temple servants connected with one of the cults of the Isthmian Sanctuary. Provenance, the Rachi.

The position of the head and the unusual form of kerchief occur on a head from Corinth. Cf. Gladys R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24,

Within a simple cable pattern is the figure of a nude athlete, kneeling or running. In his right hand, held at the waist, is a small loop, possibly the thong used for throwing the spear. In his left hand, held up to his face, is a small object. For the general type, compare A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. VIII, 17.

no. 285. The Corinth head is from a larger figure, and the expression on her face is totally different, but the position of the head, the form of the kerchief and the hair are so similar that both may be copied from an original in bronze or marble. Probable date, end of the fourth, or the beginning of the third century B.C.

16. IM 117. Pl. 56, b, lower left.

Small figure of Eros in a striding position, with outstretched hands and with the head bent back, as if he were looking up at some object near by.

Arms, legs and wings are partly missing. On his right side is a lump of clay by which the figure was attached to some other object. Provenance, the Rachi. In the quality of clay and glaze and in the crisp, sketchy rendering of the hair, the Eros figure resembles the preceding. Whether or not they belong to the same group, the Eros figure was doubtless attached to a larger figure, and he is represented in the common attitude of looking up toward the face of his companion. Compare, for example, the two Erotes on a lamp from Corinth, *Corinth*, IV, ii, p. 98, fig. 44. Here, however, the Erotes are represented as standing away from the figure of Aphrodite. For the pose cf. figure of flying Eros from the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 32, 11, dated by Dorothy B. Thompson in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The Isthmia figure can hardly have been a flying Eros.

17. IM 168. Pl. 56, b, lower right.

Small terracotta head of a woman, with hair

parted in the center and pulled back tight. A thick braid is wound round the hair at the back of the head. There are traces of white paint over a red sizing.

For the type, compare head from Corinth,

Gladys R. Davidson, *op. cit.*, no. 268. She dates the Corinth head in the early third century B.C. The Isthmian head, which is better modeled, should probably be dated at the end of the fourth century.

More than 70 loomweights were found during the campaign, most of them in the excavations on the Rachi. Six of the more interesting examples are shown.

18. IM 327. Pl. 56, e, upper left.

Lentoid stamp on which a winged figure of Eros kneels before a trophy, or armed statue. Below is the stamp MEΛ. For a similar weight, compare Gladys R. Davidson, *op. cit.*, no. 1149, who suggests that the armed figure may be a statue of the armed Aphrodite on Acro-Corinth.

19. IM 343. Pl. 56, e, upper middle.

Weight stamped with the figure of a loomweight, and on the beveled edge the letters ΓΑΥΚ. Cf. Gladys R. Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 157, fig. 27, no. 1153.

20. IM 331. Pl. 56, e, upper right.

A miniature loomweight, lacking markings of any kind.

21, 22. IM 742 and 771. Pl. 56, e, lower left and middle.

These weights have a somewhat more advanced profile and are marked by identical stamps—a beardless male head, to right—within a circular impression. The head is delicately rendered and gives the impression of being a portrait. Two other loomweights with identical stamps were found on the Rachi. Although presumably of Corinthian manufacture, the stamp does not occur on loomweights found at Corinth.

23. IM 333. Pl. 56, e, lower right.

The beveling here comes considerably lower than on the two preceding, and the stamp is above the beveled edge. Within an elongated impression is a small bearded face, to right, which also seems to be intended as a portrait.

CONCLUSION

The first two campaigns have vastly increased our knowledge of the Isthmian Sanctuary. The primary objective, discovery of the Temple of Poseidon, was achieved during the first season. As a result of the second campaign the principal epochs in the history of the temple have been revealed, and the physical and architectural features of the whole precinct stand out with reasonable clarity. But the task is far from finished. The temenos with its enclosing walls and stoas is as yet inadequately explored. The ancient dump along the north side may be expected to yield further material from the successive periods of the temple; the area between the South Stoa and the temple requires further investigation, and the waterworks at the west end of the area must be completely cleared.

The immediate objective of the next campaign is to discover the location of the Palaimonion. This was probably a minor monument, architecturally, but the cult which it housed was of major importance, inasmuch as Palaimon was the foundation

hero of the Isthmian Games. Outside the precincts of Poseidon and Palaimon there were many temples and public buildings, the names of which are known. It would be important to know the line of the processional way by which Pausanias reached the precinct from the Stadium. Some traces are likely to remain of the portraits of victorious athletes that graced the approach to the temple along this route. The Theater and the Stadium merit further investigation. And it would be desirable to be able to plot the roads leading to the Isthmia from the east and the west; indeed the topography of the whole Isthmus region has never been thoroughly explored. These are a few of the most urgent tasks of future campaigns.

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PREHISTORIC POTTERY FROM THE ISTHMIA¹

(PLATE 57)

A prehistoric site of some size must exist near the Isthmian sanctuary, since scattered prehistoric material was encountered in minute quantities in the excavations.

Within the area of the temple itself, about a dozen Mycenaean sherds were found, all of which appear to belong to the first and second Late Helladic periods. In the ancient dump to the north of the temple, a few Mycenaean sherds occurred in the lowest layers, and at the east end of this area a rather squat cup stem (IP 296) of greenish buff Ephyrean ware was found. A Mycenaean kylix stem (IP 100) was found in the water basin west of the Poseidon temple. The trial trench across the Theater also produced some prehistoric sherds, principally Early Helladic and a few Mycenaean. They were found just above virgin soil within the scene building, and had apparently been washed down from the higher levels, since the entire deposit was mixed.

On the Rachi, a handful of nondescript sherds which appear to be Neolithic and some pieces of obsidian were discovered in a crack in the rock on the highest part of the hill. The only other prehistoric object from this area was a Mycenaean kylix stem (IP 290), found a little below the highest point. The presence of prehistoric sherds on this hill had been reported previously, although apparently no great quantity was ever found.² It does not seem likely, however, that it can have been the site of a prehistoric settlement of any size, since the season's excavations laid bare the greater part of the top of the hill, and no prehistoric material except the few pieces mentioned above came to light. Although there is little depth of soil, it is unlikely that all traces of prehistoric occupation would have been removed by the later inhabitation. Obviously there is a prehistoric site at the Isthmia, but it must be sought for elsewhere than on this ridge.

The only prehistoric deposit of any size came to light in a trench cut across the gully to the northwest of the temple. For the greater part of its length, this trench yielded mixed sherds, from late Roman back through Corinthian, with a very few Geometric, Mycenaean, and Early Helladic. In the northwest end of the trench, how-

¹ Most of the work on this article was done while I was in Greece as a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor Saul Weinberg and Professor Oscar Broneer for their valuable help and criticism.

² It is included by Blegen in his survey of prehistoric sites in the Corinthia (*Corinth*, I, p. 112; *A.J.A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 8). He locates the prehistoric material "on the hill above the stadium." Of the two hills that qualify under this description, the Rachi must be the one meant, since the later rock cuttings described by Monceaux are mentioned in connection with it, and only the Rachi has rock cuttings of this sort.

ever, from a depth of about a half meter to a meter, the sherds, though mixed, were prehistoric only, Early Helladic through Mycenaean. The Mycenaean sherds, Late Helladic I and II, include a number of cup stems of the squat variety, two pieces from the rims of bowls with wavy line pattern, and a piece from the shoulder of a squat alabastron (Pl. 57, a, left half), and three pieces of Ephyrean ware (Pl. 57, a, 2nd row from right), with the usual floral patterns. The Middle Helladic period is represented by a number of matt-painted sherds (Pl. 57, a, right hand row). Early Helladic sherds were the most numerous, and included coarse ware, finer unpainted ware, and a quantity of red painted pieces.

From a depth of approximately a meter, only Early Helladic material was encountered, including some intact vases lying together in the upper part of the layer. Stereo, consisting of irregular ledges of soft rock, was reached at a depth of 1.30 m. to 1.50 m. Sherds and pieces of obsidian were found throughout this layer. The deposit does not appear to be undisturbed. Large stones and lumps of clay and pieces of conglomerate broken from the edge of the gully were found among the pottery, and the whole deposit appears to have slid down the side of the gully. On the other hand the material can not have traveled far from its original position, since so many vases remained intact. Two pieces of bone in an extremely decayed condition were found with the deposit, and it is possible that the pottery came from a grave group that had washed down the gully.

The better preserved pieces of pottery were the following:

1. Pl. 57, b. Large open bowl (IP 136).

H. 0.109 m., diam. 0.198 m.

The profile presents a continuous curve from rim to base. The rim is slightly incurving, the base somewhat convex; there is no foot. Tan fabric, hard and well baked, covered on both sides with a thin, light brown wash.

2. Pl. 57, b. Open bowl (IP 138).

H. 0.077 m., diam. 0.151 m.

Shape similar to No. 1. Incurving rim, slightly convex base, no foot. Pinkish tan fabric, fairly hard, traces of red wash on outside.

3. Pl. 57, b. Small open bowl (IP 122).

H. 0.048 m., diam. 0.096 m.

Straight flaring sides, flattened base, incurving rim. Tan fabric, fine but rather soft. No trace of wash or glaze.

4. Pl. 57, b, d. Sauceboat (IP 133).

H. 0.065 m., W. 0.095 m., preserved L. 0.128 m.

The shape is unusual. The body of the pot is oval, merging into a rudimentary spout, which lacks the flaring everted corners of the common type of sauceboat; nor does the spout rise above the level of the body to any great extent. There is no foot, the underside being slightly convex. The back part is missing, and no part of a handle is preserved. The fabric is fine, hard and well baked, with a gray core and slipped reddish buff surface mottled with gray.

5. Pl. 57, b. One-handed cup (IP 124).

H. 0.09 m., diam. 0.085 m.

Globular body narrowing at the neck and then turning out at the rim. Flattened base, no foot; vertical strap handle from widest part of body to rim. Reddish tan fabric, somewhat soft

and gritty; a brown wash unevenly applied and now mostly missing covered the outside and the upper half of the inside.

6. Pl. 57, d. One-handled cup (IP 131).

H. 0.078 m., diam. 0.066 m.

Shape similar to No. 5. Soft tan fabric, covered outside, and inside neck, with a thin streaky brown wash, now mostly disappeared.

7. Pl. 57, b. Spouted pitcher (IP 137).

H. 0.13 m., diam. 0.088 m.

Round body, fairly narrow neck, beak of spout not very pronounced. Slightly concave base, no foot; handle grooved in a twisted pattern and grooves filled with white matter. Soft grayish tan fabric, containing much grit. The outside and the inside of the neck are covered with light red glaze, of a dull quality, shading in some places to a grayish brown; much of the glaze has flaked off.

8. Pl. 57, c. Spouted pitcher (IP 128 a and b).

Pres. H. of body 0.097 m., est. H. of jug *ca.* 0.18 m., diam. 0.146 m.

Round body, flattened base, no foot. The

beak of the spout and most of the handle are missing, but the handle was grooved in a twisted pattern. Grooved decoration on the body in the form of groups of parallel lines running down the body of the jar from a line around the base of the neck. Soft reddish tan fabric, containing great quantities of grit. Outside covered with red glaze mottled in one place to dark brown, but nearly all flaked off.

9. Pl. 57, c. Round-bodied jar (IP 127).

H. 0.10 m., diam. 0.117 m.

Everted rim, flattened, slightly convex base, no foot. Very poor fabric, soft and flaky, with tan core, reddish tan surface. No trace of wash or glaze.

10. Pl. 57, e. Round-bodied jar (IP 135).

Pres. H. 0.131 m., diam. 0.153 m.

The pot is incomplete, but the shape is similar to No. 9. Fabric smooth, but rather soft, with grayish tan core and light red surface. Outside, and just inside the neck, covered with good reddish brown glaze, varying to purple and black in patches, thick and evenly applied.

In addition to the group of more or less intact pots, many Early Helladic sherds were found. The majority seem to be from open bowls, but a few are from closed pots, cups and pitchers of the type described above. The fabrics ranged from the grittiest type of coarse ware, crumbly and badly baked, through fine, hard, well-baked pieces. Red wash or glaze was the most usual type of surface covering, if there was any, although light brown washes and a thicker black paint also occur. There was a good deal of plain cream or tan ware of good fabric, but apparently unslipped and unpainted.

In spite of the absence of burnished wares, the pottery from this deposit belongs to the earliest part of the Early Helladic period. The larger bowls suggest Neolithic types; the smaller are typically Early Helladic, and can be paralleled at almost any mainland site. Elsewhere they are commonly found with feet, and the absence of raised feet is an indication of early date in the pottery of the Isthmia deposit.³

The beaked pitcher is a common Early Helladic shape, but the two examples

³ All the Early Helladic I pottery from Asine lacked feet (L. Frödin and A. Persson, *Asine*, p. 205).

listed above are interesting for the twisted handles.⁴ A beak-spouted jug with a twisted handle was found on Lesbos, at Thermi,⁵ in Town V, which appears, however, to correspond to the later part of Early Helladic. The grooved decoration on the larger Isthmia jug is similar to that on some island pieces, plain handled beak-spouted jugs from Syros, which also have groups of parallel lines descending from the neck.⁶

The most significant vase in the deposit is the sauceboat. The striking peculiarities of the shape have already been pointed out; the common characteristics of the standard sauceboat are here hardly developed at all. The vase from the Isthmia must belong to a very early stage in the development of the shape, the history of which is not clear. If there was a development on the mainland, it should have proceeded from the low, oval boats with horizontal spouts, to the high, round type, with flaring, almost vertical, spouts. These types, however, have been found side by side, rather than in a stratigraphical sequence; and the sauceboat, on the mainland, appears as a fully developed form. A single example comparable to the Isthmia vase is one from the same area. Among the pottery from an Early Helladic shaft grave at Corinth, there was an intact sauceboat-shaped vessel of early type.⁷ The spout, as in the Isthmia vase, is merely a forward projection of the body, and is not differentiated at all. The shape looks somewhat clumsy and asymmetrical. The vase has a large vertical handle at the back, and a tall narrow foot, hollow underneath. A vase from Zygouries is somewhat comparable to that from the Isthmia, but has a more developed spout.⁸

Vases very similar to the Isthmia specimen have been found in Crete, where the developed sauceboat type does not occur. Some undecorated vases of this shape from the large Early Minoan multiple burial at Pyrgos have oval bodies with simple spouts rarely rising far above the body of the pot, and small horizontal handles at the back.⁹ Two examples have no feet; a third has an extremely large, hollow, bell-shaped foot, about two-thirds the height of the pot itself. It is interesting to compare this with the sauceboat from Corinth.

A similar vase was found at Koumasa.¹⁰ It has a simple spout and base, but differs in having a vertical handle and a painted decoration of hatched triangles. An example from Christos has no handle.¹¹ A marble example from an Early Minoan II tomb at Mochlos has a more pronounced spout, which flares out at the end in a way

⁴ Such handles have been found on cups and open vessels at Tiryns (K. Müller, *Tiryns*, IV, p. 17, fig. 8, pl. XX, 15), and Eutresis (H. Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 114, fig. 151, 3).

⁵ W. Lamb, *Thermi*, p. 90, fig. 32, no. 510.

⁶ N. Åberg, *Chronologie*, IV, pp. 85, 88, fig. 171; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1899, pl. IX, 2.

⁷ Heermance and Lord, *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, p. 322, II, 7.

⁸ Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 91, fig. 80, no. 320.

⁹ St. Xanthoudides, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., IV, 1918, pp. 144, 145, fig. 6, no. 20, fig. 7, nos. 36, 37.

¹⁰ Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, p. 38, pl. XXVII, no. 4277.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. XL, b.

similar to the mainland sauceboats.¹² A related group of Early Minoan pots from Gournia and Vasiliki is somewhat different in having a long, shallow body with an elongated base, a plain spout, and a very small horizontal handle at the back.¹³

A vase similar to those from Pyrgos was found in an Early Bronze chamber tomb at Lapithos, Cyprus, and was possibly an importation from Crete.¹⁴

In the Cyclades, similarly spouted vessels have been found. A large deep vase from Syros has a very small spout, horizontal handles on the sides, and a ledge handle at the back.¹⁵ Another vase from this island has a crude spout and a knob handle at the back.¹⁶ An example in marble, also from Syros, is closer to the Cretan examples, and stands on a very high foot.¹⁷ The Cycladic example most comparable to the Isthmia vase and to the Cretan spouted vessels comes from Amorgos.¹⁸ It has a small vertical handle, a flattened base, and a spout which smoothly continues the line of the oval body and rises slightly above the level of the rim.

Consideration of the above series of pots leads to the suggestion that the type of vase from which the sauceboat eventually developed originated in Crete, where the form remained more or less static and never became very common. It spread to the Cyclades, where it developed an elegant shape and elaborate spout. The preponderance of oval, rather than round, sauceboats in the islands is an indication of this. Ultimately the shape was transferred to the mainland of Greece, where it achieved its widest popularity, and became one of the most typical Early Helladic forms.

Cycladic influence is observable further in the Isthmia group of pottery, for example, in the beaked jugs. The sauceboat itself cannot be a Cycladic import, since its fabric is mainland. That the shape was imported there can be little doubt.

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¹² R. B. Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 51, fig. 22, VI. 3, pl. VI.

¹³ H. B. Hawes, *Gournia*, p. 56, fig. 37, 1; Seager, *Transactions of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, II, part 2, 1907, pp. 116, 121, 122, fig. 5, a, b, c.

¹⁴ V. Grace, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 15, 16, note 1, fig. 9, 6B. 8.

¹⁵ Chr. Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1899, p. 94, pl. IX, no. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 29.

¹⁷ Åberg, *op. cit.*, p. 91, fig. 179.

¹⁸ Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, p. 167, pl. IX, no. 7.

EXCAVATION AT CORINTH: 1954

(PLATES 58-62)

IN June of 1954 an excavation of two weeks duration was carried out on the north side of Temple Hill at Corinth under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies.¹ Its purpose was to learn more about the roof of an early archaic building in this area. In 1937 and 1938, while digging some trenches on this part of the hill (Pl. 58, a, W.I, W.V, W.Va, W.Vb), Mr. Saul Weinberg had uncovered some of the building debris from the construction of the present temple; under this debris he found a fill of poros blocks and terracotta roof tiles from an earlier archaic structure.² In the course of my preparation of a second volume on the Architectural Terracottas from Corinth,³ it became apparent that these roof tiles were of very considerable importance for the reconstruction of the history of early Greek roofing and that its development in the Corinthian area was not what had previously been supposed. But the tiles recovered by Mr. Weinberg made possible only a partial reconstruction of the roof and left many questions unanswered. This summer, therefore, further trenches (Pl. 58, a, R.I, R.II, R.IV, R.V, R.VI)⁴ were dug in this area in an attempt to locate more tiles and blocks and to solve some of these problems. The undertaking proved most satisfactory. Not only were many tiles and blocks found, but other objects of considerable interest were discovered. In addition the excavation yielded valuable topographical information.

The archaic temple of Apollo stands on the high point of the rock hill which dominated the center of ancient Corinth. The rock has been smoothed here to form a firm foundation for the temple. At the north, south and east the rock of the hill has been cut into at various times to provide space for buildings along its sides so that it now drops sharply. To the west there is a gentler slope toward the fountain of Glauke. North of the existing archaic temple the hilltop extends almost twenty-five meters before it is cut down to the level of the North Stoa and North Market. For about eighteen meters out from the east end of the temple to about ten at the west this fill is

¹ I wish to express my appreciation to the American Philosophical Society, a grant from which made this investigation possible. I should like also to thank the American School of Classical Studies and its director, Mr. J. L. Caskey and the Greek Archaeological Service for their help and cooperation. The plan of the new trenches was made by Mr. C. W. J. Eliot; the photographs are the work of Mr. Emil Seraph.

² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 489 f.; VIII, 1939, pp. 195 ff.; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 595. Mr. Weinberg suggested (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 197, note 1) that the earlier structure was a temple.

³ A first volume, including all the pieces found up to 1929, was published by the late Mrs. B. H. Hill (*Corinth*, IV, i).

⁴ In the notebook account of the excavation the western part of Trench I was called Trench III.

prehistoric (Neolithic and Early Helladic)⁵ except for occasional later intrusions, most of which are alongside the temple stylobate. But beyond this prehistoric fill to the north, the hill underwent a number of changes in later times and it was in this latter section that most of the investigation this summer took place.

THE EARLY ARCHAIC ROAD

The most important topographical discovery of the investigation was the course of an early road which ran across the north slope of the hill from northeast to southwest. It is evidently the continuation of a road located behind the rear wall of the North Market on the northeast shoulder of the hill which has already been discussed by Mr. R. L. Scranton in his publication of the buildings in that area.⁶ Those of our trenches dug along an extension of the line of this road to the southwest (Pl. 58, a, R.I, R.V, R.VI) all picked up its course. Presumably it connected with the road to Sikyon which ran north from the Agora between the present temple and the Fountain of Glauke at a point near the northeast corner of the fountain. This spring would be a very convenient place for the junction of two important roads.

In the section of the road previously discovered the rock surface at the edge of the hill had been cut down *ca.* 1.50 m. to make a level bed and easy grade for the roadway. Here the road was *ca.* 3.00 m. in width. On the south or hillward side, a retaining wall, two blocks of which are *in situ*, kept the earth from washing down from above over the road. Well-worn ruts in the rock indicate long use of the thoroughfare. We found that as the road proceeded to the west, it rose. By the time it reached the easternmost of our trenches (Pls. 58, a, R.V; 58, b, A) the cutting in the rock for the roadbed was only *ca.* 0.45 m. in depth. In this section the road was no longer bedded directly on the rock but on a very hard packing of small stones, pebbles, earth and bits of pottery measuring about 0.10 m. in depth.⁷ Farther to the west (Pls. 58, a, R.VI; 59, b) the rising grade brought the road to the level of the rock surface of the hill, so that here no cutting was necessary for its bed. In fact the hard-packed road metal, as deep as 0.15 m. at the north side of the road (Pl. 59, b, A), was used to build up a level surface since the rock sloped downwards to the north (Pl. 59, b, B). When the road reached our westernmost trench (Pls. 58, a, R.I; 59, c) it was nearly at the level portion of

⁵ The shaded sections in Trenches R.II, R.IV, R.V, and R.VI indicate prehistoric fill which was left undug. Some was also left in the western half of the room shown in R.V. The shading does not represent the total extent of the prehistoric fill, however, since some was removed in the southern part of Trench R.II and a little to the north of the shading in R.II, R.V and R.VI. The rectangle running north and south in R.IV is the northern end of an early trench dug by the late Mrs. Kosmopoulos. A number of obsidian blades (MF 9682-4) and an arrow head (MF 9681) as well as some very fragmentary pottery were among the prehistoric objects found.

⁶ Robert L. Scranton, *Corinth*, I, iii, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 155-157, pl. 71, 1, plan K.

⁷ When a small section of it was dug, it proved to be in two layers (Pls. 58, b, E; 59, a, A) but there was no distinguishable difference in the contents of the two.

the hilltop. At the east end of the trench (Pl. 59, c, B) an outcropping of rock had apparently been cut down to provide a level surface but at the west the road seems to be upon the natural rock top. The natural pockets in the rock surface were filled with hard-packed road metal. In this section deep ruts have been worn in the rock, in places to a depth of 0.08 m.–0.09 m. with an axial width of *ca.* 1.90 m. Throughout the roadbed measured *ca.* 3.00 m. in width.

In the sections which we uncovered there was no indication of a retaining wall.⁸ In the easternmost trench a foundation trench was cut, probably in the Roman period, along the south side of the roadway, beside the rock scarp, through the hard-packed road metal to the rock (Pls. 58, b, C; 59, a, B).⁹ One block of this foundation was found *in situ*, resting against the rock scarp (Pl. 58, b, B) and extending into the undug earth to the east. This foundation wall was in its turn plundered in the late Roman period. In the westernmost trench another wall block resting on a piece of rock ledge (Pl. 59, c, A) also belongs to a later operation, probably of Roman date. In the intermediate section there is a filling of prehistoric date along the south side of the roadbed. Generally speaking the road marks the termination of the thick layer of prehistoric fill. Probably the road was cut through it along the side of the hill. Some prehistoric fill is found to the north of the road in the central and western sections but it forms only a thin layer on the sloping rock. It seems likely that when the road was in use the fill to the north of it was not very deep.

It is not possible to say when the road was first laid out and traffic started, although the depth of the ruts and general signs of wear suggest a long period of use. However, we do have very clear evidence as to when the road went out of use. In each of the areas investigated it was found that a mass of fragmentary poros blocks, broken roof tiles, mud bricks and pieces of charred wood from an archaic building had been piled up on the road. In the western section there were more blocks and fewer tiles and mud bricks, in the center large quantities of all, at the east end more mud bricks and tiles and signs of charred wood, fewer blocks. This material covered the roadway to a depth of from *ca.* 0.50 m. to *ca.* 1.00 m. At the western end of Trench R.I (Pls. 58, a; 59, c) where the road level was almost at the level part of the hill, it was clearly petering out.

Over all this except at the east end where the fill was late and to the north of it where it extended down to bed rock or a thin layer of prehistoric fill, was a layer of poros chips. Evidently chips were thrown in first over the blocks, tiles and bricks, then more were dumped beyond to the north on the side of the hill. The same general situation was found in the earlier digging. There can be no doubt that this filling of poros chips comes from the construction of the existing archaic temple. The resem-

⁸ Perhaps a wall found by Mr. Weinberg (Pl. 58, a, W.V) is part of a retaining wall on the north side of the road.

⁹ The west end of this foundation trench is to be seen in Pls. 58, b, D; 59, a, C.

blance to the fill within the foundations of the temple,¹⁰ the presence of chips obviously from the fluting of large poros columns, the finds which date it to the middle of the sixth century B.C. or a little later, all fit only that explanation. That the piling up of the blocks, bricks and tiles on the road and the dumping of the poros chips above belong to a single general plan of operation is shown by the similar nature of the finds from both. No distinction in date can be made and they in turn confirm Mr. Weinberg's dating of the construction of the temple. This means that an earlier building, destroyed by fire, was dismantled and its remains piled up on the roadway when the present archaic temple was built around the middle of the sixth century or a little later. The roadway went out of use at that time, not any earlier, since the blocks, tiles and bricks rest right on the rock and road metal. The objects in the road metal too, small as they are, agree with this. At the same time the hill was built out and leveled to the north by the poros chip fill.

The roadway was next disturbed in the Roman period when the foundation trench in Trench R.V and the wall in Trench R.I, mentioned above, were put in. In the Byzantine period a building was constructed to the south of the road in the area of Trench R.V (Pls. 59, a, D; 59, d, A), while in Late Byzantine or Turkish times a number of tile graves were laid in the same section and over the road itself, cutting into the tile and block fill somewhat.

As we have already mentioned, no particular distinction can be made as to the date of the poros chip and the tile, brick and poros block fills. Aside from prehistoric finds, the earliest objects belong to the Late Proto-Corinthian period, the latest to Late Corinthian of around the middle of the sixth century. As might be expected, the fill of tiles, bricks and blocks yielded more finds than the poros chip fill. Fragments of many small vases suitable for votive offerings were found, skyphoi and cups, small bowls, lekythoi and aryballoi. The greater number were decorated with linear designs.

Aside from a few fragmentary Late Proto-Corinthian conical oinochoai, decorated with horizontal lines, the earliest pieces in the tile fill belong to the Early Corinthian period. Among them are a kalathos¹¹ with decoration inside and out of purplish red bands (Pl. 60, No. 1) and a fragment from a skyphos decorated with a band of coursing hounds (Pl. 60, No. 2).¹² Several terracotta horses date in the late seventh or early sixth century. One (Pl. 60, No. 11)¹³ is from the poros chip fill, another (Pl.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 193 ff.

¹¹ Inv. C-54-10. H. 0.04 m. For other kalathoi see *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 45, pl. 22, nos. 148-150, p. 48, pl. 23, no. 169, all of the third quarter of the seventh century; Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 99, pl. 30, nos. 20-23, of the last third of the seventh century, and *Art and Archaeology*, XXXI, 1931, p. 225. I am indebted to Mrs. Stillwell for her opinion on the date of this piece.

¹² Inv. C-54-8. Max. dim. 0.036 m. For the type see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 279, no. 191 and p. 23, fig. 9C; *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 65, no. 249, pl. 33 = *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 224, no. 18.

¹³ Inv. MF 9686. Max. L. 0.049 m. On such horses see *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 164-166.

60, No. 12),¹⁴ with red lines on the front of the neck and mane, black lines above the tail and red on the tail, from the block and tile fill. Two others,¹⁵ one with traces of a rider (Pl. 60, No. 13), come from later fill near by.

A variety of pieces of the Middle Corinthian period are worthy of mention. The poros chip fill yielded the lower part of a conical oinochoe of the black polychrome style (Pl. 60, No. 3).¹⁶ The black glaze has burned to a metallic tone. The stripes around the body are a purplish red. Most interesting of the finds of this period from the tile and block fill is the upper part of a plastic vase (Pl. 60, No. 9)¹⁷ consisting of a female figure wearing a polos. Her hands are held clasped in front, with the arms bent. The hair and polos show traces of purplish black glaze. The body is covered with purplish brown to black spots. The opening of the vase is through the top of the polos. Plastic vases of this sort heretofore found have been in the form of animals, sirens, sphinxes and male figures:¹⁸ this seems to be the only human female figure except for a protome in Naples.¹⁹ The closest parallels are to be found in the squatting comast vases such as one from Perachora²⁰ and one in the British Museum.²¹ Ours would seem to date close to the end of the Middle Corinthian period.²² Also from this fill came part of an aryballos with a frieze of warriors (Pl. 60, No. 4).²³

The most important single find of the excavation, also belonging to the Middle Corinthian period, came from later fill along the north side of the road. This is a very fine Corinthian aryballos (Pls. 63, 64),²⁴ complete except for the front of the lip. This small vase, with a scene representing a dancing contest, is of great interest, not only

¹⁴ Inv. MF9688. Max. L. 0.085 m.

¹⁵ Inv. MF9687. Max. L. 0.042 m., max. H. 0.05 m. MF9689. Max. L. 0.042 m., max. H. 0.035 m.

¹⁶ Inv. C-54-6. Max. H. 0.042 m., diam. of base 0.069 m. Compare Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 299, no. 758, fig. 136.

¹⁷ Inv. C-54-3. Max. H. 0.065 m.

¹⁸ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 170 ff.; M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1927; *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pp. 420 ff.; Payne, *Perachora*, I, pp. 235 ff.; *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, pp. 124 ff., pl. 9.

¹⁹ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 179; *Mon. Ant.*, XXII, 1913, pl. 74, 1. Mrs. Stillwell, who was kind enough to examine this and some of the other finds, tells me that the head is similar to some from moulds of the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, but not identical.

²⁰ Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 235, pl. 104, no. 199, dated ca. 590 B.C.

²¹ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 180, fig. 84.

²² Ours seems closer in date to the sirens (*Perachora*, I, pp. 238-39, pl. 105, nos. 217, 218) and to the Louvre Comast (*Necrocorinthia*, pp. 175 f., pls. 44, 5 and 48, 13-14) than to the other comasts. Compare the head to those from Middle Corinthian plastic vase handles (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 48, nos. 1-4, 8-9, 12, 15).

²³ Inv. C-54-7. Max. dim. 0.049 m. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 320, nos. 1244 ff., fig. 160; *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 80, no. 361, pl. 43 (with snowstorm, Late Corinthian); P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, Reading University Studies, Cambridge, 1934, pl. VIII, 95.43, pp. 38-40 (Middle Corinthian, closest to our example).

²⁴ Inv. C-54-1. H. 0.045 m. to top of lip.

for its unusual scene and fine workmanship, but for its inscription, one of the longest we possess in archaic Corinthian letters. Since this aryballos is being discussed more fully at the end of this report (pp. 158-163), it will not be described further now. Another Middle Corinthian object from later fill is part of a plastic vase in the form of a duck (Pl. 60, No. 10).²⁵ The way in which the very neat feathers of the wings are formed suggest a date in the early part of the sixth century.²⁶

Objects of the Late Corinthian I period are two mesomphalic bowls. One (Pl. 60, No. 5),²⁷ with a linear decoration of concentric circles in the interior and parallel lines around the edge of the rim, comes from the poros chip fill. The other (Pl. 60, No. 6),²⁸ smaller and more crudely made, was found in the tile and block fill. From this fill also is a handle plate from a large krater decorated with a swan (Pl. 60, No. 7).²⁹ A linear aryballos in the white style (Pl. 60, No. 8),³⁰ also belonging to the Late Corinthian I period, came from the later fill.

Parts of a number of Type I lamps were recovered.³¹ All are wheel made and none seems to have had a handle. All are of unglazed soft pinkish or yellowish buff clay, typically Corinthian. Some (Pl. 60, Nos. 16, 20, 21) are from the poros chip fill, others from the tile and block fill (Pl. 60, Nos. 17, 18) and still others from disturbed fill in the same area (Pl. 60, No. 19). One (Pl. 60, No. 16)³² has no central socket. The only noticeable variation in the others is in the angle of the wall of the central hole. Type I lamps of this form are among the early examples and should not be later than the middle of the sixth century B.C. in date.³³ A Type XVI lamp, complete except for the handle (Pl. 60, No. 22),³⁴ came from later fill.

From the poros chip fill also, and therefore not later than the middle of the sixth century, is a miniature poros Doric capital (Pl. 61, a).³⁵ A number of poros tools

²⁵ Inv. C-54-11. Max. W. 0.039 m.

²⁶ See Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 75, fig. 20 (Middle Corinthian cock), pl. 34, 7 (Middle Corinthian shield), and pl. 39, 1, 3 (Late Corinthian I shield).

²⁷ Inv. C-54-2. Diam. 0.066 m.

²⁸ Inv. C-54-9. Diam. 0.033 m., H. 0.017 m.

²⁹ Inv. C-54-5. W. of handle plate 0.082 m. See *B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, pl. 20, D 42, p. 57 for a similar one from the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae; for an earlier one (Middle Corinthian) see *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 76, pl. 40, no. 318.

³⁰ Inv. C-54-4. Max. H. 0.045 m. For the type see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 291, no. 641, fig. 127; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 197, no. 1; Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, pl. V, 92.6, pp. 22-23, 27.

³¹ CL4022, CL4018 (Pl. 60, Nos. 17, 18) from the tile fill; CL4016, CL4019 (Pl. 60, Nos. 16, 20) from the poros chip fill; CL4017 (Pl. 60, No. 19) from fill of later date. See *Corinth*, IV, ii, pl. I, 11 and p. 32, fig. 14, profile 5.

³² CL4016 (Pl. 60, No. 16). *Corinth*, IV, ii, pl. I, 23.

³³ *Corinth*, IV, ii, p. 35.

³⁴ CL4023. This type first appeared in the Augustan period and lasted until the beginning of the second century after Christ (*Corinth*, IV, ii, p. 57, fig. 25, no. 230; p. 150, fig. 78, no. 204, and p. 59).

³⁵ Inv. MF9698. W. of abacus 0.06 m.

for polishing were also found in this fill (Pl. 61, b).³⁶ Some of them are much worn, others fairly fresh.

A few other unusual pieces were found in later fill. One is part of an interesting terracotta figurine of moderate size (Pl. 60, No. 14).³⁷ It consists of the upper portion of the front of the body of a female (?) figure. The figure wears a buff colored garment with a red cloak over its left shoulder. The flesh of the neck and right hand are pinkish. Clasped in the right hand, which is held in front of the body, originally was a deer, of which only the front legs and a bit of the body now are preserved. It seems likely that Artemis is represented. Such a figurine would be a suitable dedication for the temple.

Another terracotta, of very fine workmanship, is part of a plastic relief (Pl. 61, g),³⁸ possibly an architectural piece. Preserved are a portion of the forelegs and lower body of a lion on top of the upturned belly of another animal, perhaps a bull, of which only the belly and part of a hind leg remain. The modeling and finishing of the surface are excellently done. The lion is cream colored with reddish brown hair on the under side of its body; the other animal is covered with a light gray matt paint. Probably this piece dates in the late archaic period.³⁹

Three fragments from an imported vase of blue faience (Pl. 60, No. 15)⁴⁰ should also be mentioned. It is made of white clay, covered on both the interior and exterior with a vitreous blue glaze. The outer side is decorated with horizontal bands of reliefs. In one band is a table with supports in the form of animal legs. In the band below this is something which cannot be too certainly identified. Another piece preserves vertical raised ribs and what looks rather like the spreading branches of a palm tree. The third piece shows more ribs in what may be a continuation of the design on the second. A bit of the foot of the vase is preserved on the third fragment. Faience of this general sort is found in Greece in archaic times and later. The table is similar to one on the Phineus cup, although the parallel is not exact.⁴¹

THE EARLY ARCHAIC TEMPLE

As we have already seen, the debris from the earlier building extended along the roadway from one end to the other of the present temple. It would seem, therefore, that the first structure was of considerable size. Since it is unlikely that debris of this sort would be brought up to the hill from a lower level, it is probable that there was an earlier building on the hill. It would scarcely be built upon the prehistoric filling

³⁶ Inv. MF9699. H. 0.10 m. MF9700. H. 0.117 m.

³⁷ Inv. MF9690. Max. H. 0.099 m.

³⁸ Inv. MF 9691. Max. dim. 0.195 m.

³⁹ See Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 50, 3-4 for a stone lion from Corinth of an earlier date.

⁴⁰ Inv. C-54-15.

⁴¹ Ernst Pfuhr, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, pl. 38, no. 164.

between the roadway and the present temple; the only place where it might find a firm foundation is at the top of the hill on the bedrock where the present temple is located. To ascertain if any traces for cuttings for it survived, the beddings of the present temple cut in the rock of the hilltop were cleaned this summer and examined. The cuttings for the later building have largely obliterated any others for an earlier structure, but enough was found to suggest that there was an earlier building with a cella approximately the same size and in much the same position as that of the present temple. Along the north edge of the bedding for the south cella wall of the present temple are to be seen very apparent traces of a cutting of earlier date and different type (Pl. 61, e). In contrast to the bedding, the side and floor of this cutting are roughly finished or, perhaps more accurately, are not finished. The bedding of the present temple is cut 0.05 m. below the floor of the other. Where the cross wall of the present building comes, the bedding has cut through and destroyed the traces of the earlier building. The older cutting may be traced the entire length of the bedding for the cella of the present temple. Its greatest preserved width is *ca.* 0.70 m.

In the bedding for the north wall of the present cella there are scantier traces of a similar earlier cutting along its north edge.⁴² These cuttings would give the overall dimensions for a cella without porch of *ca.* 10.90 m. x 33.20 m. No traces were found of cuttings for porch columns or for a colonnade or for interior arrangements. Presumably, if they existed, the beddings for the later structure have obliterated them.⁴³

Is it possible to reconstruct the superstructure of this earlier building? The debris which was piled upon the roadway consisted of fragmentary poros blocks, many pieces of terracotta roof tiles, mud bricks and a few small pieces of charred wood. Some of the blocks were calcined from fire but most were not. The bricks and tiles, however, show many traces of such a destruction, so we may assume that this early temple was destroyed by fire and that the blocks probably all came from the lower part of the building, from its wall socle.

The condition of all of the blocks is very fragmentary—only one preserves its original length and none its complete thickness. Most of the large pieces, however, preserve their height.⁴⁴

⁴² *Corinth*, I, i, pl. V shows traces of the earlier cutting in the bedding of the south cella wall, but not of that in the north bedding.

⁴³ On re-examination of the cuttings it seems doubtful that the road to the north turned and crossed the top of the hill as has been suggested (Scranton, *op. cit.*, p. 157). The marks thought to belong to a road could be the result of weathering. The new evidence of the course of the road to the west as well as the relationship of the road to the area along its south side also lead to this conclusion. It seems probable too that the earlier temple stood on this area which would have been crossed by the road if it had turned.

⁴⁴ The greater number of block fragments from the earlier structure and the largest pieces were found in trenches R.I, R.VI and W.V, Va, Vb. Unfortunately most of the blocks from Weinberg's trenches were destroyed during the war and were not available for study.

Two types of blocks were recognized. By far the greater number were from slabs which were apparently used in the socle of the wall (Pls. 61, f; 62, a). Six fragments, however, were cut down on either side of a central projecting band and may have been used to bed timbers (Pl. 62, c and d). Possibly they belong to the crowning course of the wall socle. Both types of blocks had parallel grooves for ropes cut on the lower surface and, in a few cases, around the end also (Pl. 62, b). The blocks are cut from a fine-grained, brownish white poros. The length of the slabs of the first type, as indicated by the one fully preserved specimen, was 0.78 m. (Pl. 62, a). The thickness may be calculated from several pieces which have one edge and both rope grooves (Pl. 61, f) as *ca.* 0.62 m.⁴⁵ The height of the slabs varies between 0.21 and 0.245 m., most of the blocks falling into two groups with heights of 0.21-0.22 m. and 0.23-0.24 m. respectively. Perhaps we have the remains of two courses of the socle. The blocks are comparatively roughly finished. The chisel marks are most apparent on the ends and on the lower surface in which the rope grooves are cut. On the top surface and sides they are largely smoothed away but even these sections are not finely finished. The grooves for the ropes are roughly chiselled out to a depth of *ca.* 0.03 m. and are 0.03-0.04 m. in width at the top with a slight taper to the bottom of the cut. The grooves are parallel and are usually set in *ca.* 0.10 m. from the edge, although this measurement varies.

A few fragments indicate that the exposed faces of the slabs were covered with stucco. On three pieces patches of a single coat of white stucco remain, while one small piece (Pl. 61, d) preserves polychrome decoration, possibly purple and black tongues separated by a thin stripe of white. The piece is too small to give any clue as to where this polychrome decoration was applied.

These slabs would have been laid lengthwise with the rope grooves on the resting surface. A piece which preserves stucco on its exposed face and a rope groove on the lower surface indicates this. The thickness of the wall, then, would have been *ca.* 0.62 m. If it was made up of two courses of slabs as suggested above, its height would have been *ca.* 0.45 m. There are no traces of clamps on the preserved ends of the blocks, but one small fragment has an iron pin (Pl. 61, c), probably a dowel; two pieces of such pins were found in the debris. Apparently dowelling was used sparingly, perhaps only for the slabs at the corners of the structure.

The other type of block consists of a slab similar to the first but cut down on each side of the top surface so that a projecting band is left in the center (Pl. 62, c and d). The best preserved piece provides us with some measurements. The height is 0.21 m. in all (0.13 m. to the cutting). The thickness of the band is 0.18 m. and of the cutting 0.22 m. so that the complete thickness may be restored as 0.62 m. Pre-

⁴⁵ Weinberg (*A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 595) found a wall block of 0.70 m. It may be that one wall was thicker for some reason.

sumably the length was similar to that of the slabs, 0.78 m. The other fragments show slight variations as to measurements, one being as much as 0.24 m. in height. At first glance these block fragments suggest ceiling coffers, but that is hardly possible in such a brick and timber building. They would serve equally well as a crowning course of the socle with the cuttings designed to hold timbers on which the mud bricks of the wall were set. The correspondence in measurements with the slabs would bear this out. If so the complete socle would be *ca.* 0.66 m. in height (0.21 + 0.24 + 0.21 m.) and 0.62 m. in thickness.

The rope grooves present something of a problem in this reconstruction. It is difficult to understand why they were cut in light blocks destined for a socle which could have been set in place easily by two men. But it is more difficult to restore the blocks on the top of a mud brick wall. Perhaps the rope grooves were cut so that they might be lifted out of the quarry or onto carts more easily.

That the walls were constructed of mud brick is indicated by the large quantities of them found in the debris with the blocks and tiles. Unfortunately no complete brick was found but their height was normally 0.07 m. with a few being as much as 0.08 m. The greatest dimension obtained was 0.27 m. so it is possible that a single large brick *ca.* 0.60 m. in width or two, *ca.* 0.30 m. in width, set side by side were used.⁴⁶ Straw and some grits were used as filler in the bricks but they contained no sherds.

The roof of the building was of terracotta tiles. As has already been mentioned they were of unusual form. Tiles from the ridge (Pl. 62, g), slopes (Pl. 62, e), hips (Pl. 62, f) and edges have been recovered. They are combination tiles, that is, each consists of a cover and a pan joined together into a single piece. This is not in itself unusual in the archaic period, particularly at Corinth. What is noteworthy is the fact that the pans instead of being flat have a concave curve, while the covers instead of having straight sides joining at an angle to form a ridge have a convex curve. That is common enough in separate tiles but most unusual in combination tiles. This is true not only of the tiles on the slopes but also of those on the ridge. The hip tiles combine both curved and angular elements as well as having cover and pan in a single piece. Moreover the eaves tiles forming the edge of the roof change gradually within the space of a single tile from the curved variety to the flat and angular type. The edge of the roof seems to have been undecorated, although some of the other tiles were covered with a black or reddish brown glaze and it is possible that there may have been a glazed band around the roof at some point on the slope. These tiles are certainly earlier in form and construction than those from Thermon, Kalydon, and Corcyra, so that they must go back beyond the last quarter of the seventh century in date. Perhaps the fact that the earliest Corinthian pottery found in connection with them is Late Proto-Corinthian is significant. Unusual as they are, they are not an isolated phenomenon, for some of a

⁴⁶ The bricks used in the city wall core at Corinth, much later in date (late 4th c.), are 0.28 m. in thickness.

similar type were found at Perachora and just this last spring a large number, so similar as to be interchangeable with ours, were found in the excavations at Isthmia along with poros blocks like ours (see above, p. 112).

We should then envisage this early building as set on a low stone socle with mud brick walls and timber construction. These were topped by a very heavy terracotta roof with hips at least at one end, apparently not yet decorated along the edges with the Corinthian designs later to become so popular. Perhaps it had a porch and colonnade but no identifiable fragments of stone columns were found in 1954.⁴⁷ The apparent location of the structure and its construction make it almost certain that it too was a temple. The nature of the finds from the poros chip and tile and block fills, as well as from the later filling to the north of the roadway, strengthen this identification. They are very suitable to a temple area and may well come from temple dedications and deposits. It is to be hoped that the rest of the area may be excavated in the near future since it holds promise of much valuable early archaic material.

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⁴⁷ Mr. Weinberg reports some fragments of hexagonal columns were found in his trenches; unfortunately they have disappeared.

A PRIZE ARYBALLOS

(PLATES 63 AND 64)

THE most interesting single find from the excavation of 1954 on Temple Hill in Corinth was the fine aryballos of Middle Corinthian date with a representation of a dancing chorus (see above, pp. 151-152). Its significance is readily apparent: in it are combined neat and very careful workmanship, a fresh and lively scene, which is one of the earliest representations of a dancing chorus, and one of the longest archaic Corinthian inscriptions, other than a list of names, yet discovered on a vase (Pls. 63, 64). The subject of the scene and the inscription imply that this was not an ordinary product of the potter's workshop, but a special order, made as a prize, or in commemoration of a victory in a dancing contest, and dedicated by the chorus leader, Pyrvias (Pyrrhias). It is a vase worthy of a place in the early archaic temple in spite of its small size,¹ for every element of its decoration shows great care and the scene, with its youthful chorus and leader, is no comast dance, but a serious and proper performance, gracefully and simply executed.

The vase is complete except for a piece of the front part of the lip, conveniently broken in antiquity to reveal the scene better to its modern viewers. It shows no signs of actual use, but is worn slightly on the sides and back of the handle by abrasion from the rough filling in which it lay. The clay is a typical Corinthian buff, the surface smooth and polished. The figure scene painted around the body is developed from left to right: at the left is the auletes, playing a double flute, unbearded, but evidently a young adult. In contrast to the nude members of the chorus he is formally dressed in a chiton and himation. The outline and folds of the chiton are in black while the rest is reserved in the buff color of the clay and the himation is purplish red. His flesh and hair, like that of the members of the chorus, are black with incised details. Facing the auletes is the leader of the chorus at the height of his leap, legs drawn up and arms flung back of the head. He is followed by the chorus members, six in all, arranged in three pairs. They are evidently waiting their cue to participate; it must be close, for their arms are stiffly extended to the front and slightly raised in readiness. The leader of the chorus and its members with their unbearded faces, short hair and figures smaller than the auletes are youths rather than adults. It is interesting to note the differences in the head profiles of the nearer figures, from the short, rather upturned nose of the leader to the hooked, fleshy nose of the last in line. The shorter

¹ Diam. 0.052 m.; H. to top of lip 0.045 m.; H. to top of handle 0.053 m.; W. of handle 0.028 m.

The photographs of the aryballos were taken by Mr. J. L. Caskey; the watercolor is the work of Mr. Piet de Jong.

noses and the less distinct features of the farther figures are determined by the lack of an incised outline, but one wonders if there is not some attempt at portraiture in the figures of the foreground. The simple, effective scene may well represent the start of the dance—the leader has made his first leap, a perfect one; the members of the chorus are poised in alert readiness for their turn.

The decoration on the remainder of the vase is equally effective in the use of contrasting black and reserved areas with simple designs. At the top of the lip, radiating out from the mouth is a rosette of twenty petals, reserved against a background of black; around the mouth is a reserved line. The edge of the lip and side of the handle are decorated with a series of eight-petalled rosettes (or eight-spoked wheels?) enclosed by a reserved line. Down the center of the top of the handle is a black zigzag, framed by black lines. On the back of the handle is a finely drawn female head in outline technique; her hair-fillet is reserved. On the bottom of the vase is another eight-petalled rosette, reserved on a black ground and enclosed by two concentric circles, the outer of which serves as a ground line for the figures of the main scene. All the rosettes are drawn with geometric precision, but there are no signs of the use of a compass. Together with the main scene this use of reserved patterns gives the vase its distinction, for neither such a technique nor the combination of patterns is common. The vase belongs to Payne's shape A,² but its appearance is very different from the other examples of this class. Its simple episodic scene which does not spread out over the surface as much as usual and the clean, delicate decoration differentiate it from the other pieces, fine and individual as they are. Thus, it is worthwhile to examine the elements of the decoration in some detail.

The female head in outline technique on the back of the handle is found on a number of vases of this shape.³ Most of them are to be dated in the Middle Corinthian period, although a few must be put earlier. The closest parallels for the head on the new aryballos are those on two vases in the British Museum⁴ which are dated 590-580 B.C. As Payne has pointed out, there is a considerable advance in the rendering of the head in the Middle Corinthian period and ours shows the characteristics of the later examples. It is perhaps a little later in date than the British Museum examples, but has the same liveliness as the latter of them.⁵

On the other aryballoi of shape A a tongue pattern is normal on the mouth. Other designs do occur, however, and on one group, with floral patterns on the body of the vase, reserved rosettes are usually found.⁶ Various patterns such as cross hatching

² Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 287, 303 f.; Hopper, *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, p. 198.

³ Payne, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 303, nos. 803 and 805, pl. 31, 5-6, 7-8, figs. 35 A, B, 139.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 805, pl. 31, 7-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 287, no. 485 A; *C.V.A.*, Oxford II, pl. 2, nos. 2 and 7 (Hopper, p. 205) does not have a head on the handle; on another aryballos of a different shape, *C.V.A.*, Louvre VIII, pl. 25, nos. 27-28, reserved petals, ten in number, are found.

and checkerboard decorate the sides of the lip and handle. Whirls are normally used on the bottom of these vases. But, on none of these vases are the other patterns which we find on the new aryballos. The eight-petalled rosette or wheel is occasionally used on the back of an aryballos under the handle.⁷ Yet, since it is on the light background of the vase, the effect is quite different. The eight-petalled rosette on the bottom of the vase may be paralleled, too, in an aryballos of Payne's Lion group.⁸ This group is related to some pieces of shape A and is also made up of vases of generally fine quality.

The drawing of the figure scene resembles that of the vases of the Timonidas group.⁹ The artist has reached approximately the same stage of development in his depictions of figures in profile, while the flute player is quite similar to the figure of Priam on the bottle by Timonidas in Athens.¹⁰ The letter forms of the inscription also show an affinity. Thus, a date toward the end of the Middle Corinthian period, *ca.* 580-575 B.C., seems suitable for the new aryballos.

The inscription identifies the scene as a dancing chorus and indicates that the vase is either the prize awarded the leader of the chorus or a commemorative piece made to record his victory. It is fired on the vase in black glaze, presumably at the same time as the decoration. Fortunately, the inscription is complete and very neatly and clearly lettered in the typical early archaic Corinthian letter forms without any irregularities. Various letters, of course, are reverted as the writer twined his words around the figures. It reads, as may be seen on Plate 64, as follows: πολυτερπος πυρφιας προχορευομενος αυτοδεφοιολπα which should probably be resolved into πολυτερπός Πυρφίας προχορευόμενος αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ) δέ φοι ὄλπα: "Polyterpos. Pyrvias (Pyrrhias) leading the chorus; and to him, himself, an olpe."¹¹ Thus, the decoration and inscription were made to order after the result of the contest was known and presumably dedicated by the leader of the chorus, Pyrrhias, in the early archaic temple near which it was found—to be discarded with the other debris when the temple burned.

The inscription is apparently to be read in two parts since the first word, πολυτερπός, which starts behind the auletes' shoulders, is curved to the left away from his ankles rather than crossing them to link his figure with the others, all tied together by the remaining letters of the inscription. Polyterpos, then, is best taken as applying to the auletes himself to whose music it should certainly be appropriate.¹² It is, however, probably an adjective of such appropriate general reference rather than a proper name.

⁷ *C.V.A.*, Oxford II, pl. 2, nos. 2 and 7.

⁸ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 289, no. 543 = *C.V.A.*, Louvre VIII, pl. 18, nos. 26-28, 30 (Hopper, p. 205). There is, however, only one concentric circle in black enclosing the design. A similar reserved rosette with ten petals is used in the interior of a kothon (*Délos*, X, pl. XXXVII, no. 524 a).

⁹ Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 314, no. 1072, pl. 34, 5.

¹¹ Thanks are due to Professor T. B. L. Webster, of the University of London, for suggestions in the interpretation of the inscription.

¹² It is used of ὕμνοι in *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 504.

since the word does not seem to be used as a name. Its usual adjectival form is, of course, *πολυτερπής* (Doric, -ας), but the termination -ος may be explained as written for -ας. Such is the case in the proper names on the Late Corinthian I krater in the Spencer-Churchill collection.¹³ It is possible, of course, that *πολυτερπός* was used adjectively to refer to Pyrvias, but its position and obvious appropriateness to the auletes make that unlikely. The auletes, then, may not be named, but merely described as the "much delighting" (musician).

The leaping boy before the chorus is evidently identified by the name *Πυρφίας* (Pyrvias) written in front of him, and his function described by the participle *προχορευόμενος*—Pyrvias, leading the chorus. The name is common and finds its parallels in this form in an archaic inscription from Mycenae and on an unpublished archaic Corinthian vase found at Perachora.¹⁴ This occurrence of *προχορευόμενος* seems to be its earliest; it is particularly appropriate, to judge from its usage by Euripides,¹⁵ for this chorus is provided with an auletes. Euripides uses it of leading a "fluteless" (i. e. melancholy) *komos*. This group is hardly a *komos*, but it is at least a chorus dancing to the auletes' tune.

Its members remain anonymous, for the inscription evidently continues to refer to Pyrvias, *αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ) δέ φοι ὄλπα*, "and to him, himself, an olpe." The enclitic, *φοι*, offers no difficulty since the form with a *digamma* appears on an inscription from Delphi¹⁶ and its use as an enclitic with *αὐτός* in a reflexive sense is normal in Homer. The absence of the *iota* after *αὐτῷ*, however, is an irregularity or a slip on the part of the writer. Normally the Corinthian vase inscriptions are scrupulous about adding such terminal *ι* sounds. They are frequently used in the nominative cases of names even when they are dropped in the same names elsewhere.¹⁷

The second part of the inscription, Pyrvias to olpe, forms a hexameter line with a slight irregularity in the fourth foot. Such a verse, of course, is particularly appropriate for the dedication of a prize vase.

If this interpretation is correct, it remains to explain how an olpe may be what is obviously, or conventionally, a round aryballos. Apparently the name aryballos, or aryballis, to indicate a pot of the draw-purse shape (a round aryballos) was the Doric equivalent of the Attic lekythos. The latter term is epigraphically attested for the round aryballos shape, which probably indicates that the conventional usage is cor-

¹³ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 167, no. 60; cf. also *I.G.*, IV, 331 (*πυρφός*).

¹⁴ Pape, *Griechische Eigennamen*, s.v. *Πυρρίας*, *Πύρρος*; Buck, *Greek Dialects*, pp. 47 ff., Sec. 54 e; for the inscription from Mycenae see *I.G.*, IV, 492, line 5; *Πυρφός* (cf. note 13) is used as the name of a horse (*I.G.*, IV, 337). Our thanks are due to the late Mr. T. J. Dunbabin for pointing out the occurrence of the name on the vase from Perachora.

¹⁵ *Phoenissae*, 791.

¹⁶ *S.G.D.I.*, 2561, D 14.

¹⁷ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 165, no. 33; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 276 (*Σθεννώ*).

rect.¹⁸ The Corinthian, or rather Protocorinthian, lekythos, was an ovoid aryballos as an inscribed example attests.¹⁹ It seems probable, however, that in addition to lekythos and aryballos as names for oil jugs of the ovoid and round type, the Corinthians may also have used olpe.

The conventional application of the word olpe to a tall wine-pitcher is a limitation of its ancient usage. It is justified on the literary evidence, but is too limited and perhaps derived from a regional usage. The earliest occurrence is in Sappho (quoted in Athenaeus, *Deip.* 425D) where *olpis* is a pitcher (or ladle?) for dipping wine from a krater. Ion of Chios (*op. cit.* 495B) evidently used olpe of the same type of vessel and we are told by Athenaeus that the term was used in Thessaly for a pitcher. These references at least partially justify the conventional usage, but it is striking that all belong to the Aeolian region.

In Dorian, and perhaps more narrowly Corinthian, usage of the Hellenistic period the word was used for an oil flask and is connected, like aryballos, with lekythos. Kleitarchos (*op. cit.*, 495C) stated that Corinthians, Byzantines and Cypriotes used olpe for lekythos; Hesychius and Suidas define it as a lekythos and Theocritus (II, 156) speaks of a Doric olpe which is defined by the scholiast: "olpe is generally a leather lekythos for — — — oil, but perhaps here he means the bronze lekythos because he says Doric instead of Corinthian; for Corinthian bronzes were renowned." Other Hellenistic sources also used olpe for leather and metal (perhaps metal fitted) oil flasks.²⁰ Many of these notices refer to the oil flasks of Cynic philosophers and they scarcely permit us to identify a round aryballos of the sixth century as an olpe. Yet, the word is used for an oil flask, is explained by the lexicographers as a lekythos and is connected, as a product of its bronze industry, with Corinth. There seems no great objection to accepting this occurrence in our inscription as epigraphical evidence for the use of olpe to designate a round aryballos. Presumably two words, aryballos and olpe, might be used in Doric to indicate such a vase shape.

As a prize vase the aryballos finds a parallel in the well known Attic jug from a Dipylon grave. This, too, seems to have been the prize in a dancing contest and was valued enough by the winner to be buried with him.²¹ It is scarcely possible, however, to tell whether our "aryballos" is the actual prize made after the result of the contest was known or if it is the victor's token of gratitude for the "olpe" which he and his chorus had won.

The designation of Pyrvias as the leader of a chorus and the scene itself leave no

¹⁸ Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 187-88, 193-94; Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, p. 16.

¹⁹ *Mon. Ant.*, XXII, 1913, pl. 51, 1, col. 308.

²⁰ Theocritus, XVIII, 45 (*ὄλπις*); Nicander, *Ther.* 97; *Anth. Pal.* VI, 298; VII, 68; Athenaeus 451 C; cf. also *Anth. Pal.* VI, 261 and Nicander, *Ther.* 80 (a jug?).

²¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 225, pl. X.

doubt that the representation is of a formal chorus of boys who were competing in a dancing contest as part of a festival. The obvious propriety of the group contrasts strongly with the frequent scenes of padded dancers and revelers on contemporary Corinthian and Attic pottery. It is a fitting representation of the type of dancing which Plato²² would admit into his ideal Greek state: *τὴν δ' ἐν εὐπραγίαις τε οὔσης ψυχῆς σώφρονος ἐν ἡδοναῖς τε ἐμμέτροις*, while rejecting the orgiastic and comast dances as unfit for its citizens. Such "proper" dancing, of course, played an equally important part in the education of boys and girls, but representations of it are rare compared to the comast scenes and masked and padded revelers. It scarcely seems possible to identify precisely the festival of which this dancing contest was a part or to name the dance; we do not know what its further evolutions may have been. The leap, however, may be a form of the well known *βίβασις* in which it was necessary to leap and touch the buttocks with the feet. The leaping might be a contest between individuals in which the greatest number of jumps determined the winner (Pollux, IV, 102) or it might be used in indecent dances (perhaps a parody of the proper "step") by the padded dancers and women,²³ but it was apparently also used in propriety by boys and girls in dancing contests in Dorian Laconia.²⁴ The leap depicted on the aryballos seems closer to the *βίβασις* than to the other various leaping "steps" described by Athenaeus and Pollux.

The scene makes an interesting foil to another dancing chorus on a Boeotian vase recently published by Bielefeld.²⁵ This vase, dated to *ca.* 560 B.C., is decorated with a representation of a satyr-chorus dancing to a flute player's music. Bielefeld plausibly suggests that it is a chorus of masked youths rather than a fanciful group of satyrs. The auletes faces a single capering satyr-figure who is probably the leader of the chorus; he is small in proportion to the auletes and to the members of his chorus, like Pyrvias on the Corinthian aryballos. The chorus are six in number, but are depicted in an evolution of the dance in antithetic pairs (or perhaps merely to fit a scheme of composition?). In any case there is a chorus of six dancers and their leader, dancing to an auletes' tune as on the aryballos. The two vases give two types of youthful choral dancing—a serious gymnastic type and a revel; both are of great importance as early examples of dancing choruses.

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²² *Laws*, VII, 814 e, 816 d, e.

²³ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 82.

²⁴ Pollux, IV, 102: *ἥς καὶ τὰ ἀθλα προντίθετο οὐ τοῖς παισὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς κόραις.*

²⁵ E. Bielefeld, "Ein boiotischer Tanzchor des 6 Jh. v. Chr.," *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 27-35, pls. V-VI. We owe this reference to Professor Homer A. Thompson of the Institute for Advanced Study.

FOOTNOTES TO *PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA*

I. THE FLOOR BEFORE THE IMAGE

IN the official publication of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia Doerpfeld maintained that the interior of the cella of the temple had been altered after the building of the Parthenon for the installation of the chryselephantine image by Pheidias.¹ Although the weight of the arguments for and against separating the construction of the shrine and its statue depends primarily on other considerations, the unique flooring plays its unobtrusive but insistent part in all serious discussions of the problem. In an earlier study of the whole relationship of Pheidias to the temple I accepted the alteration theory to the extent of believing that the floor was later than the setting of the lowest drums of the interior colonnade.² A recent opportunity to visit the site resulted in

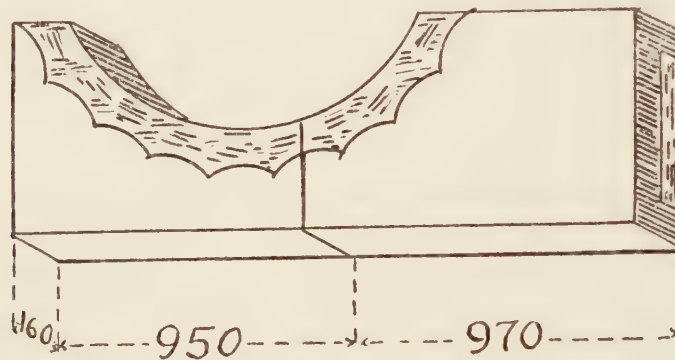


FIGURE 1. Section of white marble step block showing how it is fitted under the lowest column drum.

the conviction that the floor was already an integral part of the plan before the superstructure was begun, and that it was slightly modified only in the last stages of construction when an unforeseen mechanical difficulty rose during its installation.

It will be remembered that the first third of the floor of the central aisle consisted of whitish limestone slabs. In the second third their place was taken for an area 6.50 m. square by blue-black Eleusinian stone, laid some 0.10 m. below the normal level of the aisle. Around this square, 0.10 m. high, ran a border of white Pentelic marble. This served as a step on its eastern side, as the apparent "stylobate" for the interior columns on the north and south, and as a thin contrasting element between the dark pavement and the dark base of the image on the west.

¹ *Olympia, Die Ergebnisse*, II, pp. 16, 20.

² *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 329.

This border is peculiar in its relation to the columns. Between them it occupies nearly half the width of the true stylobate; but instead of continuing under them for a similar distance the marble is cut away so that only a narrow arc, *ca.* 0.15 m. broad, intrudes under the outer circumference of the shaft (Fig. 1). Doerpfeld believed that the "rough" quality of the joining of these curved surfaces indicated that the Pentelic blocks had been inserted after the columns were in position.³ It must be noted, however, that whatever crudities were apparent to the excavators in the 1880's are certainly not visible now; and that the tooling of the conglomerate surfaces against which the marble arcs fitted is cut with a neatness and precision that would have done credit to any craftsman working on this soft and friable material under ordinary conditions and which were virtually impossible under the handicap of working in a space only 0.16 m. high.

Furthermore, the top surface of the Pentelic blocks, where they undercut the columns, bears careful setting marks for the fluting of the shafts, a customary trouble if made in the normal sequence of a building operation, an expensive and useless nuisance if made when the columns were already complete.

One might be inclined to wonder why, if the marble blocks were put in place before the columns were set, they were hollowed out in this fashion. They must have arrived at Olympia from Athens as rough-cut rectangles straight from the quarries, which would have been more easily finished in simple, rectilinear form, and better prepared by their consistency than the soft native conglomerate to support the weight of half of the interior colonnade. Here however, Libon, the architect, clearly intervened. He was a native Elean, acquainted with the capacity of his native conglomerate. He was certainly unfamiliar with Pentelic marble as a building material. We know nothing of Libon beyond his nationality. In awarding their most important commission, the Eleans must have chosen a man of local distinction. Marble is not native to Elis; and in the Temple of Zeus it plays no structural part whatever except in the sima and the roof tiles which had nothing to support but themselves. The Eleans knew of marble elsewhere and had the money to import it from Paros for the architectural sculptures and from Naxos for the unprecedented tiles. But Libon, knowing a familiar material, was unwilling to trust the division of the weight of the interior colonnade to two different materials, one of which he did not know structurally. In marble there are lines of cleavage that do not exist in conglomerate. Conglomerate is softer than marble. The pressure of gravity over the years, the violent and unequal stresses of earthquakes undoubtedly shaped his opinion. He permitted the undersetting of the Pentelic step to a distance greater than necessary for surface finish, but not deeply enough to affect the foundations of his colonnade.

Thus, so far as the white marble rim is concerned there is sound evidence for normal, contemporaneous construction, and apparently nothing to militate against it.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

The blue-black Eleusinian paving blocks show fine finish and execution. The outer ones fit slantingly under the Pentelic "stylobate" (Fig. 2) showing that they were laid first and that work progressed from the edges to the center. That they formed the final step in the realization of the whole interior was natural. The same forethought that the Greeks displayed in leaving the finish of surfaces to the end of the construction period prompted the floor-layers to postpone their work until all danger from falling blocks, chips, tools or timbers on this polished surface was over. The friability of Eleusinian limestone is eloquently demonstrated in the small fragments that are all that now remain of the famous floor and base.

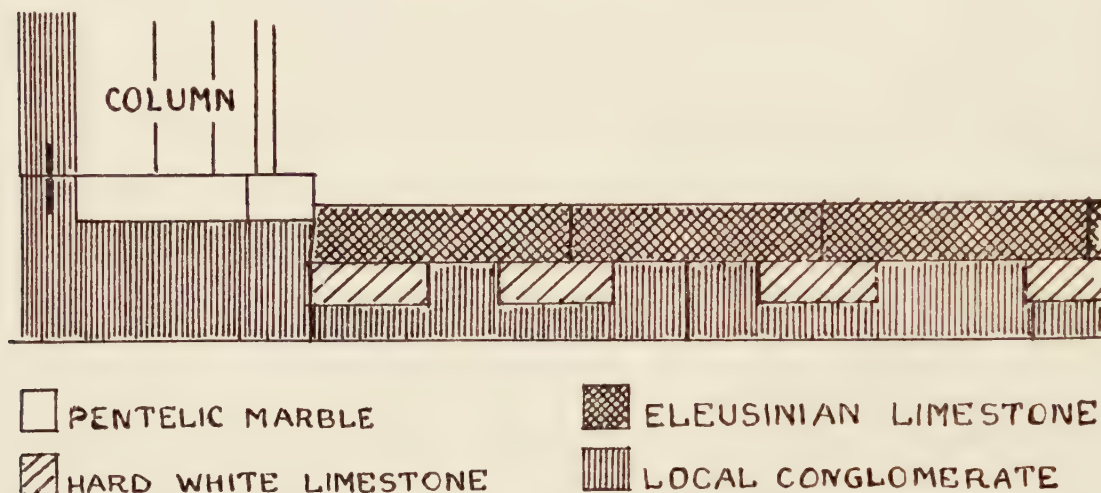


FIGURE 2. Vertical section of the floor in front of the image, showing the way in which the Eleusinian stone is bevelled under the Pentelic marble step, and how the hard white limestone blocks are set into the conglomerate foundations.

There is every indication that the blocks were finished without haste and with great care. Trouble seems to have arisen only when the workmen came to fit the individual slabs in place. They were large, measuring $0.93 \times 0.93 \times 0.22$ m., and very heavy. It was apparently impossible to get a sufficiently firm purchase with the setting crowbars in the soft conglomerate foundation bed to work the pavement units into place, and resort was had to an improvised solution. Strips of re-used limestone were sunk into the original bedding along the lines of the north-south junctures of the Eleusinian slabs. On these are clearly seen the notches into which the setting crowbars took their grip and achieved the final placement of the floor.

They were not inserted to strengthen the conglomerate foundations. Rather, they weaken the blocks in which they rest by their deep intrusion (Fig. 2). They also increase the total weight on the lower courses which however remain as undisturbed by the alteration as the lowermost depths of the Pacific Ocean.

These limestone inserts were neatly fitted into the conglomerate. The only implication of haste is supplied by their obviously re-used character. In so carefully worked and expensive a building as the Temple of Zeus one would have expected new material specially ordered for the purpose. We may only infer that the discovery of the setting difficulties threatened a carefully-planned time schedule. Since no other structural elements depended on the completion of the floor, another type of time table must have been involved. The simplest inference is the date of the dedication of the temple and the image—460 or 456 B.C.

II. THE PEDESTAL

The pedestal of the great chryselephantine Zeus occupied almost all of the last third of the central aisle. It consisted of a solid poros core faced all-around with blue-black Eleusinian stone, a simple heavy projecting moulding of the same material fringing it at the top and at the bottom where it rested on the narrow step of Pentelic marble. Its height was reckoned at about one meter. Against its eastern face were affixed gold reliefs of the gods. Above rose the enormous mass of gold and ivory. Before it extended the broad black floor, shining with oil, within its neat narrow rim of Pentelic marble.

Miss Shoe, in her excellent monograph on *Dark Stone in Greek Architecture*,⁴ has presented the essential phases in the development of the use of contrasting stone from the sixth century on. It is clear that it begins in Athens, some statue bases being made entirely in Eleusinian limestone, though the Peisistratean circuit wall of the Eleusinian sanctuary was relieved of the overwhelming gloom of this material by a narrow base of white marble. This was the formula used by Pheidias for the base of the Olympian Zeus.

In the second quarter of the fifth century,⁵ the great altar of the Chians at Delphi continued this dominating use of dark, but set it off between two marble steps below and a narrow white marble crown above. Here the black material began to acquire a frame.

Postponing consideration of the pedestal of the Zeus for a moment, the next monument in question still brings us directly to Pheidias. In the fifties of the century he set his colossal bronze Athena Promachos on a base comprised of a low step of white marble, a broad band of Eleusinian stone, a broad heavy moulding of white marble carved with a big, firm egg-and-dart design capped with a low plinth of white marble.⁶ Here the white marble extremes are encroaching markedly onto the dark limestone core.

⁴ *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 341 f.

⁵ Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 55.

⁶ Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 496.

The next, and vital, monument involves Pheidias as supervisor of the Parthenon. In essence the whole case for the late dating of the Zeus rests upon his supreme authority over this building, and arguments are drawn on similarities between the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus to indicate that interior arrangements of the latter were based on his experience with the former. And yet not a single block of dark stone seems to have been used in the most famous of all Periklean buildings. From this sequence it would appear that Pheidias, having modified an earlier tradition in his base for the Promachos, abandoned it entirely in the setting of his Parthenos.

But the disappearance of the cult of contrast is a brief one. When it revives the emphasis has changed. Hardly was the Parthenon beyond the drafting-board stage than Iktinos, its architect, was proposing blue stone for basic and crowning motives in the Telesterion at Eleusis, completely reversing the scheme of the Chian Altar and the base of the Athena Promachos. And this was no transient experiment. Mnesikles soon came forward with the same revised formula, refined and amplified in the Propylaea. Only in the Erechtheion frieze, high up and firmly contained between white architrave and elaborate cornice, was the echo of the earlier emphasis on dark stone remembered as a background for applied relief sculpture. All these designs had the approval of the aesthetic overlord, Pheidias.

Turning back to Olympia, the spectacle of the broad glistening dark floor surmounted by the black pedestal relieved only by a narrow step of white is inconceivable after the inception of the Parthenon. I have earlier suggested that Pheidias was working at Delphi while the Chian altar was in process of construction.⁷ Extant remains show that by the fifties of the century Pheidias had already curbed the emphasis on black stone in the pedestal of the Athena Promachos and abandoned it entirely in the chaste Pentelic whiteness of the Parthenon. It is no wonder that Miss Shoe, not questioning the late date for the Zeus, considers its pedestal anachronistic.⁸

The massive dominance of Eleusinian stone in both the floor and the pedestal of the Zeus at Olympia is entirely in keeping with the practice before 460 B.C. and specifically at variance with later datable pedestals by Pheidias himself. Thus, insofar as conclusions may be drawn from the use of materials, the Zeus was earlier than both the Athenas Parthenos and Promachos.

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⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁸ *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 349.



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No. 3



No. 6



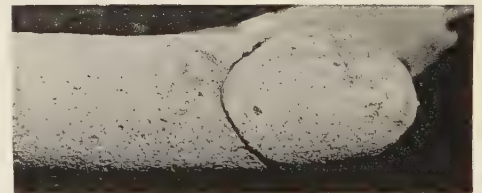
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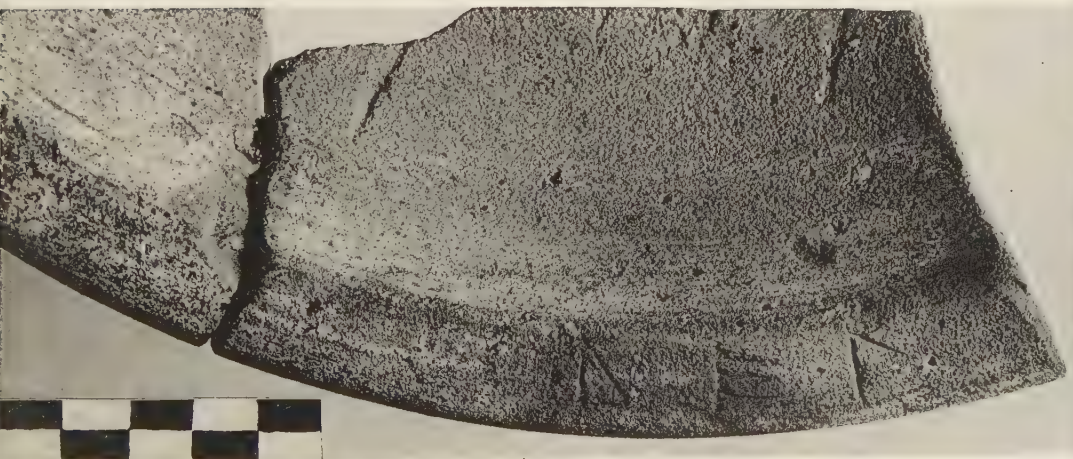
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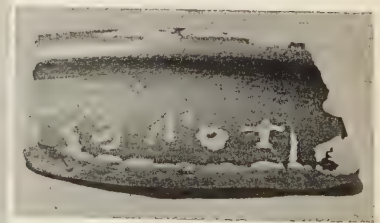
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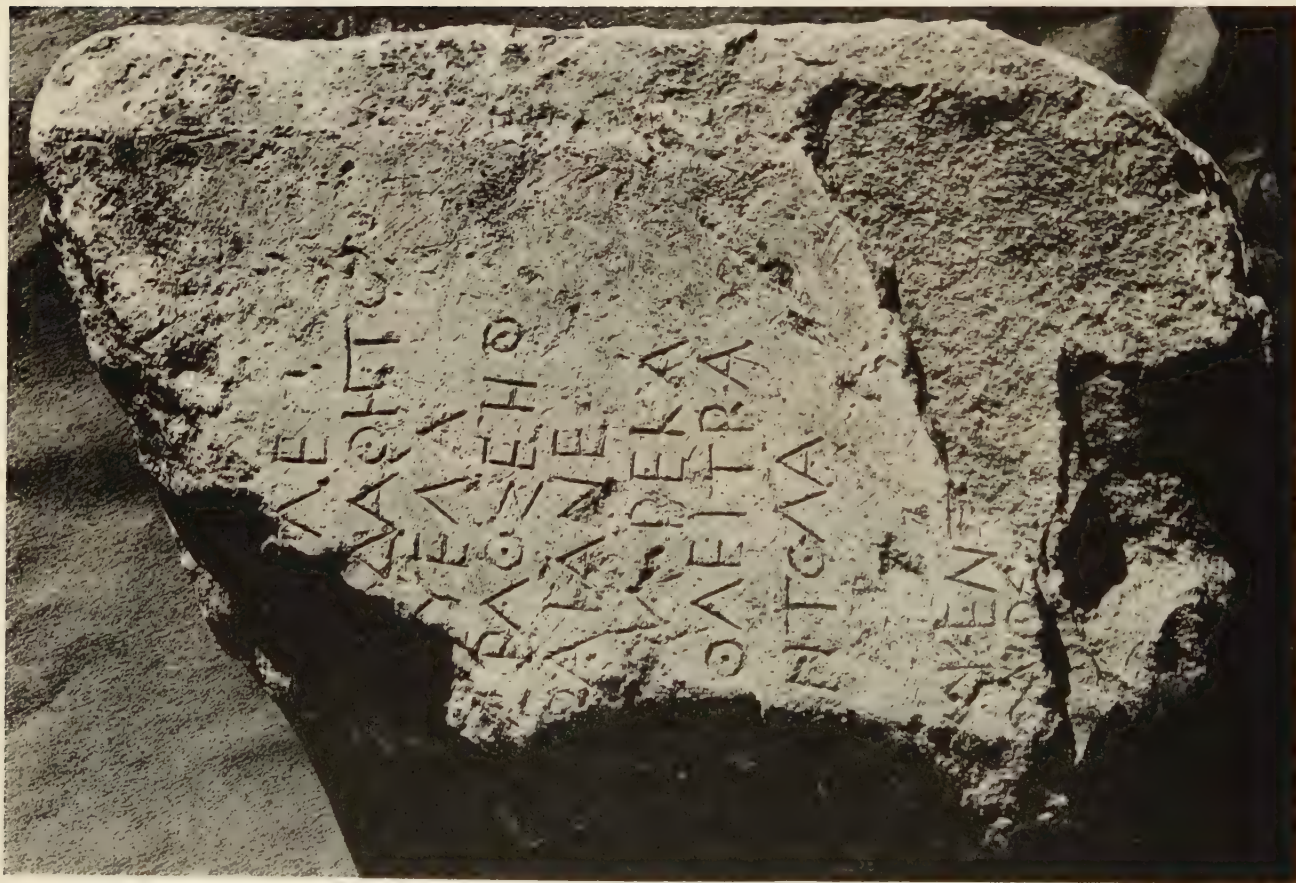
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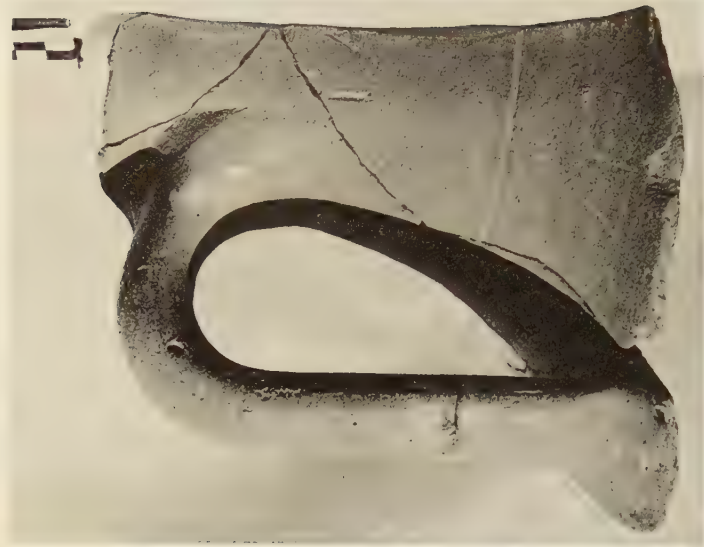
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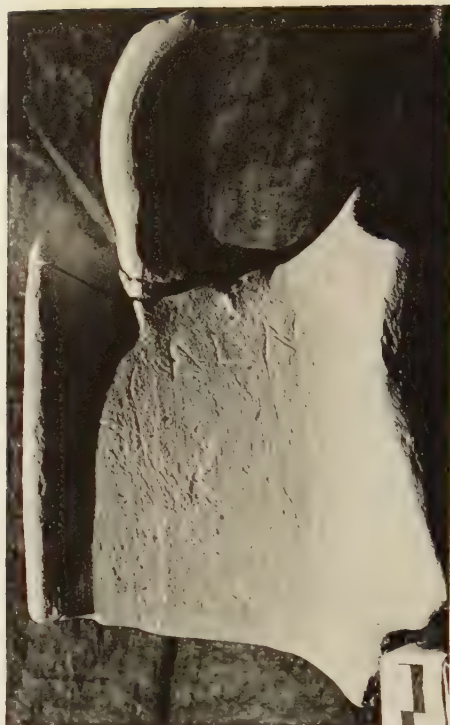
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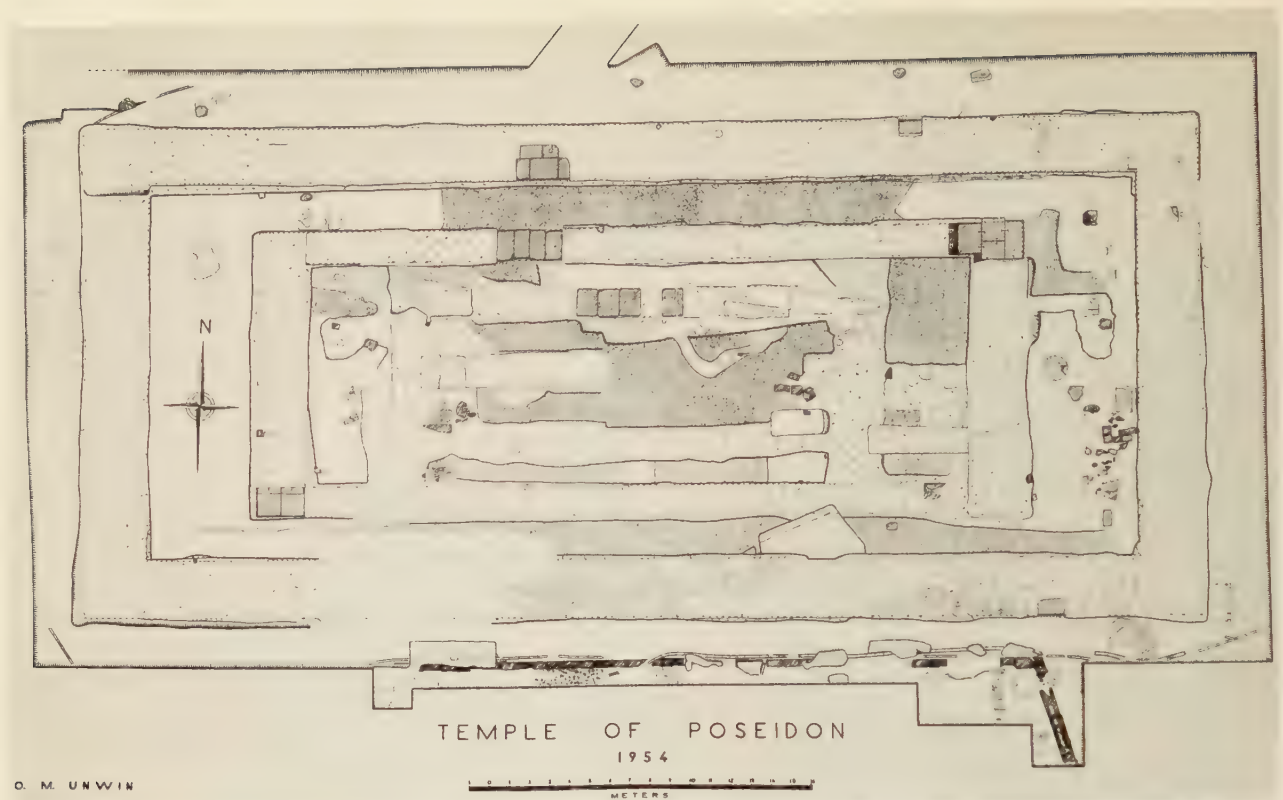
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a. Plan of the Isthmia Region, Showing Location of Sanctuary of Poseidon



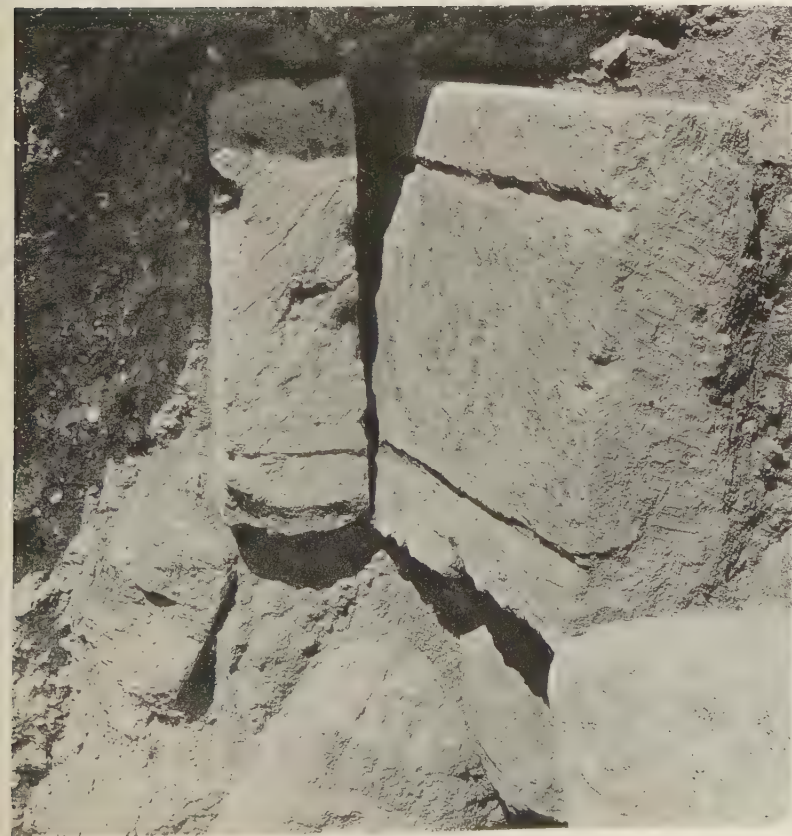
b. Temple of Poseidon from Northeast



a. Temple of Poseidon, Detail Plan



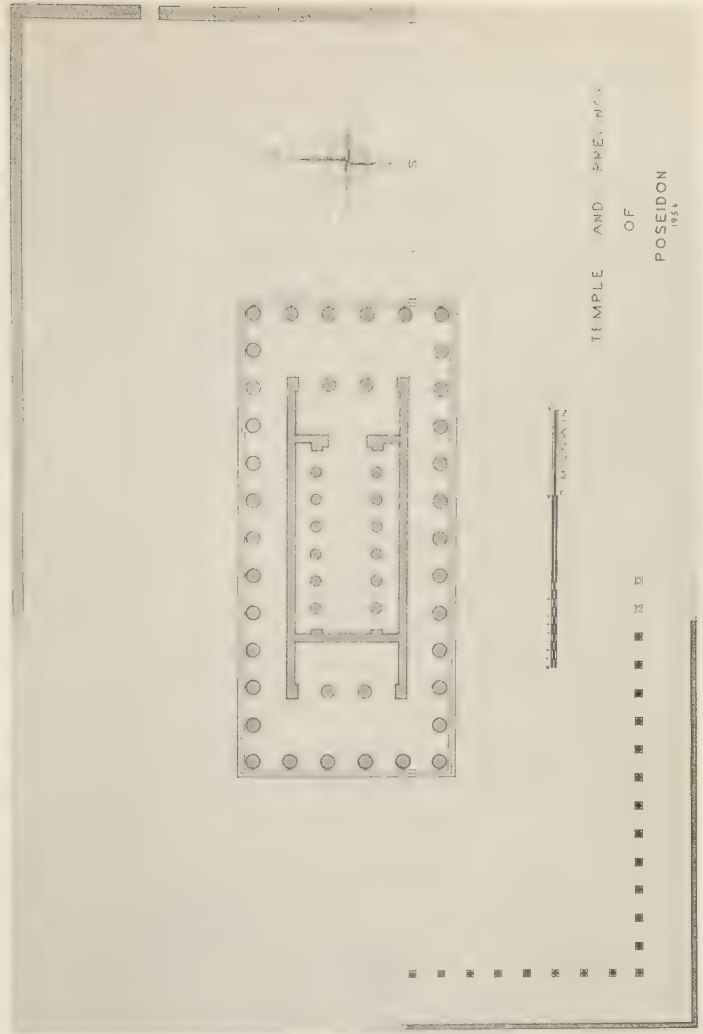
b. Temple Foundation from the West



a. Blocks of Archaic Temple, from Ancient Dump



b. Foundation for North Inner Colonnade, Showing Drafting

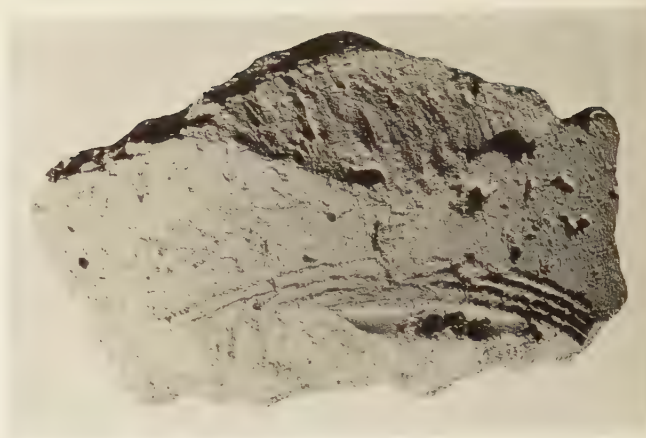


c. Temple and Precinct of Poseidon, Restored Plan

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMA, 1954



a. Fragment of Column Capital, from West End of Temple



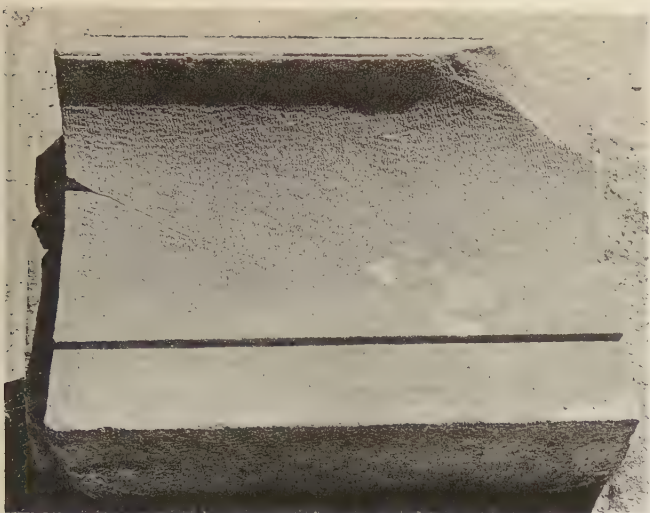
b. Column Capital, with Corner Triglyph Cut in the Same Block



c. Fragment of Column Drum from Top of Shaft



d. Corner Triglyph on the Back of Block in b



a. Raking Sima of Marble



b. Fragment of Horizontal Sima



c. Fragment of Horizontal Sima.



d. Fragment of Lion's Head Spout



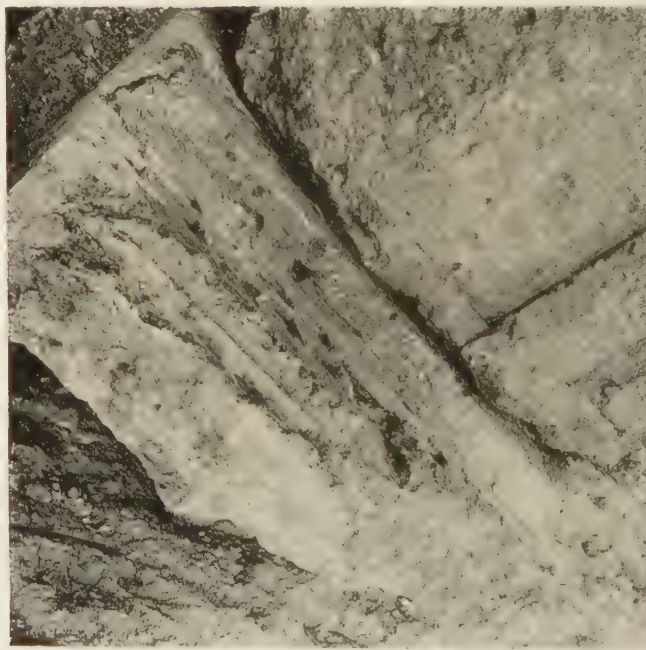
e. Section of Horizontal Sima, Restored



a. Hoard of Byzantine Coins from Temple Area



b. Retaining Walls in Ancient Dump North of Poseidon Temple



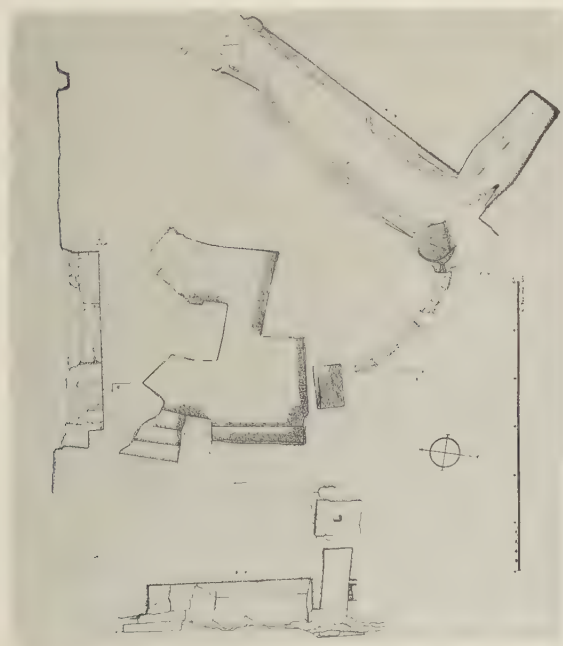
c. Cornice Block from Ancient Dump, Showing Meander Pattern



d. Late Foundation on South Side of Temple Area



b. Deposit of Vases on Rachi (Cf. Pl. 52, c)



a. West Waterworks, Plan and Sections



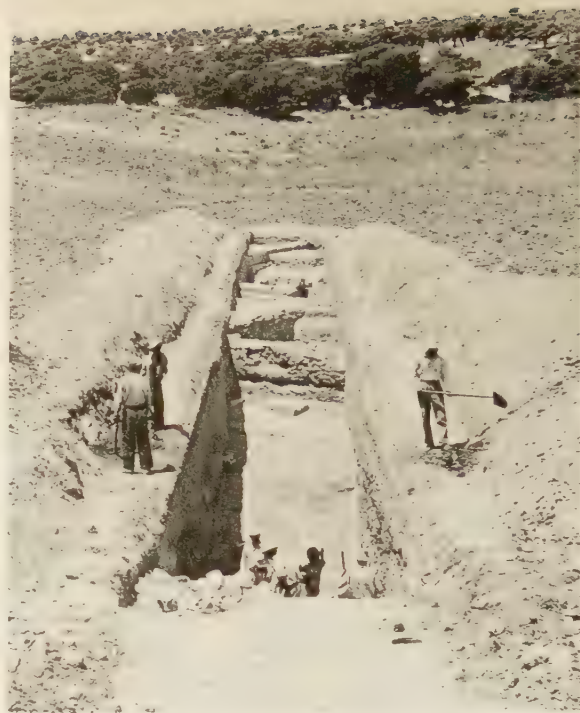
c. West Waterworks, from the South



d. Foundation of South Colonnade, from the West



a. Trench through the Theater, from the North



b. Trench through the Theater, from the South



c. Excavation at the Justinian Fortress, from Southwest



a. Excavations on Rachi, from the Northeast



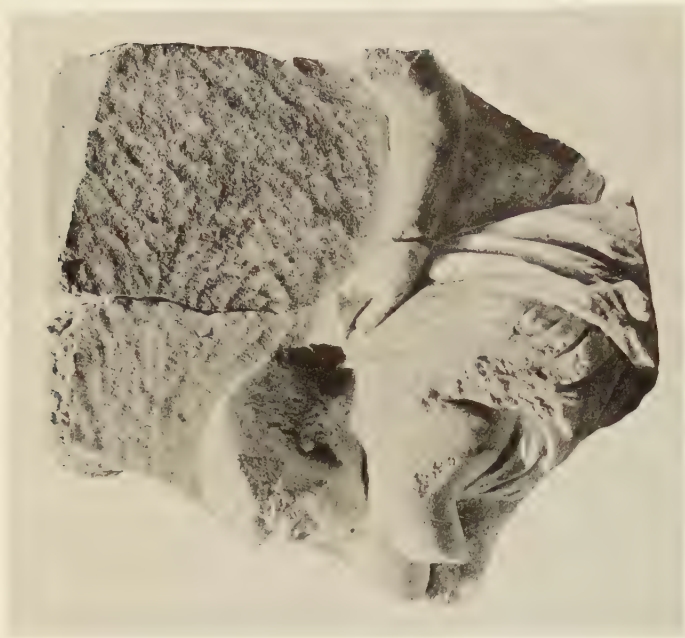
b. Excavations on Rachi, Showing Waterworks



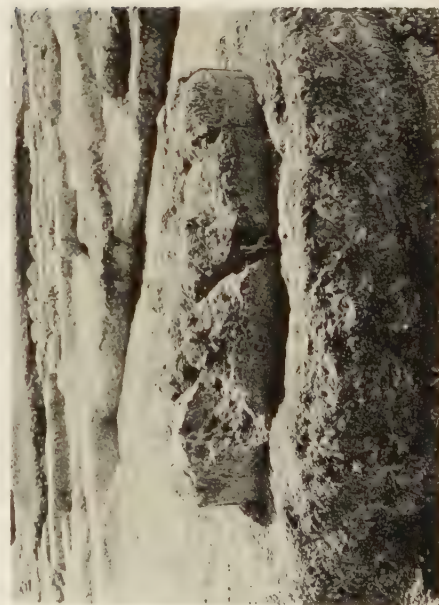
c. Bathtub on Rachi



a. Relief with Figures of Hermes and Artemis



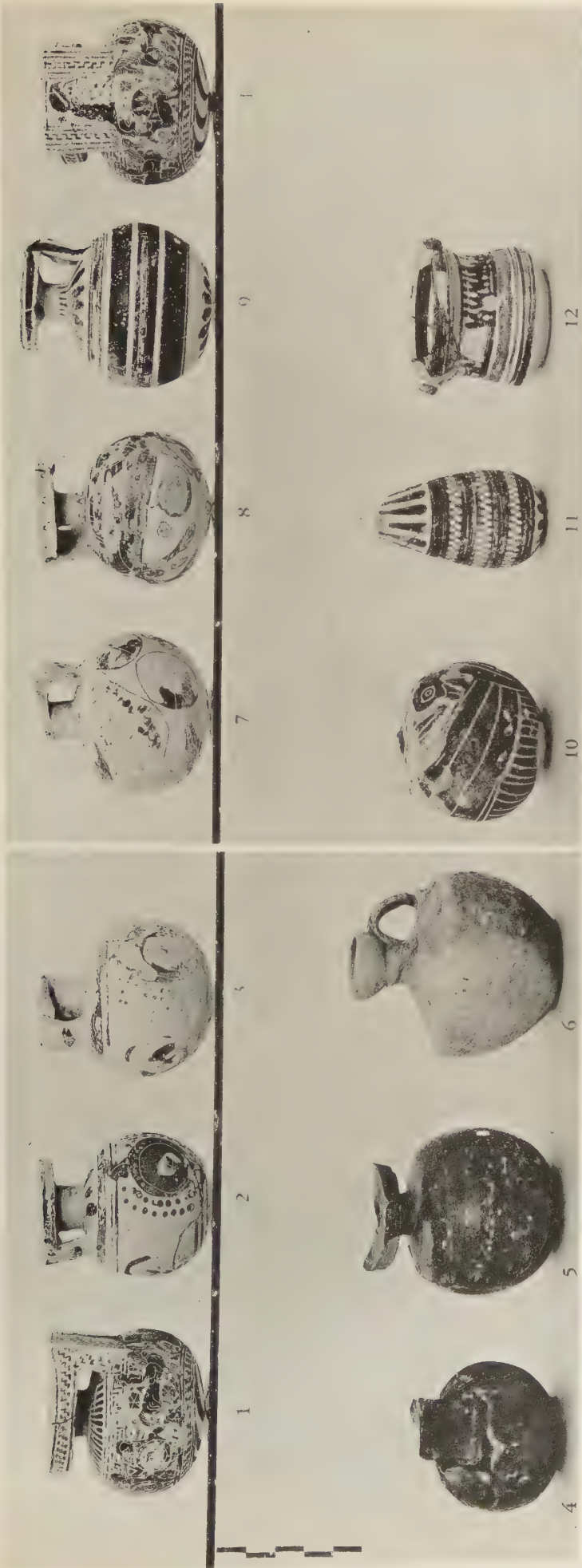
b. Fragment of Relief from Temple of Poseidon



c. Circular Base in Axis of Poseidon Temple



d. Head of Archaic Lion from *Perirrhanterion*



a. Pottery from Archaic Deposit in Temple



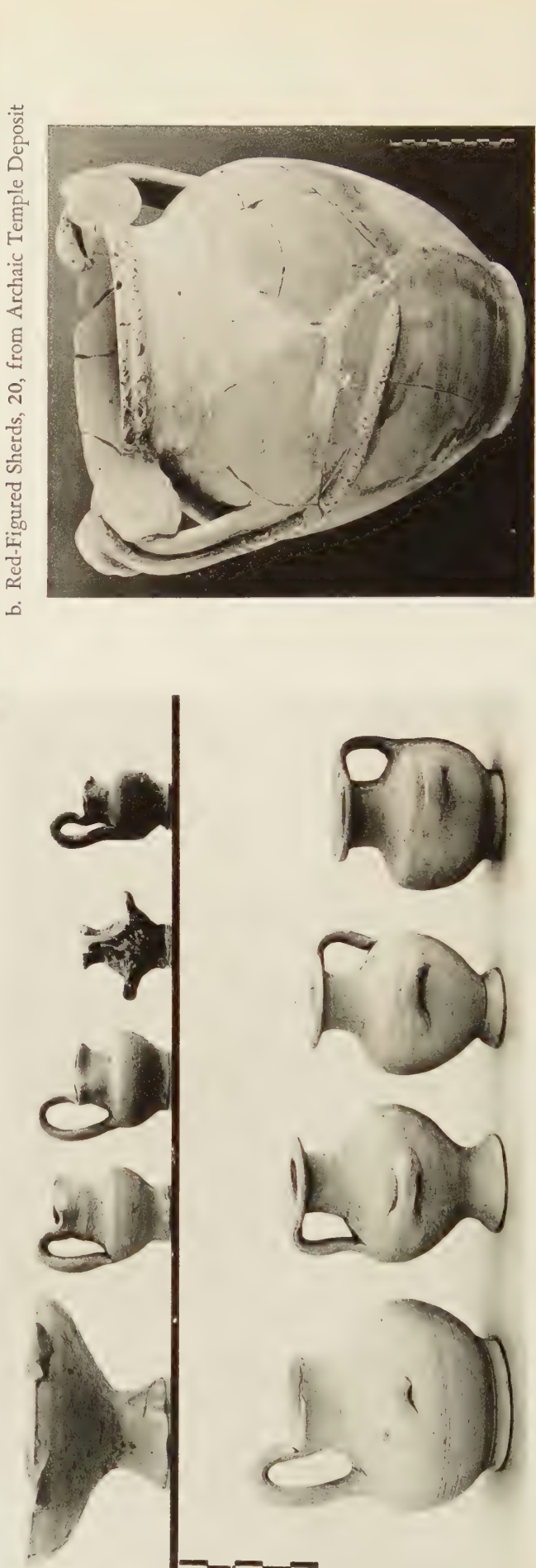
b. Vases from Archaic Dump, and Aryballos from Deposit in Temple

c. Aryballos from Archaic Deposit in Temple

d. Pottery Fragments from Archaic Deposit in Temple



a. Fragments of Inscribed Vase, 19, from Archaic Temple Deposit



b. Red-Figured Sherds, 20, from Archaic Temple Deposit

c. Vases, 21-29, from Deposit on Rachi

d. Snake Vase, 30, from Cistern



Selection of Silver Coins from Temple Deposit, Obverse (above) and Reverse (below)





a. Fragments of Bronze Helmets from Archaic Temple Deposit



b. Lekythos from Temple of Poseidon



c. Six Coins from Byzantine Hoard, Obverse and Reverse



a. Gold Objects from Archaic Temple Deposit



b. Bronze Figurines from Archaic Temple Deposit



c. Bronze Bull, Enlarged (about 3 : 1)



a. Archaic Horse-and-Rider Figurines



b. Terracotta Figurines



c. Silver Ring from Archaic Temple Deposit



d. Engraved Gem,
Enlarged (about 2 : 1)



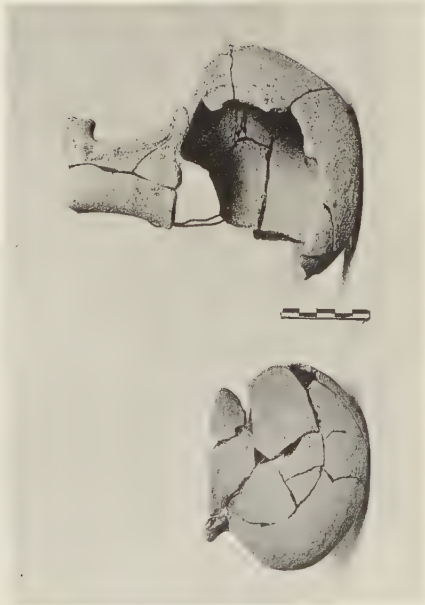
e. Loomweights from Rachi



a. Middle and Late Helladic Sherds



b. Early Helladic Pottery



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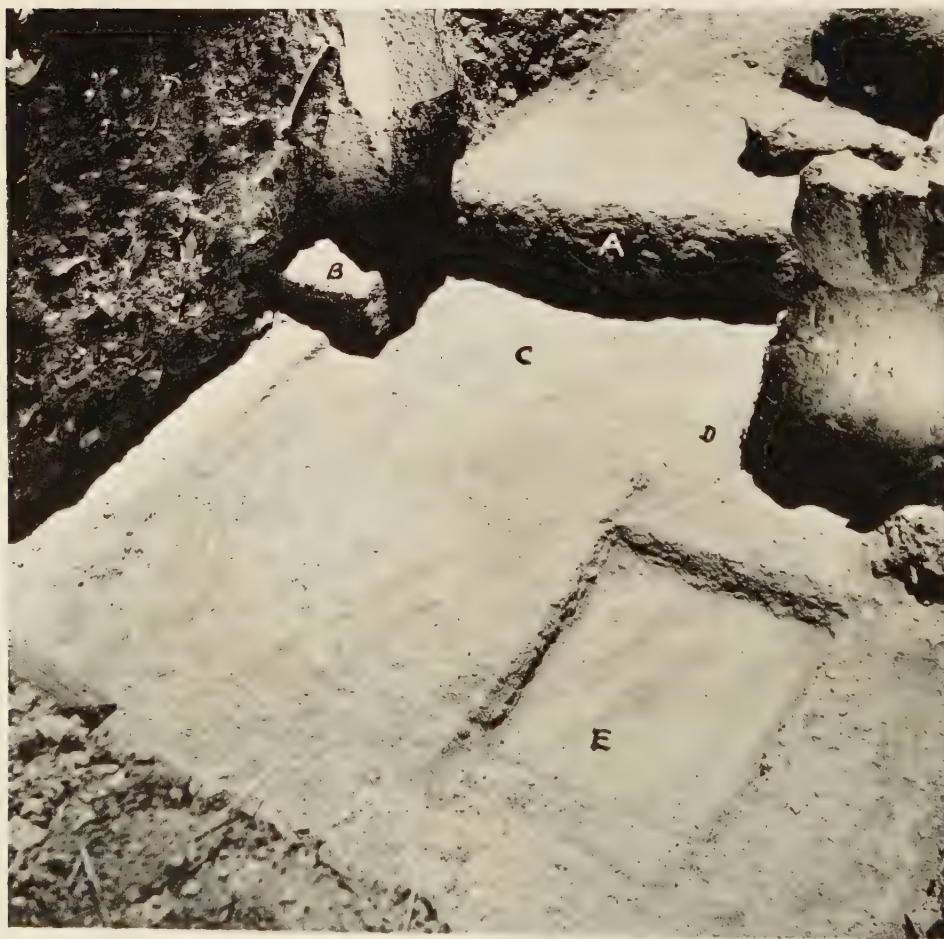


10

c. - e. Early Helladic Pottery



a. Trenches North of Temple of Apollo



b. Trench R.V, North End, looking South



a. Trench R.V, North End, looking North



b. Trench R.VI, looking South

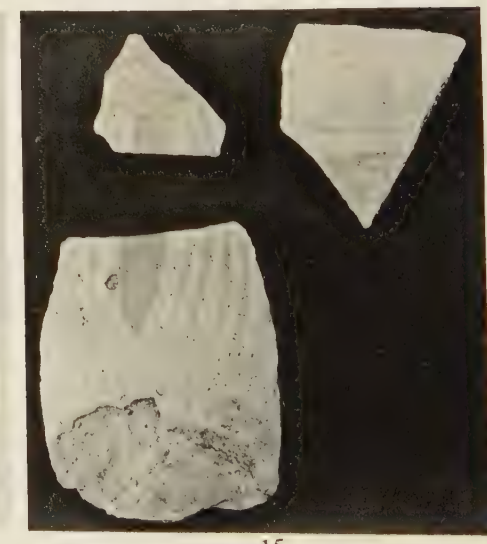
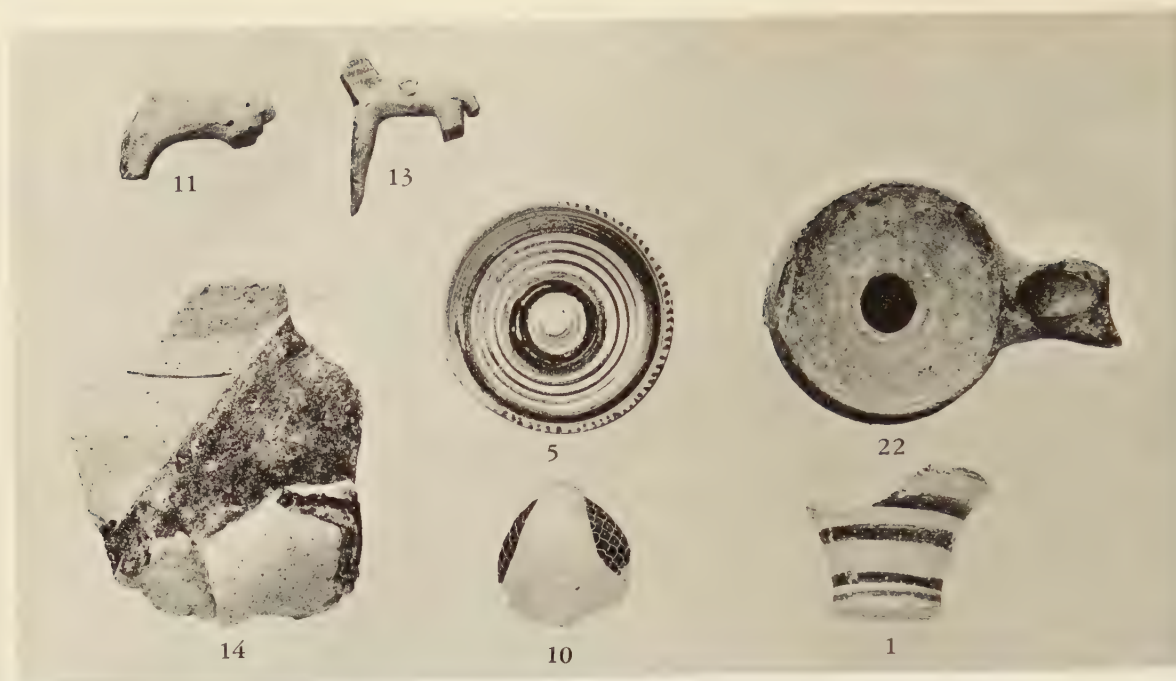


c. Trench R.I, looking East



d. Trench R.V, looking South

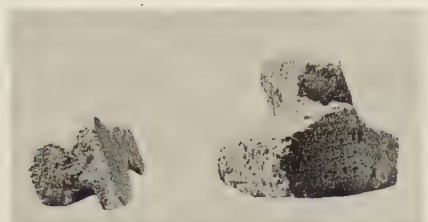
MARY CAMPBELL ROEBUCK: EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH: 1954



Objects from Tile and Block and Poros Chip Fills



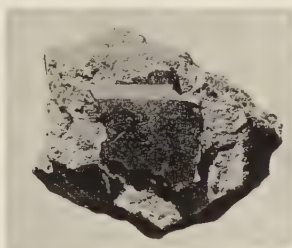
a. Miniature Capital from
Poros Chip Fill



b. Poros Tools from Poros Chip Fill



c. Dowel in Wall Block



d. Painted Stucco on
Wall Block



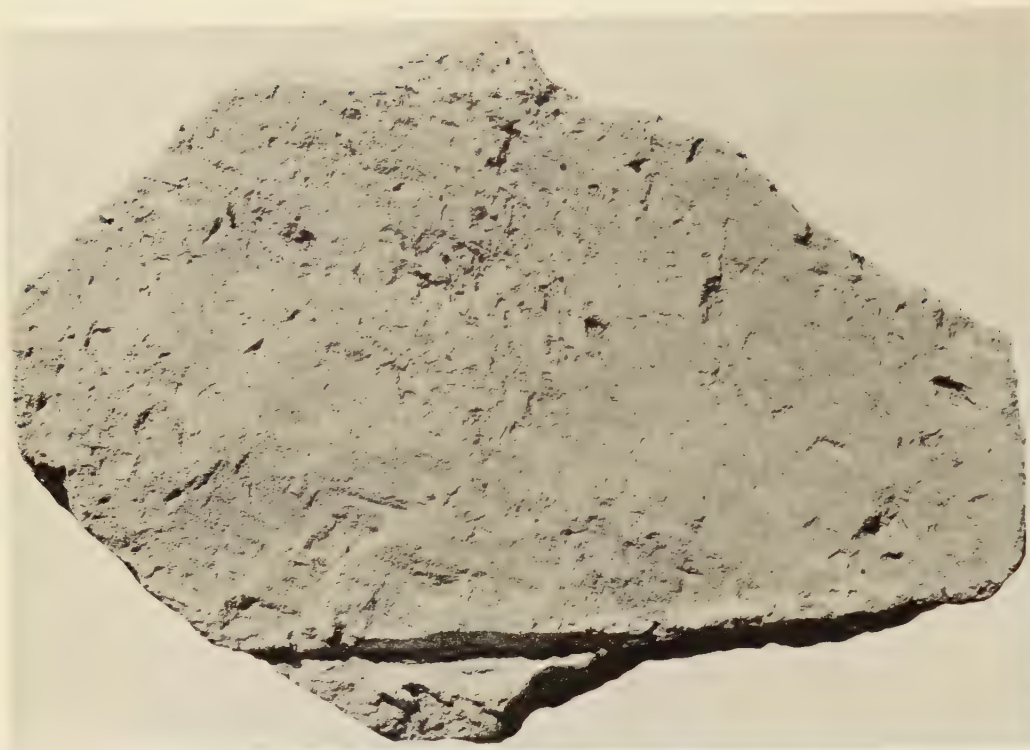
e. Temple of Apollo, showing cuttings for Earlier Temple



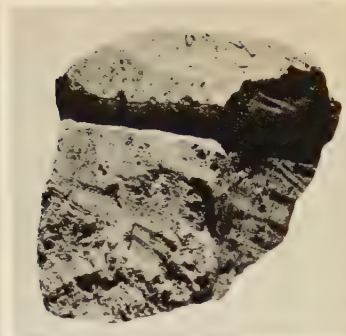
f. Lower Surface of Block of Wall Socle



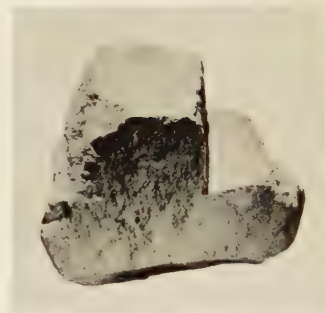
g. Fragmentary Terracotta Relief



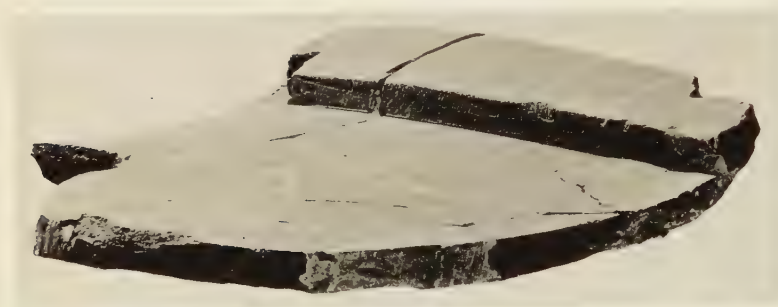
a. Lower Surface of Block of Wall Socle



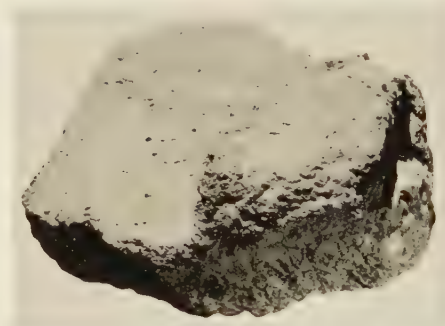
b. Rope cuttings



c. Fragment of Wall Block



e. Combination Tile from Slope of Roof



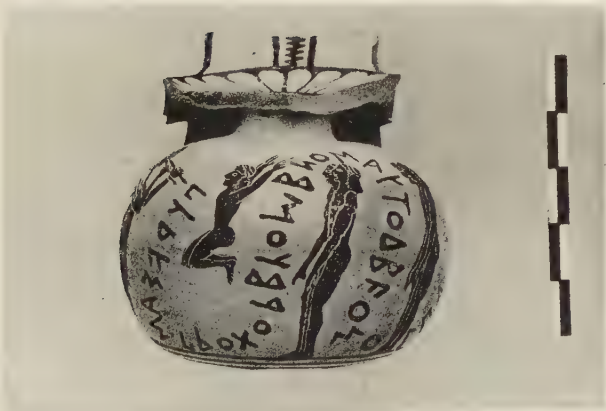
d. Fragment of Wall Block



f. Hip Tile

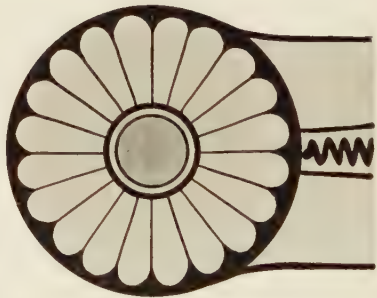
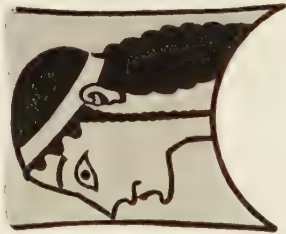


g. Ridge Tile



MARY C. AND CARL A. ROEBUCK: A PRIZE ARYBALLOS

PIET DE JONG



A NEW FRAGMENT OF AKROPOLIS 683

(PLATE 65)

AKROPOLIS 683, the little kore with the pointed red shoes, has not suffered for lack of attention in recent years. Payne gave her some much-needed kind words, pointing out that she is "a far better work than many of the statuettes, even than one or two of the large korai."¹ Chr. Karouzos furnished a convincing explanation for the fault Payne could not excuse, "the clumsy and confused scheme of the skirt."² Lastly, A. Raubitschek has offered the kore a base and a dedicator.³ Still there was something that she needed perhaps more than any of these, something that the Agora excavations fortunately have been able to supply.

High up on the north slope of the Akropolis in a Turkish deposit overlying the Panathenaic Way there came to light in 1939 a small scrap of Pentelic marble showing the edge of the kolpos of a thin chiton with rippled folds, overlapping a smoother surface below.⁴ The stylization of the crinkly folds is archaic. The convex surfaces and the curved line of the fold show that the fragment comes from the back of a kore, where the edge of the kolpos arches over the buttocks.

The number of Attic korai that wear the simple chiton without a mantle over it is small, for such a figure presents the sculptor with a difficult problem. The bloused and crinkled upper part of the full linen dress neither reveals the lines of the body clearly nor substitutes strong lines of its own. Most makers of korai preferred the small diagonal mantle, whose wealth of sharp vertical folds formed the mainstay of their composition. Of the few existing korai dressed in the simple chiton only No. 683 lacked precisely the part represented by our fragment. That it belonged to her and

¹ H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, p. 34, pl. 59, 1-3

² *B.S.A.*, XXXIX, 1938-39, pp. 103-105. Karouzos compares 683 with Sikyonian bronze mirror-supports, in which the skirt is held up at one side without displacing the vertical folds at the center. These folds are needed to give a stable axis to the figure. The other chiton-korai from the Akropolis hold the skirt up in the center. Karouzos believes that the sculptor of 683 was himself a Sikyonian.

³ *B.S.A.*, XL, 1939-40, p. 24, no. V; *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, pp. 313-314, no. 292. He assigns to this kore the larger of two cuttings on a flaring pillar-base, E.M. 6348, *I.G.*, I², 620, with the inscription "Lysias dedicated first-fruits to Athena. Euarchis dedicated a tithe to Athena." The apparent date of the letters, last decade of the sixth century, would fit the style of the kore. The marble is also similar, and what is left of the cutting fits the plinth. Thus there is nothing positive against the attribution. Only the fact that so little of the cutting is actually preserved prevents certainty.

⁴ Inv. S 1131. Found March 21, 1939. Height of fragment 0.088 m., width 0.11 m.

to no other was apparent as soon as one compared the marble and the strangely soft and fussy treatment of the surface. The ripples of the upper part of the chiton are made with a gouge that is very much narrower than the furrows, so that two or three cuts make up the width of the groove.⁵ This produces a soft, wavering effect. The folds in the skirt are accompanied by chisel-lines that cut into the flesh, but their ridges are soft. Abrasive marks are prominent on the smoothed portions of the skirt. The fragment joins exactly, and though it does not fill the lacuna entirely it completes the profile, so that the rest can be accurately supplied in plaster.

The result (Pl. 65)⁶ is what we might have restored in imagination, except that our imagination is never quite adequate to the completion of an ancient work of art, however unpretentious. Even Langlotz's apposite phrase "kräftige Tiefenentwicklung"⁷ hardly prepares us for the abrupt way the buttocks jut out from the small of the back. And yet this is precisely what had to happen. The line of the back in profile now becomes an unbroken succession of balanced curves, swinging in and out with a rhythm that makes artistic sense of the arbitrary proportions of the figure. These proportions can hardly be accidental. The figure as a whole is consistent enough to persuade us that the artist had a definite type in mind, one of those fast-maturing girls of southern stock who develop adult forms before they are grown to full height. The luxuriant hair, not tamed into waves or braids or tresses but springing out in an independent mass above the forehead and on the nape of the neck, is true to this type. So too, perhaps, are the naively showy red shoes that have earned this kore among Greeks of today the nickname of Χωριατοπούλα, the Country Girl. Those who date the work near the end of the sixth century B.C. cannot be far wrong.⁸ Is it too far-fetched to say that in the early days of the democracy a certain demotic flavor appears in Athenian art? Surely there are traces of it in the vase-paintings.

Whether or not there is a conscious realism in his choice of type, our artist betrays an intense interest in naturalistic effects in details. So in the hair he has abandoned ornamental patterns in order to give the impression of the mass and in the dress

⁵ Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, p. 191, gives a very detailed description of these grooves.

⁶ The photographs are by Miss Alison Frantz. I am indebted to Chr. Karouzos, Director of the National Museum, and Mrs. Karouzos for having the fragment attached and the gaps filled in with plaster by the Museum's sculptor and for permitting the publication of new photographs.

⁷ *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, p. 52.

⁸ Langlotz, Karouzos and Raubitschek in the works cited above. Payne (*loc. cit.*) places her around 520.

⁹ The wavy instead of straight lines used for the edges of the center folds in the kore must have been meant to enhance this effect. They occur also on the famous cup by Peithinos (Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, fig. 417); compare especially the part of Thetis's chiton that is held up by her left hand.

he has sacrificed the sharp lines of the conventional composition in an attempt to render the softness of cloth.⁹ As Payne suggested, he was not at home in making korai. Even so, had he been willing to follow the rules, he might have produced something that from our point of view would have been more successful. But this was not a time for following rules, and it is to his credit that he chose to take a step forward, however uncertainly.¹⁰

EVELYN B. HARRISON

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

¹⁰ I am not sure that we need to make the sculptor a non-Athenian or even to postulate Peloponnesian influence on his work, though the interchange of artists and ideas was so lively at that time that it may be more rash to deny foreign influence than to admit the possibility.

PALMETTE STAMPS FROM AN ATTIC BLACK-GLAZE WORKSHOP¹

(PLATES 66-71)

THIS article contains an account of a method of study which, it is hoped, will lead to greater precision and clarity in our knowledge of Attic black-glazed pottery bearing impressed decoration; in particular, it may ultimately resolve some of the uncertainties which at present surround the developments and innovations of the first half of the fourth century B.C. In its essentials the method consists of identifying and grouping together vases on which the impressed palmettes were made by the same stamp.

The new approach to the problem was made possible by the discovery that two large deposits of pottery found during the excavations of the Athenian Agora contain fragments of nearly fifty vases on which the ornament is remarkably uniform; the pattern is almost invariably composed of a ring of linked palmettes surrounded by rouletting, and the palmettes have in every case been made by one of four very similar stamps. This group of related pieces, represented here by Nos. 4 to 19, provides evidence for a number of conclusions about the character of the stamps and the way in which they were made and used. Although as a general rule on any given vase of the fifth or fourth century the palmettes were all produced by a single stamp, occasionally an impression differs markedly from its neighbours. With an isolated example the natural assumption would be that the workman began the decoration with one stamp and replaced it by another when he realized that the first one was faulty. On Nos. 11 and 12, however, there are a certain number of well-made palmettes which are clearly by the same stamp; on both vases there are also defective impressions (Pl. 67). This combination is by no means unique, and it suggests that many of the imperfections which occur in this kind of ornament arose not from the use of a damaged stamp, but from carelessness in the manipulation of a perfect one. In the discussion which follows, the illustrations include several pieces which do not belong to the group just mentioned; they have been selected because they are exceptionally clear examples of some of the principal faults which are found and because they demonstrate that

¹ This study was supported by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. It was made possible by the generosity of the Trustees of the British Museum, who, by granting me leave of absence, enabled me to spend three months in Athens.

I owe the modern mould for palmette stamps to Piet de Jong, and the drawn profiles to Mrs. Aliki Halepa Bikaki; the two diagrams of Figure 1 are by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse. For the photographs and the layout special thanks are due to Miss Alison Frantz. I am indebted also to the American School of Classical Studies for the facilities provided me in Athens and for the opportunity of continuing the study of Attic black-glazed ware.

these faults were not confined to one particular series of vases but recurred throughout a considerable period of time.

At first sight it might seem improbable that a single stamp should produce widely varying impressions, but in fact most if not all of the variations can be explained by the form of the stamp and the way in which it was handled. Examination of the evidence shows that the face of the stamp was slightly convex, not flat, and that the impression was made not by pressing the stamp squarely down on the clay, but by applying it at an angle; the top of the stamp was then rotated by a circular movement of the hand, and thus made to pivot on its lower end, so that the convex face was rolled over the surface of the clay in every direction. Figure 1, left, illustrates the

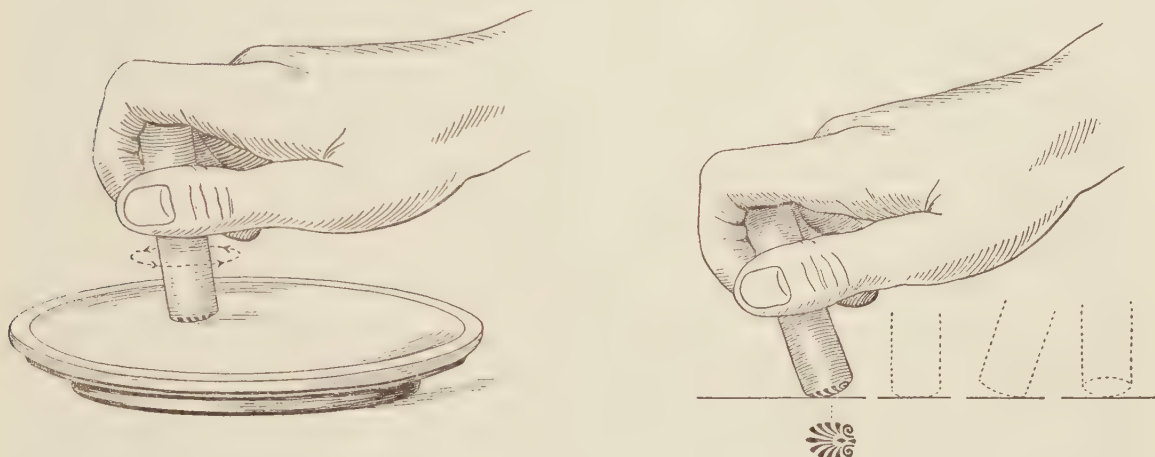


FIG. 1. Left: The application of a palmette-stamp to a vase and the method of rotation. Right: Four successive positions of a palmette-stamp during its rotation.

method of application, the dotted line and the arrow indicating the rotary motion; Figure 1, right, shows four successive positions of the stamp during its rotation. By this procedure a skilled and careful workman could ensure that every part of the palmette left its mark, and could produce a palmette of even depth and with all its petals complete, whether the surface to be decorated was flat or concave. Careless handling, however, might result in a palmette like the first one on No. 18 (Pl. 69, 18 b) where, although the petals have been pressed well home on either side, the outline of the palmette converges sharply toward the top; moreover, there are eight petals instead of the usual nine. Only the end of the center petal has survived, and a close examination of the impression shows that the first part of the stamp to touch the clay was the tip of the center petal; the stamp was then rotated in a clockwise direction, but during the rotation it was allowed to twist between the fingers. In consequence, the petals on the left side were displaced, and when the center petal of the stamp again

came in contact with the clay, it coincided with the imprint of the fourth petal on the right. A similar accidental turning of the stamp accounts for the peculiarities of the right-hand palmette on No. 1 (Pl. 66, 1 c); the volutes and the individual petals correspond to those of its neighbour, but the two sides of the palmette splay outward; the same distortion can be seen in all four palmettes of No. 2 (Pl. 66, 2 a and b). Even when the stamp was firmly held, failure to roll it over to an equal degree throughout its rotation could produce surprising consequences; the four palmettes on No. 3 (Pl. 66, 3 a, b, c) were all made by the same stamp, for their hearts and volutes correspond down to the smallest imperfections, yet the contrast between the form and general appearance of the petals of the right-hand palmette (Pl. 66, 3 c) and those of the other three is startling. On all four of the fragments mentioned above the decorated area is concave, so that the faulty impressions cannot have been made by a stamp with a flat face, which would tend to emphasize the outline at the expense of the interior. Even more decisive is the decoration in the center of the flat plate, No. 6 (Pl. 66, 6 d); the four hooked lines were made by the right-hand volute of the stamp used for the surrounding palmettes; the impressions are firmly and evenly struck, yet with the exception of the stem of the heart no other part of the palmette can be seen; it is a physical impossibility to produce such an effect with a flat stamp.

Among the examples illustrated in this article will be found many with an extra petal, a faulty or distorted rib between two petals, or a gap in the row of petals on one side; these peculiarities, too, can result from faulty manipulation. The palmettes on Plate 71, i to viii, were impressed in clay which was firm, though by no means leather-hard, by means of a modern reconstruction of the kind of stamp described above; the impression at the left end of the upper row is correctly struck, but the others show clearly that most of the defects which are found in ancient impressed palmettes can be reproduced by an undamaged stamp. The experiment also demonstrates that differences in general outline or in one or two details are not sufficient to prove that two impressions were made by different stamps unless both palmettes are perfectly struck; in comparing a good imprint with a poor one, or two defective impressions, each with a different fault, attention should be paid above all to such features as the relation between adjacent petals, the shape of the heart, and the setting of the volutes.

Equally instructive is the relationship between the four separate stamps whose similarity gave the first impulse to the present investigation. It is true that they have certain obvious differences. On No. 4 (Pl. 66, 4 b) the petals are slender, with rounded ends, and the volutes are complete. The palmettes on No. 8 (Pl. 67, 8 b) bear a general resemblance to those on No. 4, but they can be distinguished by the setting of the first petal on the left and by the curtailment of the volutes. On No. 16 (Pl. 68, 16 b) the petals are broader and all save the three middle petals have been cropped, while the lower part of the volutes is missing. On No. 10 (Pl. 67, 10 b) the volutes are defective and the petals have suffered even more severely; No. 16 and No. 10 also differ in the

angle at which the first rib on either side meets the heart. Yet in other respects, such as the shape of the heart, the curve of the volutes, and the line of several of the ribs, the internal structure of all four palmettes is remarkably uniform. For this uniformity only two explanations seem possible; that all four stamps were carved or modelled in one workshop, and perhaps by one man, in a deliberate effort to achieve a close correspondence in details, or that they all come from a single mould and were touched up while still soft. There is nothing to support the theory of deliberate imitation, which would be a lengthy and laborious business, whereas experiments with a mould have proved it to be a simple and expeditious means of producing a stamp; moreover, the account given below of the procedure which it was found natural to adopt when using a mould illuminates many of the distinctive features of the four stamps under discussion.

The curvature of the stamp demands a mould with a concave face, into which the palmette is cut in intaglio; for this part of the process it was found necessary to call upon the help of a skilled draughtsman, but once the mould exists the rest of the work can easily be done by unpractised hands. There is as yet insufficient evidence to permit useful speculation about the material used in antiquity for the mould; in the experiment here described a block of plaster of Paris was employed. As regards the stamp, in view of the fact that the operation took place in a potter's shop, and in the light of the stamps used at a later date in the manufacture of moulds for Megarian bowls, the obvious suggestion is that it was made of clay; the results shown on Plate 71, i to xii were in fact obtained with this medium. The first step is to form a small rod of clay of sufficient length and thickness to provide a good grip for the fingers; the tip of the rod is kept moist and soft, while the rest of it is allowed to dry until it is firm. Under these conditions sufficient pressure can be exerted to drive the soft part of the clay well home into the mould without the rod collapsing or bending in the hand. The clay is allowed to dry until the face of the stamp is firm, though still plastic; the operator then removes it from the mould, trims away the surrounding flange where the clay has spread out over the blank part of the mould, and gives any finishing touches which may be needed. It may, for example, be advisable to strengthen the line of the volutes or to clean out the division between two petals; carelessness at this stage may result in the displacement of one or more petals, with a consequent distortion of the ribs in the final impression; negligence in cutting away the flange leads to the loss of the tips of the petals or of the lower part of the volutes, while accidental pressure on the face of the stamp causes the flattening which can be observed on the left-hand petals of No. 11 (Pl. 67, 11 b). The palmettes illustrated on Plate 71, ix to xii were produced by four separate stamps, all made from the same mould in the manner described above; the combination of a general likeness with various divergences in detail affords a good parallel to the relationship between the four ancient examples. In the modern reconstruction of the process the stamps were hardened by

thorough drying; it may well be that in antiquity they were fired in a kiln, but in any case their life must have been limited. The interval which may separate two stamps from the same matrix is more difficult to determine, and conjecture on the subject is at present premature, but vases which bear the imprint of the same stamp may be regarded as closely contemporary.

The usefulness of the conclusions here presented is not limited to the study of the manufacture of Attic black-glazed ware; they have also a wider application. Even at this early stage it is clear that the recognition and grouping together of vases which were produced in one workshop within a comparatively short space of time may be expected to give a sharper definition to our knowledge of fourth-century Attic pottery. It can now be shown that a single establishment might produce a considerable range of shapes, all displaying certain common characteristics. The major group discussed below consists of cup-kantharoi, plates, bolsals, and bowls of two kinds, one with the same kind of broad ring-foot as No. 2, the other resembling No. 10; there is also a stemless cup, No. 9, an uncommon form at this period. In general the quality of these vases is high for their time; the glaze is good, and their feet and rims, though lacking the refinement and delicacy of the most careful fifth-century work, are neatly executed. Regardless of their shape, all but one of the members of the group have a completely glazed underside which rises to a cone at the center and passes into the inner face of the foot in an unbroken curve. The one exception, the stemless cup, shows that the earlier system whereby a vase with a ring foot had a flat underside decorated with circles of glaze, might still be followed in a workshop whose normal practice was to produce the new, labour-saving variety. Equally important, however, is the discovery that contemporary examples of a shape, though very similar in general proportions, may vary appreciably in detail. The four cup-kantharoi, Nos. 25 to 28, provide a clear illustration of this point; in the relationship between the height and the diameter of the lip or the width of the foot they are closely connected, but they all differ in the profile of the lip and foot, the transition between body and wall, and the treatment of the underside. Such minor variations are not surprising, and even without the evidence of the palmettes they would not have been thought to have any chronological significance. The same cannot be said of the peculiar form of the cup-kantharos No. 14 (compare also *Olynthus*, XIII, pls. 183 and 191, No. 503); the wide rim and foot, and the low wall, might seem clear indications that it is an early example of the shape, whose presence in a later context is the result of chance survival. Yet the other vases which bear the imprint of the same stamp have numerous parallels among the material from *Olynthus*; in particular, there are fragments of cup-kantharoi whose degree of development comes close to that of such vases as *Olynthus*, XIII, pls. 183, 187, and 189, Nos. 505 and 506. No. 14, with its counterpart from *Olynthus*, must therefore be regarded, not as the predecessor of the form current in the second quarter of the fourth century, but as an exceptional contemporary variant.

By a similar procedure it is also possible to date vases of uncommon shape by linking them with better known varieties. In Athens the light cup-kotyle is comparatively rare in contexts of the second and third quarters of the fourth century, so that its development during the period is hard to trace; No. 24, however, bears palmettes by the same stamp as those on the cup-kantharoi, Nos. 25 to 28, and comes from the same deposit as two of them. The evidence of the context is thus confirmed by other means, and since the cup-kantharoi can be dated by their similarity to examples from Olynthos (*Olynthus*, XIII, pls. 183, 187, and 189, Nos. 505 and 506), the cup-kotyle must also belong to the second quarter of the fourth century.

The instances given above show how the study of impressed palmettes may be used both to confirm and also to modify deductions drawn from other data. The vases so far mentioned belong to a period about which we are comparatively well informed; in Athens and elsewhere the evidence for the second and subsequent quarters of the fourth century is almost as plentiful as for the years before 400 B.C. The first quarter of the fourth century, however, is poorly represented, and only the most tentative opinions can be formed about the development of the various shapes at that time, or about the date at which such new forms as the kantharos and cup-kantharos were introduced. Some progress can be made by comparing the examples current in the preceding and succeeding eras and deducing the intermediate stages, but the possibilities of error latent in this method are shown by the stemless cup, No. 23. In isolation the neat underside and the thin foot with its careful moulding at first sight suggest a date soon after 400 B.C., at the latest; one might indeed be tempted to regard the vase as evidence that rouletting was introduced into Athens considerably earlier than is commonly supposed. Three other vase-fragments (Nos. 20 to 22), however, which are decorated by the same stamp as the cup, are indistinguishable in form from examples of the second quarter of the century; moreover, all four pieces come from two deposits which consist almost entirely of pottery of that period. The balance of the evidence therefore compels one to regard the cup as a late example of an old-fashioned form which contrasts strongly with the approximately contemporary vase No. 9.

From the vases just discussed, in particular Nos. 14, 23 and 24, it is apparent that the identification of a group of vases decorated by the same stamp may open the way to conclusions which could not be reached by other means. The results thus achieved encourage the hope that the same method of study may ultimately supply the requisite foundation for the chronology of the black-glazed ware of the early fourth century.

CATALOGUE

The first three items are unrelated pieces, which are included for purposes of comparison. Nos. 4 to 19 are selected from the large workshop group mentioned on p. 172; the four stamps with which the group is decorated are represented by Nos. 4 to 7, 8 and 9, 10 to 15, and 16 to 19

respectively. The catalogue also includes two smaller groups, Nos. 20 to 23, and 24 to 28, each group being decorated with a different stamp. At the end is an account of the modern impressions shown on Plate 71.

In each description, the palmettes, unless otherwise indicated, are counted from the left, beginning with the first fully preserved example; the numbering of the petals on either side of a palmette starts with the one nearest the volute.

The individual palmettes are reproduced at twice actual size; general views of the patterns at actual size and the complete vases and drawn profiles at one-half actual size.

1. Light cup-kotyle fragment. Pl. 66. Details, 1 b, the first palmette; 1 c, the second.

Inv. P 5736. P. H. 0.031 m.

From the upper filling of a well just outside the southeast corner of the market square; a context of the late fifth to early fourth centuries. Previously published from the same deposit: Inv. T 829, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 304, fig. 15; Inv. T 831, *ibid.*, p. 308, fig. 16.

About a quarter of the foot and floor preserved, with part of the wall. The form of the lower part of the foot is unusual; it has a straight, almost vertical face, with two horizontal grooves just below its upper edge. Flat, reserved underside, decorated with neat glaze circles and a dot; flat reserved resting surface; a scraped line near the junction of wall and floor.

The first palmette is correctly struck; in making the second the stamp was allowed to twist during its rotation, so that the two sides of the palmette splay outward; moreover it was rotated through more than a full circle, and in consequence the center petal and the fourth one on the right have each left two impressions. The exact correspondence of the details, however, shows that both the palmettes were produced by the same stamp. Compare also the modern impressions, Plate 71, i and v.

2. Bowl. Pl. 66. Detail, 2 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 6960. Diam. 0.09 m.

From the filling of the eastern chamber of a cistern system in the level area south of the Hephaisteion. The bulk of the material accumulated during the last third of the fourth century; the deposit as a whole stops short of 300 B.C., but the presence in it of a few later frag-

ments suggests that it may have been dumped in the cistern early in the third century. Previously published from the same deposit: Inv. P 6728, G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, p. 82, No. 179 and fig. 462.

Complete save for a piece of the wall and chips from the rim. The broad resting surface reserved save for a narrow zone round the center; a reserved line at the junction of wall and foot. Profile much as *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 329, fig. 5, no. 155.

On all five palmettes the sides splay outward, as a result of the stamp being allowed to twist during its rotation. Compare the modern impression, Plate 71, iii.

3. Bolsal fragment. Pl. 66. Details, 3 b, the top palmette; 3 c, the right hand one.

Inv. P 9305. Diam. of foot 0.063 m.

From a pit used for dumping the waste from a metal furnace, about 10 m. north of the Hephaisteion; filled up in the late fourth century B.C., but containing considerable earlier material. Previously published from the same deposit: Inv. P 7915, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 341, no. 138 and p. 319, fig. 1.

All the foot and floor preserved, with the start of the wall. The underside reserved, with three neat glaze circles and a dot. Profile of foot and underside similar to *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 502, fig. 20, no. 14.

Most of the petals of the right-hand palmette have not their full length, as a result of failure to roll the stamp well over toward the upper part of the palmette during its rotation. As the decorated area is concave, a flat stamp could not give this result, but would produce either an impression with well-struck extremities and

no center, or one which was deep at one end and grew progressively more shallow toward the other. Moreover the difference between this palmette and the other three can scarcely be explained by assuming that it was made by a different stamp, since the details of the lower parts of all four correspond. Compare also the modern impressions, Plate 71, i and iv.

4. Bowl fragment. Pl. 66. Detail, 4 b, the first palmette.

Inv. P 22578. Max. dim. 0.099 m.

From a foundry pit, a pit in the courtyard of a small metal-working establishment outside the Agora to the northwest along the ancient road leading from the Dipylon (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 300). The pottery, though fragmentary, is homogeneous and belongs to the second quarter of the fourth century, the greater part of it being rather earlier than the most developed material from Olynthos. Already published from the same deposit: Inv. P 14649 (here No. 13), *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 344, no. 153 and p. 325, fig. 4; Inv. T 1931, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 290, fig. 4. From the same context: here, Nos. 4, 5, 8, 13, 20, 21, 22.

About half of the foot and floor preserved. A reserved line at the junction of wall and foot; the groove in the resting surface also reserved. Foot and underside as No. 10.

The decoration originally consisted of seven linked palmettes arranged in a circle, with an eighth at the center. On the third and fourth palmettes the third petal on the left has struck twice.

5. Cup-kantharos or kantharos fragment. Pl. 66. Detail, 5 b, the only complete palmette.

Inv. P 22599. Max. dim. 0.048 m.

From the filling of the foundry pit, as No. 4.

A small fragment of the foot and floor preserved. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; the groove in the resting surface reserved. Profile of foot similar to that of No. 14.

Only the edge of the stamp has touched the

vase, and the center has not struck at all; the fourth petal on the right has struck twice. The impression is rather shallow, but the disposition of the petals, the shape of their tips and the form of the volutes can be exactly paralleled on No. 4. Compare Plate 66, 5 b and 4 b; compare also the modern impressions, Plate 71, i and viii.

6. Plate. Pl. 66; Fig. 2. Details, 6 b, the top palmette; 6 c, the right-hand one; 6 d, the central ornament.

Inv. P 15055. Est. diam. 0.12 m.

From the filling of a small cutting in bedrock on the north slope of the Areopagus; context of the fourth century B.C.

Complete save for the greater part of the rim. Glazed all over; the glaze on the interior and inside the foot is blue-black; on the rest of the exterior it varies from gray to chestnut and has peeled considerably.

All the palmettes have the same defect; only the edge of the stamp came into contact with the clay; the stamp was allowed to twist during its rotation, and it was not rotated through a complete circle. In consequence the palmettes have no centers; in most cases at least one of the left-hand petals is missing, and the whole left side splays outward. However, the volutes, the center petal and the petals on the right correspond exactly to those on No. 5; compare Plate 66, 6 b and 5 b. The four hooked lines at the center of the plate were made by the right-hand volute of the palmette stamp; compare Plate 66, 6 b and 6 d.

7. Plate fragment. Pl. 67; Fig. 2. Detail, 7 b, the second palmette in the inner zone.

Inv. P 8178. Max. dim. 0.193 m.

From a filling in a well near the west edge of the level area south of the Hephaisteion. Though there is a considerable amount of pottery, very few complete shapes are preserved. A few pieces from the filling are of the latest fourth century, but by far the greater part belongs to the thirty years before 350 B.C. Pre-

viously published from the same deposit: Inv. P 8174, van Hoorn, *Choes*, p. 83, No. 186 and fig. 167.

From the same context: here, Nos. 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27.

it was not rotated through a complete circle. As a result, all the palmettes have no centers and lack at least one of the petals on the left side. In view of the extreme shallowness of the impressions, it is probable that the vase was



FIG. 2. Black-Glazed Vases from Workshop Group. Scale 1:2.

About a quarter of the foot and floor preserved, with part of the rim; unusually heavy ring foot with grooved resting surface. Glazed all over.

All the palmettes have the same defect; only the edge of the stamp has touched the vase, and

allowed to become too hard before it was decorated. The deepest impression on this plate should be compared with the faintest one on No. 6; it will be seen that the volutes and the petals on the right side correspond. Compare Plates 67, 7 b and 66, 6 c.

8. Bowl fragment. Pl. 67. Detail, 8 b, the second palmette.

Inv. P 22576. Max. dim. 0.072 m.

From the filling of the foundry pit, as No. 4.

About a third of the foot and floor preserved. The groove in the resting surface reserved, with a heavy milos wash. A scraped line at the junction of wall and foot. Foot and underside as No. 10.

The palmettes resemble those on No. 4, but can be distinguished by the shape and setting of the first petal on either side and by the curtailment of the volutes. Compare Plates 67, 8 b and 66, 4 b; compare also the modern impressions, Plate 71, ix and xi.

9. Stemless cup fragment. Pl. 67; Fig. 2. Detail, 9 b, the second palmette.

Inv. P 22743. Max. dim. 0.069 m.

From the plundered trench of the north-south wall of the foundry; see above under No. 4. Context of the second quarter of the fourth century.

About half of the foot and floor preserved. Underside reserved and decorated with fairly neat zones and circles of glaze; reserved resting surface. A scraped line on the wall just above its junction with the foot.

On both the complete palmettes the fourth petal on the left has struck twice. The shape and disposition of the rest of the petals and the form of the volutes suffice to show that this cup was decorated with the same stamp as No. 8. Compare Plate 67, 9 b and 8 b.

10. Bowl fragment. Pl. 67; Fig. 2. Detail, 10 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 22627. Max. dim. 0.122 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

The complete foot preserved save for chips, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved; a scraped line at the junction of wall and foot.

The disposition of the petals resembles that of the palmettes on No. 4; but the petals themselves are broader, their rounded ends have

been cut off, and the volutes have been curtailed. Compare Plates 67, 10 b and 66, 4 b; compare also the modern impressions, Plate 71, ix and xii.

11. Bowl fragment. Pl. 67. Details, 11 b, the first palmette; 11 c, the second.

Inv. P 22634. Max. dim. 0.086 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

About a third of the foot and half of the floor preserved, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved, but accidentally glazed at one point; a scraped line at the junction of wall and body. Foot and underside similar to No. 10.

The first palmette is complete, though rather lightly struck on the left. The others are defective on the left side, as a result of failure to rotate the stamp through a full circle, and in places their ribs are distorted through the twisting of the stamp during its rotation. The complete palmette was made by the same stamp as those on No. 10; the intact parts of the other impressions also correspond. Compare Plate 67, 11 b and c, and 10 b; compare also the modern impressions, Plate 71, i and vii.

12. Bowl fragment. Pl. 67. Details, 12 b, the top palmette; 12 c, the left-hand one.

Inv. P 22639. Max. dim. 0.081 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

All of the foot and floor preserved, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved; a scraped line at the junction of wall and foot. Foot and underside similar to No. 10.

All but two of the palmettes are defective on the left side. The complete palmettes correspond with those on No. 10, the defective ones with those on No. 11. Compare Plate 67, 12 b and 10 b; also 12 c and 11 c.

13. Plate. Pl. 68. Detail, 13 b, the top palmette. Profile drawing, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 325, fig. 4, no. 153.

Inv. P 14649. Max. diam. 0.151 m.

From the filling of the foundry pit, as No. 4.

Small pieces of the rim and foot restored; glazed all over.

All the palmettes are defective in the center and on the left side, as a result of failure to rotate the stamp through a complete circle. On some of them the tips of the left-hand petals are displaced and splay outward, in consequence of the twisting of the stamp during its rotation. The correspondence between what there is of the volutes and right side of the palmettes and the equivalent portions of the impressions on No. 11 show that the same stamp was used for both vases. Compare Plates 68, 13 b and 67, 11 c.

14. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 68;

Fig. 2. Detail, 14 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 8193. Diam. 0.126 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

About a third of the rim, wall and foot restored. The groove in the resting surface reserved; a scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings on the foot. For the proportions compare *Olynthus*, XIII, pls. 183 and 191, No. 503.

The palmettes have the same defects as those on No. 13; the parts which have been correctly struck correspond to the equivalent portions on No. 11. Compare Plates 68, 14 b and 67, 11 c.

15. Cup-kantharos. Pl. 68; Fig. 2. Detail, 15 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 22642. P. H. 0.068 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

All the foot and two-thirds of the body preserved, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved; a scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; another just outside the junction of body and foot.

The palmettes are defective in the same way as those on No. 13 and No. 14; most of them are lightly struck, so that the petals on the right look rather thin and short, but the deepest impression can be exactly paralleled on the two

preceding vases and must have been made by the same stamp. Compare Plate 68, 15 b, 14 b and 13 b.

16. Bolsal fragment. Pl. 68. Detail, 16 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 22660. Diam. of base 0.092 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

Most of the foot and all the floor preserved, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved. Foot and underside similar to No. 18.

The disposition of the petals resembles that of the palmettes on No. 8 but the palmettes themselves are broader, the tips of all but the center petal and the fourth on the left have been cropped; in addition, the right-hand volute has been trimmed slightly more. Compare Plates 68, 16 b and 67, 8 b.

17. Bolsal fragment. Pl. 68. Detail, 17 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 22661. Diam. of base 0.09 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

All of the foot and floor preserved, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved. Foot and underside similar to No. 18.

Most of the palmettes are correctly struck, with a few minor distortions; the details correspond to those on No. 16. On the top palmette, however, all but the first of the left-hand petals are incomplete owing to failure to roll the stamp sufficiently far over in their direction. The center petal of the stamp has touched the clay twice, making one well-struck impression, over which a shallow one has been superimposed; the two do not quite coincide, so that the petal is distorted. In this instance the center petal was the first part of the stamp to touch the clay, and the rotation was clockwise. The right side of the palmette, its heart, and the volutes correspond to those of the other palmettes on the vase, and to those on No. 16. Compare Plate 68, 17 b and 16 b.

- 18.** Bolsal fragment. Pl. 69; Fig. 2. Details, 18 b, the first palmette; 18 c, the third.

Inv. P 22662. Diam. of base 0.089 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

About half the foot and two-thirds of the floor preserved, with part of the wall. A scraped line in the groove of the resting surface; another at the junction of the main part of the wall and its concave lower section.

The first palmette, unlike its neighbours, has only eight petals; this defect is due to an error in manipulation. The center petal of the stamp was the first part to touch the clay; the stamp was rotated clockwise, and during its rotation it was allowed to twist, so that the left-hand petals converge toward the top. At the end of the rotation, the fourth petal on the left obliterated all save the tip of the imprint made by the center petal, while the center petal touched the vase a second time, distorting the tip of the fourth petal on the right. See Plate 69, 18 b. The left-hand petals on the third palmette are short and shallow, owing to failure to roll the stamp well over to the upper left during its rotation; the broken line of the ribs on the right side is due to movement of the stamp. See Plate 69, 18 c. Despite these peculiarities, the coincidence of the properly-struck parts of these and of the other palmettes on this vase with the equivalent portions of the impressions on No. 16 shows that all were made by the same stamp. Compare Plate 69, 18 b and 18 c with Plate 68, 16 b.

- 19.** Plate fragment. Pl. 69; Fig. 2. Detail, 19 b, the third palmette.

Inv. P 8179. Diam. of foot 0.110 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

Rather more than half the foot and floor preserved, with part of the rim; glazed all over.

All the palmettes are lightly and carelessly struck, and in most cases the center of the stamp has not touched the clay at all. In making the third palmette, the operator has also failed to roll the stamp over to its outer limit during its rotation, and as a result the petals are thin and

short; the left-hand ones, however, correspond so exactly to those of a defective impression on No. 17 that they must have been produced by the same stamp. Compare Plates 69, 19 b and 68, 17 b.

- 20.** Bolsal fragment. Pl. 69. Detail, 20 b, the first palmette.

Inv. P 22606. Max. dim. 0.076 m.

From the filling of the foundry pit, as No. 4.

About a quarter of the foot and floor preserved, with the start of the wall. The groove in the resting surface reserved; the glaze on the exterior fired chestnut. Foot and underside similar to No. 18, save that the foot is thicker.

The palmette is not fully struck at the center. Its most distinctive features are the way the volutes meet at the middle without leaving any stem to the heart, the extreme width of the first petal on either side, and the slight defect at the start of the first rib on the right.

- 21.** Bolsal fragment. Pl. 69. Detail, 21 b, the only surviving palmette.

Inv. P 22605. Max. dim. 0.106 m.

From the filling of the foundry pit, as No. 4.

About a third of the foot and floor preserved, with part of the wall. A scraped line in the groove of the resting surface; another just below the junction of the main part of the wall and its concave lower section. Foot and underside similar to No. 18, save that the foot is thicker.

The fourth petal on the right has struck twice; the individual petals and volutes correspond to those on No. 20. Compare Plate 69, 21 b and 20 b.

- 22.** Bowl fragment. Pl. 69. Detail, 22 b, the first palmette.

Inv. P 22579. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

From the filling of the foundry pit, as No. 4.

About a quarter of the foot and floor preserved, with part of the wall. The groove in the resting-surface reserved; a reserved line at the junction of the wall and the foot. Glaze fired

chestnut in places on the exterior. Foot and underside similar to No. 10.

The petals and the left-hand volutes are abbreviated as a result of failure to roll the stamp over to its edge during its rotation. In

23. Stemless cup fragments. Pl. 69; Fig. 3.
Detail, 23 b, the second palmette.

Inv. P 22666. P. H. of largest fragment
0.039 m.

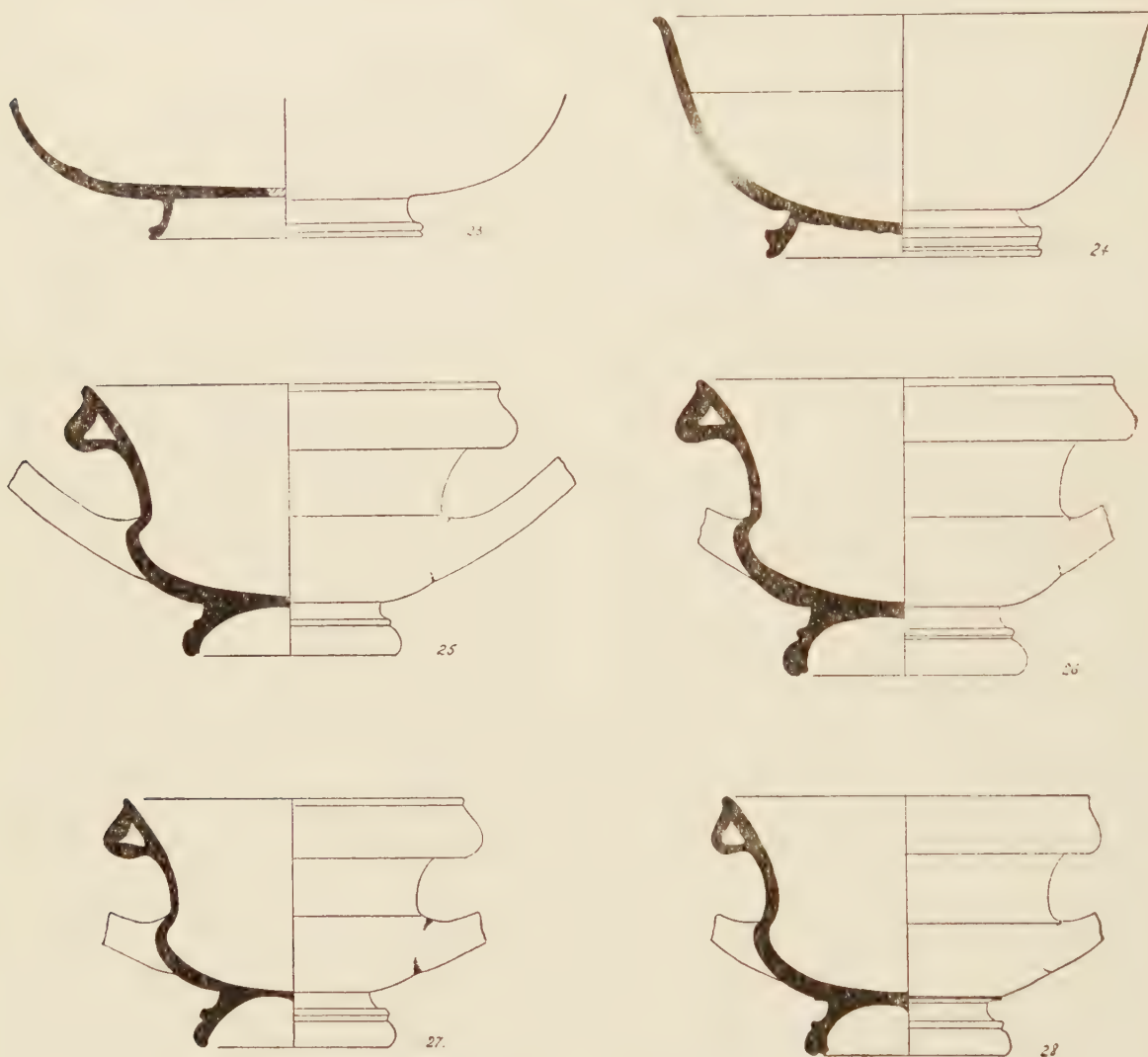


FIG. 3. Black-Glazed Vases. Scale 1:2.

their inner details, however, the palmettes correspond to those on No. 20 and No. 21, and were therefore made by the same stamp. Compare Plate 69, 22 b with 21 b and 20 b.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

The largest fragment gives about half the foot and floor and part of the wall. Two other non-joining pieces, which are not illustrated,

give more of the floor and part of the rim. Underside reserved, with neat glaze zones and circles; reserved resting surface; a scraped line around the wall near its junction with the foot.

The palmettes are all badly struck, with gaps and extra petals; even so, the correspondence between the details and their equivalents on the three preceding vases shows that this cup, too, was decorated with the same stamp. Compare Plate 69, 23 b with 22 b, 21 b, and 20 b.

24. Light cup-kotyle. Pl. 71; Fig. 3. Detail, 24 b, the left-hand palmette; 24 c, the right-hand one.

Inv. P 8191. H. 0.065 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

About half the wall, a third of the foot and a small piece of the floor restored. The underside was completely glazed and then divided into zones by four concentric scraped circles. Reserved resting surface; a scraped line round the wall just above its junction with the foot; another between the two mouldings of the lower part of the foot.

The sides of the left-hand palmette splay outward, the fourth petal on the left is unduly broad, and its tip is out of alignment with the center petal; these defects are due to the stamp being allowed to twist during its rotation. In the right-hand palmette the stamp has struck twice on the right-hand side, distorting the outline and partly obliterating the right volute. In combination, however, the two palmettes provide well-struck impressions of all parts of the stamp.

25. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 70; Fig. 3. Detail, 25 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 1090. H. 0.073 m.

From a deposit lying over a cobbled floor in a building on the lower north slopes of the Areopagus. Some Hellenistic and later disturbance was noted, but the bulk of the pottery belongs to the second and third quarters of the century, with the lower limit well before the end of the third quarter. Previously published from

the same deposit: Inv. P 1095, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 522, no. 116 and p. 502, fig. 20; Inv. P 1096, *ibid.*, p. 522, no. 117 and p. 485, fig. 8; Inv. SS 368, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 210, no. 1; SS 369, *ibid.*, no. 2; SS 367, *ibid.*, no. 3.

About half of the rim and a quarter of the wall restored. The groove in the resting surface reserved; a scraped line at the junction of the two mouldings of the lower part of the foot. For the proportions of this vase, and of Nos. 26 to 28, compare *Olynthus*, XIII, pls. 183, 187 and 189, Nos. 505 and 506.

The center of the top palmette is lightly struck; the rest of the details are clear, and correspond to the equivalent parts of the top and bottom palmettes on No. 24. Compare Plate 70, 25 b with Plate 71, 24 b and 24 c.

26. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 70; Fig. 3. Detail, 26 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 8192. H. 0.08 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

About half of the rim, wall and foot restored. The rim is not horizontal. The resting surface reserved.

The details of the palmettes correspond to the equivalent parts of those on No. 24. Compare Plate 70, 26 b with Plate 71, 24 b and 24 c.

27. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 70; Fig. 3. Detail, 27 b, the top palmette.

Inv. P 22656. H. 0.068 m.

From the same well-filling as No. 7.

About half of the rim, wall, body and foot restored. The resting surface reserved; a scraped line at the junction of the two mouldings of the lower part of the foot.

The four palmettes in the interior have been set so close together that their volutes overlap and are partly obscured. The petals correspond to the equivalent parts of the palmettes on No. 24. Compare Plate 70, 27 b with Plate 71, 24 b and 24 c.

28. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 70; Fig. 3. Details, 28 b, the right-hand palmette; 28 c, the left-hand one.

Inv. P 3708. H. 0.07 m.

From the filling inside the foundations of the Temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, plan, pl. III, II, pp. 84-90, 104-105); a context of the second quarter of the fourth century. Previously published from the same deposit: Inv. P 3711, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 522, no. 115, p. 485, fig. 8 and p. 502, fig. 20; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 88-89, fig. 46, a-f.

About half of the rim, wall and body restored. The groove in the resting surface reserved; a reserved line round the body just above its junction with the foot.

All the palmettes are defective. On the right-hand one the left side is missing, owing to failure to rotate the stamp through a full circle; the excessive distance between the tip of the center petal and the base of the volutes is due to displacement of the stamp during its rotation. On the left-hand palmette most of the left side and center is missing; moreover the volutes are badly out of alignment, as a result of allowing the stamp to twist during rotation. Where the details are properly struck, however, they correspond to the equivalent parts of the palmettes on No. 24. Compare Plate 70, 28 b and 28 c with Plate 71, 24 b and 24 c.

MODERN IMPRESSIONS. Pl. 71, i-xii.

Nos. i to ix are by the same stamp; Nos. x to xii are by three other stamps made with the same mould.

i. The stamp was rotated through a complete circle, and rolled over to its outer edge during rotation, thus producing a correctly struck impression.

ii. The center petal of the stamp was applied to the clay, and the stamp was then rotated in a clockwise direction. It was allowed to twist during its rotation, so that the fourth petal on the left overstruck the imprint left by

the center petal, leaving only the tip of it undisturbed.

iii. The center petal of the stamp was applied to the clay, and the stamp was then rotated in a clockwise direction. It was allowed to twist during its rotation, so that the petals on the left-hand side splay outward. At the start of the operation the fourth petal on the left was inadvertently allowed to touch the clay, so that the palmette has an extra petal.

iv. The right side of the stamp was applied to the clay. The stamp was then rotated, but not rolled over to a sufficient degree toward the top of the palmette. As a result the center petals are short and thin.

v. The fourth petal on the left was applied to the clay; the stamp was then rotated in a clockwise direction, and allowed to twist during its rotation. In consequence the petals on the left were displaced, thus leaving room for the fourth petal on the left to make a second imprint.

vi. The stamp was not rolled sufficiently far to the left during its rotation, so that the left-hand petals are thin and short.

vii. The center petal of the stamp was applied to the clay; the stamp was then rotated in a clockwise direction, but was not carried through a full circle. In consequence the third and fourth petals on the left are extremely faint.

viii. The tip of the center petal of the stamp was applied to the clay; the stamp was then rotated in a clockwise direction, but was not rolled in toward the center, so that only its outer edge came into contact with the clay.

ix. By the same stamp as No. i.

x. By a stamp from the same mould as No. i. Note the displacement of the first petal on the right.

xi. By a stamp from the same mould as No. i. The volutes are curtailed, and the fourth petal on the left does not extend to the heart.

xii. By a stamp from the same mould as No. i. The volutes are curtailed, and the tips of all the petals have been cropped.

A MYCENAEAN CHAMBER TOMB UNDER THE TEMPLE OF ARES¹

(PLATES 71-77)

THE role of Athens in the world of the Late Bronze Age is still obscure, but considerable new material from the Athenian Agora should help in balancing the archaeological evidence against the mythological tradition. Previous discussions have been based mainly on Broneer's excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis, where only the last phases of Late Helladic III are fully represented (*North Slope, Prehistoric Pottery, Fountain*),² and on chance finds of tombs in outlying districts of

¹ I wish to thank particularly Miss Lucy Talcott for supplying detailed data as needed from the Agora records, Professor Homer Thompson who read and revised the manuscript, and Professors C. W. Blegen and John L. Caskey who gave the full benefit of their experience to an analysis of the pottery. Professors Alan Wace, George Mylonas, Eric Sjöqvist, and Eugene Vanderpool and Mr. Frank Stubbings also provided numerous valuable suggestions for comparative prehistoric material. Miss Barbara Philippaki and Mrs. Evelyn Smithson were most helpful in cataloguing the fifth-century and Protogeometric pottery. The maps and plans are by John Travlos, the photographs by Alison Frantz, and the drawings by Piet de Jong.

² The titles of the principal sources for comparative material used in preparing this article appear in abbreviated form as follows:

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Akropolis Vasen: Graef, B., *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Heft I, Berlin, 1909.

Ancient Crete: Bossert, H. T., *The Art of Ancient Crete*, London, 1937.

Asine: Frödin, O., Persson, A. W., *Asine*, Stockholm, 1933.

Attica: Stubbings, F. H., "The Mycenaean Pottery of Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 1-75.

B.M.C. I, I: Forsdyke, E. J., *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum—Prehistoric Aegean Pottery*, London, 1925.

Chamber Tombs: Wace, A. J. B., *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* (*Archaeologia*, LXXXII), 1932.

Eleusiniaka: Mylonas, G., *Προϊστορικὴ Ἑλευσίς* in Kourouniotes, K., *Ἑλευσινιακά*, Athens, 1932.

Fountain: Broneer, O., "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis," *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 317 ff.

Korakou: Blegen, C. W., *Korakou*, Boston & New York, 1921.

Levant: Stubbings, F. H., *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, Cambridge, 1951.

MP: Furumark, A., *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm, 1941.

Mykenische Vasen: Furtwängler, A., Löschcke, G., *Mykenische Vasen*, Berlin, 1886.

New Tombs: Persson, A., *New Tombs at Dendra*, Lund, 1942.

North Slope: Broneer, O., "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 329 ff.

Palace of Minos: Evans, A., *The Palace of Minos*, London, 1921-1935.

Royal Tombs: Persson, A. W., *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund, 1931.

Prehistoric Pottery: Hansen, H. D., "The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 53 ff.

Attica (*Attica*, pp. 2-9).³ The new evidence for earlier phases of Mycenaean culture in Athens consists of graves and tombs found at various points around the Acropolis, the town site, especially to the north and west.

Nearly forty chamber tombs, graves, and sepulchral deposits are now known in this area, which has long been recognized as an extensive prehistoric burial ground; most of them are concentrated under the northern part of the classical Agora, and only a few have been fully published to date.⁴ Since several of these burials are as early as the beginning of Late Helladic II, they serve to bring the historical picture into sharper focus. The whole area has been disturbed by later constructions and burials, but enough of the Mycenaean interments have been preserved intact to show marked variations from the contemporary pottery of rural Attica, and to suggest an upward revision of opinion on the quality of Athenian crafts (cf. *Prehistoric Pottery*, p. 570). A comprehensive survey of the Bronze Age necropolis will be made later, but one of the better-preserved chamber tombs⁵ will be discussed in detail here as an interim indication of the quality of the whole group.

The chamber tomb found under the Temple of Ares in 1951 is interesting even in isolation for unorthodox features of construction, a particularly disturbed and suggestive history, and a series of vases which is unusually extensive both chrono-

Prosymna: Blegen, C. W., *Prosymna, The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*. Cambridge, 1937.

Schachtgräber: Karo, G., *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*. Munich, 1930, 1933.

³ Two large and two small chamber tombs on the north slope of the Areopagus (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 274-291; XVII, 1948, pp. 154 ff.); two small tombs and a pit grave at the northeast foot of the Hill of Nymphs (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 163-165; XVIII, 1949, p. 215); two graves south of the Areopagus (*A.J.A.*, IX, 1894, p. 113); a richly furnished tomb below the Hill of Philopappos (*Arch. Anz.*, 1931, col. 213); traces of two chamber tombs on the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraios (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 69); two graves just south of the Odeion of Agrippa (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 21-23). Add now further, mostly unpublished, discoveries at: Aliko (*B.C.H.*, LXXIX, 1955, p. 227); Brauron (*Πρακτικά*, 1948, pp. 81 ff.; *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 237); Eleusis (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, XCIV, 1955, pp. 59-60); Perati on the bay of Porto Raphti (*J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, p. 4; LXXIV, 1954, p. 147; *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, p. 224; *B.C.H.*, LXXIX, 1955, pp. 223-4 and figs. 5-6); Prophetes Elias (*J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 237); Rafina (*J.H.S.*, LXXIV, 1954, p. 147); Salamis (*J.H.S.*, LXXIII, 1953, p. 113); Varkisa and Voula (*J.H.S.*, LXXIV, 1954, p. 148).

⁴ *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations*, Athens, 1954, fig. 2 for a map of prehistoric burials complete through 1953; east of the Odeion a child's pit grave, and west of the Odeion a small chamber tomb and two pit graves, perhaps a family plot (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 38, 41); west of the Northeast Stoa a chamber, the Tomb with Niches (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 105, fig. 4, pl. 25 b, A), a second disturbed chamber, and a child's grave, the Lily Bowl Grave (*ibid.*, pp. 106-107, pls. 25-26); in the northeast corner of the square, beneath and beside the north foundations of the Stoa of Attalos, a total of fourteen chambers and graves to date, including a miniature chamber complete with door and dromos for a baby (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 325 ff.; XXII, 1953, p. 47, pl. 17; XXIII, 1954, pp. 57-8, pl. 16 b); three graves south of the Temple of Ares (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 318-320, figs. 6-8; XXI, 1952, p. 104); the chamber tomb discussed here, under the Temple of Ares.

⁵ Preliminary report in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 107, pl. 26 a.

logically and in variety of types. At least fourteen, possibly sixteen, interments had been made in the chamber⁶ which also contained twenty-four complete vases, fragments of thirteen others, and a variety of small objects made of bronze, ivory, steatite, obsidian, and glass. The majority of the finds are Late Helladic II-III; the earliest pots may be assigned to the middle of Late Helladic II and the latest to the final phases of Late Helladic III, indicating that the tomb was in continuous use for a period of almost three hundred years, from about 1450 B.C. to 1200 B.C. or later.⁷ The tomb also contained an intact Protogeometric grave, some scattered pottery and two groups of fifth-century lekythoi.

THE LOCATION AND PLAN OF THE TOMB

The tomb lies underneath the north side of the Temple of Ares toward its west end (Fig. 1). The original plan had been confused by repeated disturbances. The roof of the chamber apparently collapsed completely toward the beginning of the first millenium B.C. Following the last Mycenaean use of the tomb, the area above and around it continued to be used as a cemetery at least into Protogeometric times, as evidenced by scattered debris from graves and pyres and an intact inhumation burial of a child which cut down into the main dromos just in front of the door (see below, p. 200). The outlines of the dromos were almost entirely obliterated during

⁶ Fourteen recognizable skulls were found in the tomb. Fifteen burials have been marked on Figures 3 and 4, but Burials XI and XIII may be one. When the earth removed from the lower burial level was sifted, a single tooth was discovered and later identified as belonging to a child of four; the rest of this skeleton had apparently disintegrated completely. Dr. George Philippos gave the ages for this tooth, skull VIII, and the Protogeometric skeleton.

⁷ The absolute chronology of Mycenaean pottery is still under discussion and until further stratigraphic evidence is available, it is wiser to be very cautious in assigning absolute dates to the stylistic phases. The general chronological scheme proposed by Furumark (*The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 115) and that published by Professor Wace (*B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, p. 15, note 22; and in E. L. Bennett, "The Mycenae Tablets," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVII, 1953, p. 424, note 8) are as follows:

Furumark:		Wace:	
Myc. I	1550-1500 B.C.	LH I	1550-1500 B.C.
Myc. II A	1500-1450 B.C.	LH II	1500-1425 B.C.
II B	1450-1425 B.C.		
Myc. III A: 1	1425-1400 B.C.	LH III A	1425-1340 B.C.
III A: 2 e	1400-1375 B.C.		
III A: 2 l	1375-1300 B.C.		
Myc. III B	1300-1230 B.C.	LH III B	1340-1210 B.C.
Myc. III C: 1 a	1230-1200 B.C.	LH III C	1210-1100 B.C.
III C: 1 b	1200-1125 B.C.		
III C: 1 c	1125-1075 B.C.		
Myc. III C: 2		Submycenaean	Beginning, 1100 B.C.
(= Submycenaean)	1075-1025 B.C.		

the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Two parallel walls of late date cut straight across the chamber: the north foundation of the Temple of Ares as rebuilt in the days of Augustus, and the south wall of a large building with concrete foundations erected about A.D. 400. When excavation started the free space between these two walls measured only *ca.* 0.70 m. wide, so that a section of the temple foundation had to be

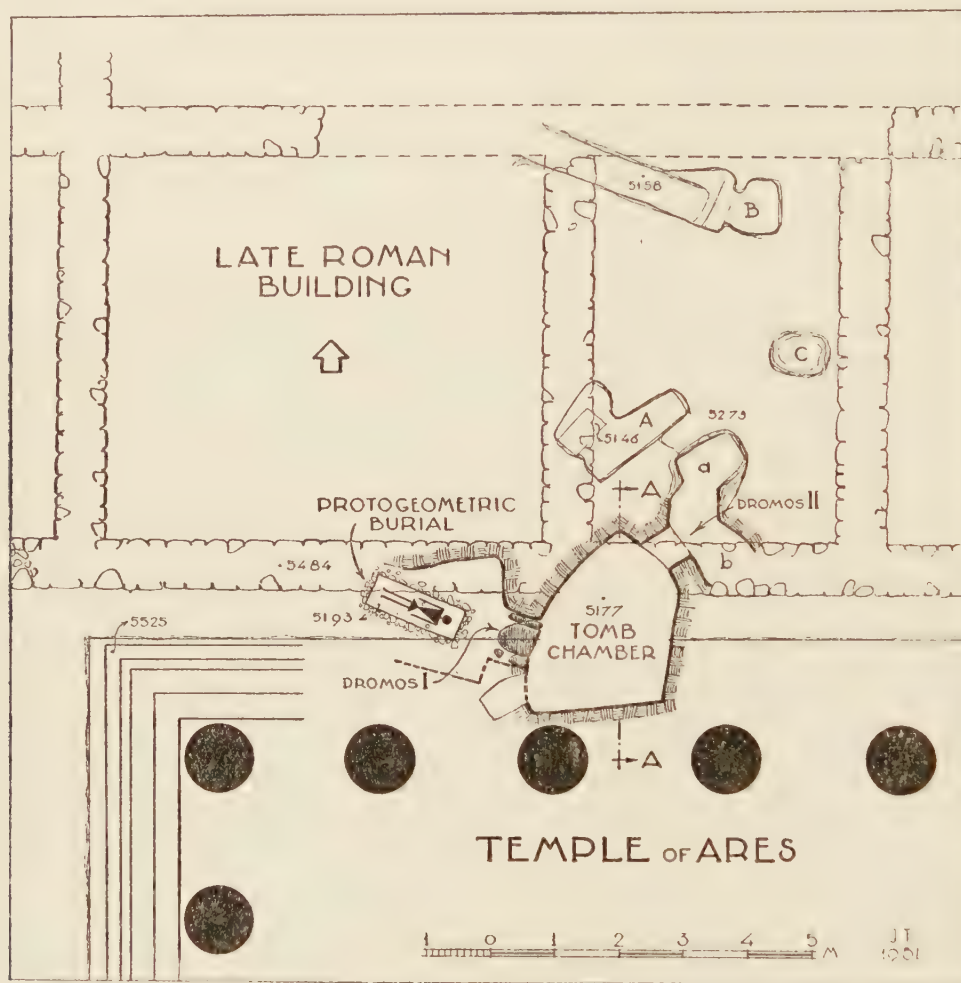


FIG. 1. Location Plan of the Tomb.

removed and cuttings were made beneath and on both sides of the concrete wall in order to determine the limits of the tomb (Figs. 1 and 2).

In clearing the area of the late Roman building, three further cuttings were exposed, all barren. Two looked very much like Mycenaean tombs (Fig. 1, A and B), but if they were such they had been thoroughly looted. The third, a shallow pit (Fig.

1, C), was set in a fifth-century gravelled floor, apparently part of the public square, which immediately overlay bedrock and extended across the tomb chamber below the original level of its roof (Fig. 2). Classical sherds in the second dromos and north-east doorway of the tomb probably date from the creation of the square in the sixth and fifth centuries, during which period the stone blocking of both doors had also been removed. Surprisingly, in view of these deep disturbances on all sides, the burial chamber and its contents remained almost intact.

The tomb had a hasty and unfinished appearance oddly at variance with its long history and the quality of the pottery found inside; with one or two exceptions, notably the Tomb with Niches,⁸ this is generally true of Mycenaean burials in the Agora.

The original dromos ran from west to east and entered the chamber toward the south end of the long west wall (Fig. 1, Dromos I). It was apparently a short, narrow passage with very little slope to the floor. The doorway itself was only 0.80 m. wide; a few sizeable stones were laid in a shallow trench across it, but the upper packing had disappeared and the earth contained fragments of two late fifth-century lekythoi, matt-painted on a white ground (Nos. 46, 47), as well as sherds from undecorated Mycenaean kylikes.

The chamber was a small room roughly hewn out of bedrock, which in this area is little more than solidified clay. It formed an irregular triangle in plan, with the apex to the north: 2.00 m. wide by 2.85 m. long. The roof had apparently been a low one, rising just over a meter above the floor (Fig. 2).

A small niche, 0.50 m. square and raised 0.25 m. above the chamber floor, was set in the wall at the southwest corner of the room. It contained a few undecorated Mycenaean sherds but no bones, and did not seem to have been used as a burial recess.⁹

The chamber was approached by a second dromos and door leading in from the northeast (Fig. 1, Dromos II). Centered in the northeast wall, this second doorway was only 0.59 m. wide, but well cut. A single layer of small field stones was packed in its lower part, above a sill which was raised, like the niche, 0.25 m. above the chamber floor. In the fallen bedrock above the stone packing, Minyan and Mycenaean sherds were found together with fragments of fifth-century roof tile.

The dromos leading to the second door scarcely deserved the name, being stubby and narrow, 1.58 m. long with a maximum width of 0.75 m. The northeast end was rounded, and plunged precipitously 1.05 m. down from bedrock level with no trace of steps or ramp (Fig. 1, a).¹⁰ Running northeast-southwest for half its length, the

⁸ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 106, fig. 4.

⁹ Since this Niche was cut so close to the west door as to weaken the tomb structure, it may not be part of the original scheme of the chamber, but the remains of the trench which fifth-century workmen were digging when they came across the tomb (below, pp. 195-196).

¹⁰ Three neatly cut steps led down into the passage of Pit B to the north of the chamber tomb (Fig. 1); otherwise steps have not been found in the dromoi of Mycenaean tombs in the Agora.

passage then turned southeast at a sharp angle and bypassed the door of the tomb to lead into a further cutting (Fig. 1, b), of which the southeastern limits could not be determined because of the concrete foundations of the late Roman wall. The tomb chamber was connected with the northeast dromos by a short narrow corridor, 0.35 m. deep and 0.57 m. wide.

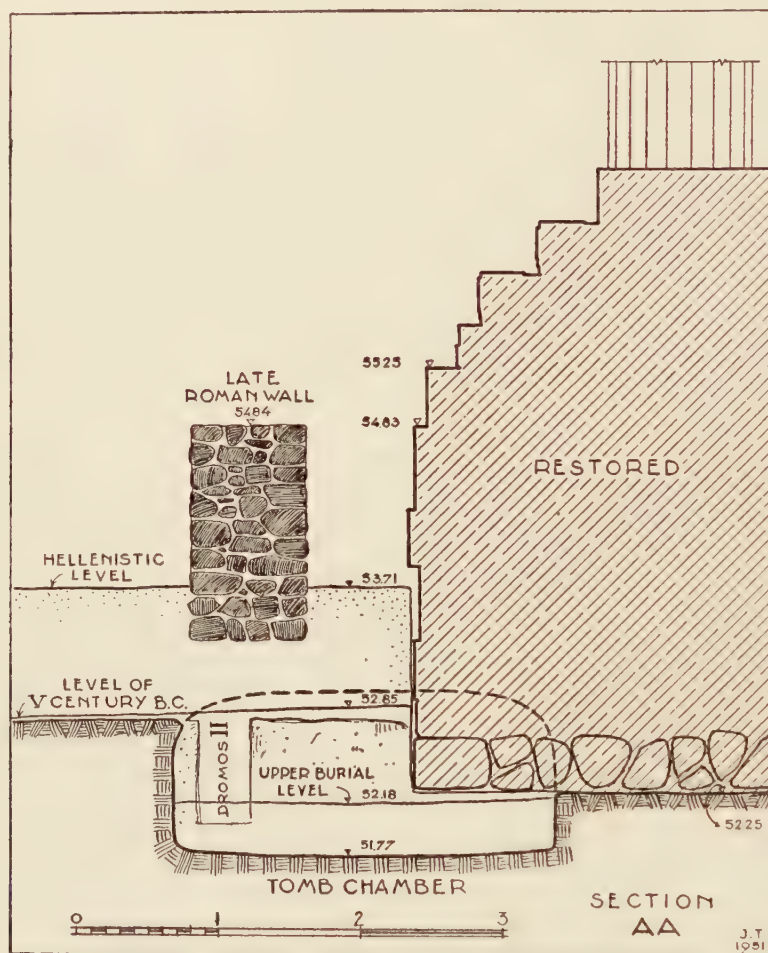


FIG. 2. North-South Section of Tomb.

The second entranceway was very much disturbed in post-Mycenaean times. Sherds of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. were recovered from area b), and a few fifth-century scraps, two slivers of bone, and the lip of a Corinthian aryballos from area a). Each area also yielded one fragment of a large Mycenaean krater (No. 25), of which two further sherds were found inside the chamber, indicating that Dromos II actually was of Mycenaean construction and emptied in later times, perhaps like the two tomb-like structures to the north.

Tombs with two dromoi are unusual at any Mycenaean site, and this is the only example uncovered in the Agora to date. The orientation of burials inside the chamber shows the northeast doorway to be later than the western, although at what point in the tomb's history it was cut through is not entirely clear. Possibly some accident, like a slide of soft bedrock in the west dromos, rendered the original entrance impassable and a second door was cut through on the opposite side in preference to abandoning a family tomb of long standing.

BURIALS AT THE LOWER LEVEL

Two distinct levels of burial could be distinguished inside the chamber (Fig. 2). A first series of at least eight bodies had been placed directly on the floor; a layer of sandy earth approximately 0.40 m. deep was then spread over these remains and a second series of six or seven interments was made.

The earliest burials on the lower level are represented by skulls I and II, pushed with leg bones and fragments of a pelvis high against the north wall of the room (Fig. 3). A squat jug (No. 1) lay buried beneath skull I, and a small alabastron (No. 2) may be associated with skull II; these vases, both assignable to Late Helladic II, provide an initial date for the tomb around the middle of the fifteenth century B.C.

A third early burial had been swept against the east wall: it consisted of disintegrated pelvic fragments, ribs, vertebrae, and part of a skull, III. The upper body of a three-handled jar (No. 10), a miniature jug with a cutaway neck (No. 19), and an askos (No. 21) lay under and among the bones. The lower body of the three-handled jar was shattered in the middle of the room where Burial III had evidently first been laid. All three pots belong to the latter part of Late Helladic II.

A streak of reddish loam bisected the chamber from west to east, just south of Burial III. It may have been spread in a thin blanket over the entire chamber floor when the tomb was first made, and as the early burials were pushed aside to make way for later ones, it accumulated in the middle of the room. The red color appeared to be natural, not the result of fumigation.

Remains of at least two burials were found in this loam: the cranial portion of a skull in fair condition (IV) and an extremely fragmentary skull (V) in the middle of the strip; two isolated arm bones lay a little west of skull V (Fig. 3, above pot No. 8). Burial V was evidently female: an ivory comb (No. 31) lay close beside the skull, and six fragments of bone pins (No. 32) were scattered near by. Two flat stone slabs were laid on bedrock at the west end of the middle strip; they had no obvious function as found, but may have served originally as pillows for skulls IV and V.

Although the skeletal remains in the center of the room were so sparse, twelve pots and a number of small objects were bedded among them in a straight row along the strip of loam (Pl. 72, a). All twelve pots were complete and some were intact. The

group consisted of six alabastra (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), three three-handled jars (Nos. 11, 12, 13), a kylix (No. 15), a coarse jug (No. 20), and a large, beaked jug painted with an octopus-and-dolphin motif which was found, in more than one hundred pieces,



FIG. 3. Burials on Lower Level.

near the stones of the west door (No. 17). Powdered fragments of another three-handled jar and four more alabastra were also recovered from the fill; too little was preserved to justify restoration (No. 26, a-e). These pots range in date from the end

of Late Helladic II through the transitional years to the earliest phases of Late Helladic III,¹¹ and suggest a date for Burials IV and V toward the end of the fifteenth century B.C.

In addition to the pottery, comb, and bone pins, two steatite buttons (Nos. 35 a and b), a bronze razor (No. 27), and a handful of glass and quartz beads (No. 33) were buried in the loam; the razor and beads probably belong to Burial VIII (below).

These five earliest burials had at least eighteen pots associated with them; the three later undisturbed burials, which occupied most of the floor space at this level, produced only three pots among them. All three pots are early Late Helladic III A, but their dates relative to one another, and consequently the sequence of Burials VI, VII, and VIII, cannot be precisely determined.

Burials VI and VII occupied the whole southern half of the chamber. They lay side by side and head to foot; they seem to be contemporary interments, made through the original entrance. Both were buried under great chunks of bedrock when the roof over the southern part of the chamber collapsed.

Burial VI was in a particularly good state of preservation (Fig. 3; Pl. 72, a). The body had been laid out on its back, the right arm folded on the breast and the left crooked up by the side. The legs were drawn up at the knee; the left shin and foot were missing. The skull was intact, propped up on a pillow of earth so that the jaw rested on the chest. A jug with cutaway neck (No. 18) lay behind and above the skull on the edge of a deeply disturbed area affecting Burial VII; the shape of this jug, markedly imitative of metallic forms, suggests a date for Burial VI at the beginning of Late Helladic III A.

Burial VII was less well preserved than VI, the bones being rotten and fragmentary. The skeleton was stretched out in a similar position, on its back with both arms extended along the sides. There was no trace of a cushion beneath the skull. Although the lower leg bones had disappeared, the angle of the thighs indicates they had been drawn up and crossed in the usual way; the right thigh was dislocated from the pelvic socket, probably as a result of the intrusion which also damaged the legs and feet.

Apparently, workmen engaged in some new construction shortly after the end of the Persian Wars cut into the southwest corner of the tomb; a deposit of seven

¹¹ From the close grouping of these vases in the chamber, there seems to be less separation in time between the periods to which they are assigned than Furumark's classification of Mycenaean pottery would indicate. This is still more striking in the so-called "Lily Bowl Grave" in the northeast corner of the square, in which the pots buried with a single child would range in date by orthodox classification from LH I to LH III A-B; this, however, is a closed group *par excellence*, and the "heirloom" explanation for such a chronological span is not always satisfactory (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 107-108). The pots dated here and in the catalogue as LH II-III are not, of course, assigned to any separate stylistic period; the classification indicates that features of both LH II and LH III style are present.

fifth-century lekythoi was found in a shallow pit in the bedrock below the knees of skeleton VII (Nos. 39-45; Fig. 3; Pl. 77). Such lekythoi found in groups commonly have a sepulchral significance; they occur only rarely, and then singly, in Agora household deposits. Yet no fragments of bone nor traces of burning were found with this group,¹² and it is incredible that actual burials should have been tolerated during the fifth century in an area which then lay at the very heart of the market-square. Above all, the ban on burials within the city walls had been in effect for at least a generation by the time these lekythoi were placed in the tomb. An explanation is suggested by a comparable incident which was brought to light in the northeast corner of the Agora in 1952.¹³ Workmen digging the foundation pit for a large monument base, probably during the fourth century B.C., came down upon another Mycenaean chamber tomb and promptly shifted their pit westward by its own width in order not to intrude on the remains. Similar piety, or superstition, may have caused the diggers in our case not only to turn aside from their original course, but also to deposit the lekythoi in the tomb as propitiatory offerings to the ancient dead whom they had disturbed. The two fragmentary lekythoi placed in the west door after the stone blocking had been removed may represent a second discovery of the tomb around 430 B.C. Protogeometric and classical sherds, however, had also penetrated the earth inside the chamber here, close to skull VI and slightly lower, apparently as a result of more casual intrusions.

Burial VIII, occupying the free space in the northern half of the chamber (Fig. 3; Pl. 72, a), had not been disturbed in any way. This burial had several provocative aspects. The skeleton was that of a thirty-year old male; it was stretched on its back in parallel alignment to Burials VI and VII but, unlike them, was raised a few centimeters above the floor on a heap of sandy earth. The arms were extended along the sides, the legs were drawn up at the knee with the feet almost touching the west wall of the room. The head was partly cushioned on top of Burial III close to the second door, but the skull, found intact, had rolled over face down to the south.

A small alabastron (No. 9) lay on the skeleton's chest and a large kylix (No. 16) beside the right thigh. The spiral band with which this kylix was decorated suggests a date for Burial VIII at the end of the fifteenth century B.C. A third pot, a stemmed goblet with two high-swung handles (No. 14), was found buried at some depth below the skeleton's right arm, but it antedates the other pieces by at least half a century and should probably be associated with Burial I or II, having been overlooked when these were swept aside.

A number of blue and white glass beads lay among the skeleton's vertebrae,

¹² Particles of charcoal found throughout the fill should be associated with the scattered remains of at least one Protogeometric cremation burial (see below, p. 200).

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 47.

evidently part of a necklace (No. 33). Other beads had rolled to quite distant parts of the floor, and a group of similar beads, perhaps the remains of a matching bracelet, was clustered around the handle end of a bronze razor (No. 27) between Burials VIII and IV. There was a broken terracotta button by the skeleton's right elbow (No. 35 c).

The bronze razor probably belongs with Burial VIII rather than IV, since it is contemporary with the other funeral equipment of VIII. Between the skull and the northeast door lay the broken tip of a bronze spear or sword (No. 28); the break was clean, and no other fragments of the weapon were found either in the chamber or the passage outside. The preserved tip is of remarkably sturdy fabric and almost undamaged, so that corrosion cannot account for the disappearance of the rest. In the skull itself, as found in the tomb, two bronze arrowheads could be seen lodged firmly inside the mouth. An obsidian arrowhead projected from the left upper jaw; another of bronze and two more of obsidian were buried in the earth beneath the chin. When the skull was lifted and cleaned, two more bronze arrowheads were found clinging to the left cheek bone, and another obsidian arrowhead stuck straight out from inside the nose (Pl. 76), making a total of nine (Nos. 29, 30). There was no sign of wounds in the rest of the bones, however, which makes it unlikely that VIII died on the battlefield shot full of arrows. It may be conjectured that the arrows, like the razor and sword, were laid with the dead as part of his personal property; perhaps the arrows were originally put into a quiver or cloth bag which later rotted away, so that the points clung to the skull when it fell forward and rolled on top of them.

Unlike the other seven burials on this level, there is a possibility that VIII was brought into the chamber through the northeast door. Kylix No. 16 is certainly not much earlier than jug No. 18, if at all, and the fact that Burial VIII lay at a higher level in the tomb suggests it is later. Assuming that Burials VI and VII preceded VIII, it would have been awkward to bring a body through the original entrance and lay it in the northern half of the room if the southern half were already occupied by two burials made there not long before. The arrangement of early burials also suggests that IV and V were moved up from the south to make room for VI and VII, while I, II, and III were swept aside from the opening of the northeast door and VIII placed in what little free space could be made, even partly overlying the earlier remains. An interval of over one hundred years, however, separates the latest pots on the lower level and the earliest on the upper level, and the second door may have been cut through when the tomb was put into use again at the end of this interlude rather than at the time of Burial VIII.

BURIALS AT THE UPPER LEVEL

The layer of sandy earth separating the lower from the upper level varied from 0.30 m. to 0.41 m. in depth, and was mixed with a quantity of fallen bedrock. The

six or seven skeletons found at the upper level were for the most part fragmentary and disarticulated (Fig. 4). The remains were concentrated in the northeast section.

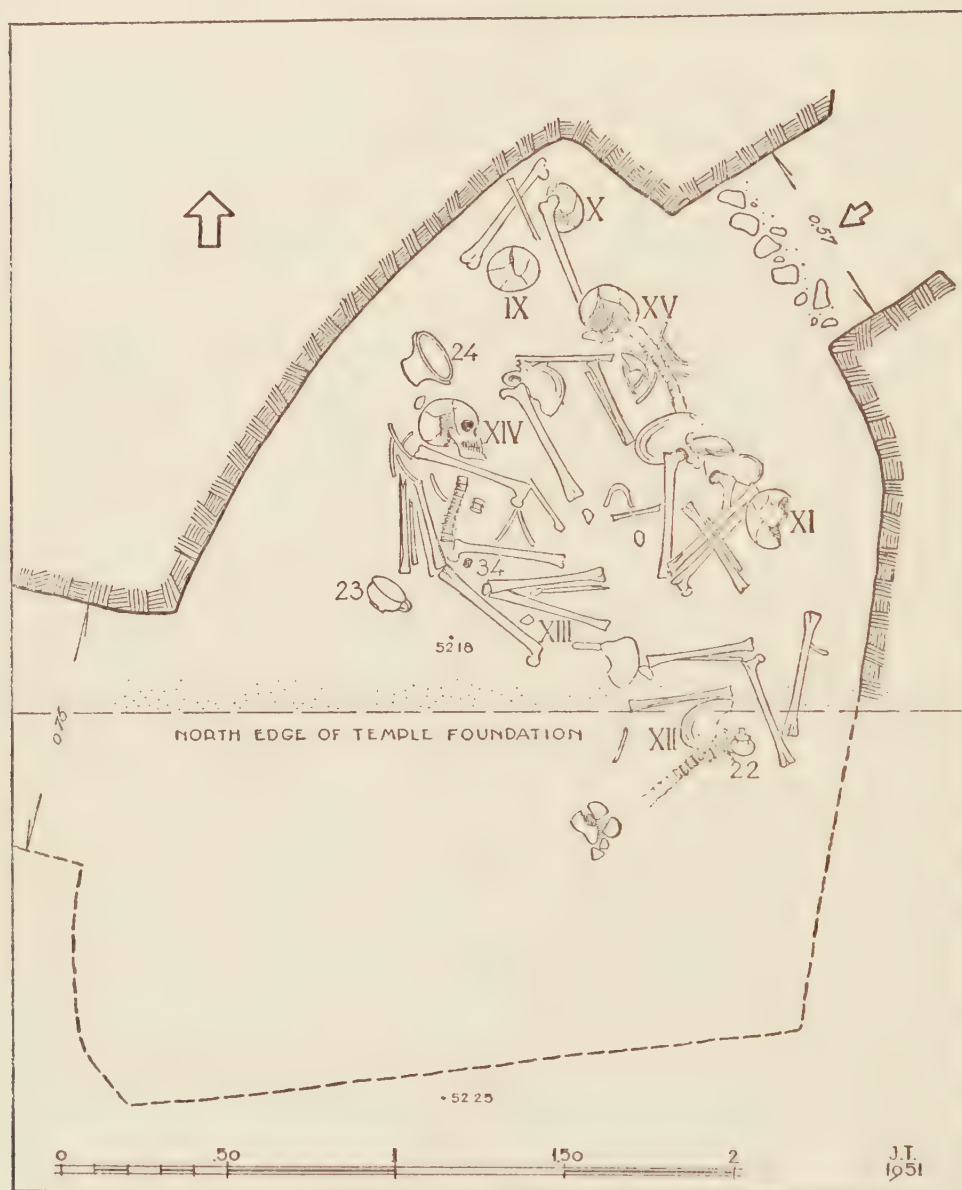


FIG. 4. Burials on Upper Level.

of the room; either the floor space was not utilized to its full extent at this period, or the foundation of the Temple of Ares destroyed all trace of burials to the south and southwest. If an accident had caused the west door to be abandoned, or if the roof

had caved in on top of Burials VI and VII, this area would then have been heaped with debris; or the extreme lowness of the chamber roof, rising little more than half a meter over the accumulated burials by this time (Fig. 2), may have made it too awkward to reach the southwest corner from the northeast door. At any rate, it seems clear that this later series of interments was made through the second dromos and door.

Considerable disturbance of Protogeometric and classical times was evident at all points on this level: the classical sherds were mainly concentrated along the east wall, but the Protogeometric sherds were widely scattered among and under the Mycenaean burials. Only three Mycenaean pots were found, and the sequence of burials can best be determined from the relation of the various skeletons to the door.

The two first burials in the upper series seem to be IX and X: two skulls, two leg bones and part of a third, swept up against the north wall in a position corresponding to that of the earliest burials on the lower level, I and II. No pots were found with these bones.

Just over Burial III below, an isolated and fragmentary skull, XI, had been tossed to the east wall. There were no supplementary bones, and again no pots.

Burial XII lay near the east wall south of XI; legs, pelvis, and vertebrae were in fair condition, and poorly preserved fragments of a skull lying only 0.04 m. below the line of the temple foundation (Figs. 2, 4) probably belong to the same burial. As far as could be judged from the incomplete skeleton, the body had been placed on its back with the legs drawn up and bent at the knee. A miniature jug (No. 22) of Late Helladic III B-C date was found beside the pelvis.

At right angles to Burial XII and at a slightly higher level, leg bones, part of a pelvis, and several vertebrae stretched out to the northwest. These bones have been marked XIII on the plan (Fig. 4), but may well represent the same burial as the isolated skull XI to the east. The bones of the upper body had disappeared, and the remaining bones showed only that at least one leg had been doubled up at the knee. The base of an undecorated cup (No. 23; Late Helladic III B-C) lay beside the left knee, and other sherds from this cup were found in the crumbled bedrock of the east wall.

The leg bones of Burial XIII were involved with a confused heap of bones to the north representing Burial XIV. Here a well preserved skull rested in a nest of ribs and vertebrae, with a thigh bone laid diagonally across the top of the pile. To the east was a second leg and a large fragment of pelvis; it was not clear whether these belonged to XIV or were left over from the sweeping up of Burials IX and X. XIV was perhaps buried in a seated or crouching position, so that in decay the bones became more than ordinarily scattered.

Among the disordered leg bones between XIII and XIV a black steatite bead in the shape of a figure-of-eight shield was found (No. 34); it could be assigned to either burial. A similar bead was discovered in a near-by Agora grave during the

same season, along with a number of undecorated kylikes resembling cup No. 23 in fabric and design.¹⁴ Apart from its Agora companion, however, the bead has no closer parallel than a gold necklace from Enkomi dated in Late Helladic III B,¹⁵ and may belong with a deep two-handled bowl (No. 24) with flaring sides discovered lying intact beside and above the skull of Burial XIV. Several bowls of this shape have been found on the Acropolis, but the decoration on the interior of this one, consisting of two crudely painted fishes and a bird, is unparalleled either in Attica or the mainland generally; it is Late Helladic III C, the latest pot found in the tomb.

Burial XIV, however, was not the last. Lying across the inner door with its head to the north, skeleton XV was preserved in the best condition of any at this level. The body had not been laid on its back like the other undisturbed burials in the chamber, but on its right side with arms doubled up under its breast and legs drawn up in fetoid position. No pots were found with these bones, but from the manner in which it effectively blocks the entrance Burial XV looks like the last Mycenaean interment in the tomb. It closes a series spanning nearly three hundred years, from the middle of the fifteenth to the opening decades of the twelfth century B.C.

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC BURIALS

Even this was not the end of the tomb's history. Scarcely two hundred years had gone by when new, apparently unrelated, burials took place. The earth in the upper two-thirds of the chamber was studded with Protogeometric sherds, evidently relics of cremation burials displaced and scattered probably by those who dug the foundation pit for the Temple of Ares. The pottery (No. 36) was fragmentary, charred, mingled with particles of charcoal and small scraps of human bone, but consistently fine. Burnt sherds were found from a level just below the hard gravelled floor of the fifth-century public square down to the lower level of Mycenaean burials (Fig. 2; above, pp. 189 ff.); a fragment of a typical Protogeometric lekythos was found inside the bottom of the Mycenaean fish-bowl (No. 24).

Shortly after the cremation, a child was buried in the west dromos, in a grave dug in front of the original chamber door (Fig. 1; Pl. 72, b). This was an undisturbed inhumation of a boy of five. The grave was a neat rectangular pit, sunk obliquely across the axis of the dromos, with inside dimensions of 1.40 m. by 0.45 m. It was ringed with small stones and covered at the southeast end, where the head lay, by two large limestone slabs. The skull was found intact but the bones were not preserved below the middle of the thigh. Classical sherds were found just above the place where the child's feet would have lain, yet there was no sign of direct disturbance and the burial remained essentially as it was when the grave was sealed.

¹⁴ The grave has not yet been published. The relevant vases are P 21406-21417.

¹⁵ See now the ivory shields from the House of Shields at Mycenae, e. g. *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pl. 34, likewise dated by Wace to LH III B.

The body lay on its back, the skull propped up on a stone so that the jaw rested on the chest. The arms were extended along the sides; a lekythos lay above the left arm and another smaller lekythos in the crook of the right elbow (Nos. 37, 38). The earth beneath the cover slabs held a few particles of charcoal, but the pots showed no trace of burning.

The question may be raised as to whether these Protogeometric burials were made by the same family which had used the tomb during the Mycenaean era. The time interval between the last Mycenaean and first Protogeometric burials, at least two hundred years, could be urged against such connection. Further, there is no certainty that either the cremation or the child's grave was made with any direct knowledge of or regard for the earlier remains. There are several instances in the Agora of one grave being disturbed or overlaid by a later burial, made no doubt after the disappearance of whatever marker may have stood over the earlier grave.¹⁵ On the other hand, it is astonishing that a cremation should have occurred in or beside the chamber, and that a child should have been buried in the dromos, with no sign of the Mycenaean burials being looted; the grave-diggers, at least, could scarcely have failed to notice the mouth of the tomb. At other sites—Dendra is a clear example—men of Protogeometric times were not noted for their reverence toward the Mycenaean dead (*New Tombs*, p. 7), and there is no good reason why they should have left this tomb undisturbed unless it were in some sense part of their inheritance. Evidence of continuity through the intervening centuries may have been destroyed by the laying of monument bases to the north, or the Temple of Ares to the south. Immediately south of the Temple of Ares, and again in the northeast corner of the Agora, sub-Mycenaean graves have been found in close association with both Late Helladic and Protogeometric burials, indicating uninterrupted use of an area which was for centuries one of the principal burial grounds of Athens.

To summarize the history of the chamber tomb under the Temple of Ares: The west dromos and chamber itself were cut out of bedrock around the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. Eight or more burials were made in the chamber during its first period, at least seven of them through the west doorway. This doorway was abandoned either at the end of the fifteenth century or about a hundred years later; a second dromos and doorway were then made to give access to the chamber from the northeast. A second series of six or seven burials was laid on top of the first through this door, the last made in the early twelfth century B.C. Two centuries later a cremation pit was dug above or beside the chamber, and a child was buried in the old

¹⁵ This occurred in the cemetery of the late Geometric period south of the Tholos (*Hesperia*, Supplement II, pp. 14 f.) and in the cemetery of the archaic period on the west slope of the Areopagus (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 78). A grave of the Geometric period had been sunk in the filling of the dromos of one of the large Mycenaean chamber tombs on the north slope of the Areopagus (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 292, fig. 15).

dromos. Five centuries after this, workmen came upon the tomb and left funeral vases to propitiate the dead; the same may have happened again forty years later. Some four centuries afterwards the Temple of Ares was built across part of the chamber, perhaps destroying some of the contents. After another four centuries a large Roman building was erected on top of the chamber, but the prehistoric burials were not disturbed. Discounting this last, the history of the tomb thus covers a span from the fifteenth to the first centuries B.C.

COMMENTS ON THE MYCENAEAN POTTERY

It is curious that no stirrup jars were found among the otherwise wide variety of vase-types in this tomb. The stirrup jar is a very characteristic Late Helladic III shape, yet not one was included in the 1951 series of burials, and only two to date in the whole Agora collection of Mycenaean pottery.¹⁶

The vase-types (Pls. 71, 73-75) most commonly found in tombs in the Agora are the alabastron and the three-handled jar. The preponderance of alabastra in the present group is unusual, with eight regular examples (Nos. 2-9) and one "one-handled alabastron type" (No. 1), as opposed to four three-handled jars (Nos. 10-13). Jugs of various type are the next most popular: beaked (No. 17), with cutaway necks (Nos. 18, 19), miniature (No. 22), and the ordinary coarse type (No. 20). Three kylikes (Nos. 14-16), one askos (No. 21), a cup (No. 23) and a bowl (No. 24) complete the group.

Two of the alabastra (Nos. 2, 9) and two of the jugs (Nos. 19, 22) are small enough to be considered miniatures. There is a high incidence of miniature vases in Attic tombs, the type represented by jug No. 22 being the most common (*Attica*, p. 66); they are probably symbolic substitutes for more expensive vases, but their use does not seem to be confined to late Late Helladic III as previous evidence had suggested.

The flat type of alabastron so well represented here is rare in Attica in Late Helladic III and when it occurs is fairly late; it is generally supplanted by the pyxis shape. Stubbings quotes only one example of the flat and eight of the taller variety (*Attica*, p. 42), so that again the number found in this tomb and their early date is unexpected.

The three-handled jars from the tomb are unusual in having vertical band handles instead of the normal horizontal loop handle; the only example of this type illustrated by Stubbings is the small undecorated pot resembling our No. 13 (*Attica*, pl. 12, no. 4).

In so small a group of vases the number of shapes which either cannot be matched at all at other sites or which at least show considerable variation from the standard is surprising. The askos with ovoid body, basket handle and vertical spout (No. 21)

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 33; XVII, 1948, pl. XLV, 2 b. See *Attica*, p. 24, note.

is without close parallels and the body profiles of three-handled jars Nos. 10 and 13, kylix No. 16, cutaway jug No. 18, and to a lesser extent squat jug No. 1 and cup No. 23 are none of them precisely paralleled in Furumark's classification of forms and types. The kylix with two high-swung handles (No. 14), although not uncommon in the tall-stemmed LH III variety, is, so far, rare in the lower stemmed LH II form.

The influence of metal vessels is strong; goblet No. 14, kylix No. 16, and cutaway jug No. 18 are clear instances of harking back to earlier forms instead of accepting the current clay versions popular in the Argolid.

There seem on the whole to be very few imported pieces in this group, and variant shapes, like unusual decoration, may be attributed to independence on the part of local Athenian potters. All but two of the pots are made of pink or buff clay; the two with the greenish fabric considered typical of the Argolid (alabastron No. 4, three-handled jar No. 12) are both easily matched at other sites and may indicate a minor import trade with the south; on the other hand, neither seems valuable enough to have been purchased abroad, and a few pots of green clay which are probably local products have been found at Vourvatsi (*Attica*, p. 10).

The number of unexpected features in the surface decoration of the vases is even more striking than the non-standard shapes. Typical motifs are used on pots not ordinarily so painted: the ivy leaf on squat jug No. 1 and three-handled jar No. 11, the wavy lines on alabastron No. 2 and the askos No. 21, or the vertical stripes of alabastron No. 9 which are typical of stirrup jars. Common motifs are varied: the two types of ivy leaf on alabastron No. 5, one of which is not matched at all; the blobby stem of the ivy spray on alabastron No. 4. Motifs are combined in an unusual manner: the lily and ivy on three-handled jar No. 10, and, above all, the unmatched sea creatures flanking the octopus on beaked jug No. 17.

Such abnormalities will occur at most sites, but the Athenian variations tend in certain specific directions. The decoration on at least two of these pots is non-mainland: the spiral pattern on kylix No. 16, and the fish of bowl No. 24. Both suggest Aegean rather than Argolid influence, the kylix pattern having Cretan and Egyptian parallels, the fish-bowl being more closely allied to the late bird- and fish-styles of Cyprus and Rhodes. A krater of Late Helladic III C, found near by in the Agora, also in 1951, strengthens the indication that Athens was in direct communication with the outposts of the Aegean world during the twelfth century. It is painted with the combined motifs of horns of consecration and the double-axe, which do not appear on any other mainland piece, but do in Rhodes and Cyprus, in Late Helladic III B, following a Minoan type.¹⁷ It is not surprising that Athens should have faced east and south

¹⁷ *MP*, pp. 329-331; Motive 35, fig. 55, nos. 21-22, from Ialysos and Enkomi. This krater, P 21564, is unlike other Mycenaean pottery from the Agora in using white-paint technique, which, though popular elsewhere, had apparently little vogue in Athens. Unpublished.

across the sea in the Bronze Age as she did later; relations to the Peloponnesos may have been more tenuous. There is a certain lag in ceramic development, so that Athenian shapes and decoration often recall the frescoes and metalwork of preceding phases at Mycenae, and remain less standardized and "contemporary" than the rest of Attica. However, a strong mainland, perhaps national temperamental, emphasis on tightness and balance is always there, with less swinging design and soft shape than in the Aegean; the octopus-dolphin symmetry of the beaked jug is an example.

To summarize: the vases from the tomb under the Temple of Ares are a fair sample of Athenian pottery in the Late Helladic period. They are not conventional imitations of Mycenae, nor merely atypical in a provincial way; the stemmed goblet, spiralled kylix, octopus jug, and fish-bowl can hold their own with most vases of the period. A little more is beginning to be known about Athenian development before the fall of Knossos and the rise to empire of Mycenae, and further study of the Agora necropolis should show whether the independence suggested here may be expected of Athens as a general rule.

CATALOGUE

THE MYCENAEAN POTTERY

1. Squat Jug. Pl. 73.

P 21244. H. 0.078 m., D. 0.099 m. Complete; rim and handle mended. Surface flaked and worn. Pink-buff clay and slip; red glaze paint.

"One-handed alabastron" type. Small flat bottom. Underbody angular, shoulder rounded. Strap handle on shoulder with shallow groove running its length. Flat lip. Mouth, rim, neck, handle, and lower body painted red. Reserved zone on shoulder, bordered below by row of oval dots and filled with pattern of ivy sprays with double stems, the tips of the leaves touching the neck band.

Shape: *MP*, Form 17, Type 87, fig. 11 (Myc. II-III A:1); *Schachtgräber*, pl. CLXVI, no. 156 (LH I); *Prosymna*, fig. 683, no. 562 (LH II); *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LIII, no. 1 (LH II).

Decoration: *MP*, Motive 12; sacral ivy, fig. 36, no. 23 (Myc. II B); *Palace of Minos* II, fig. 315 d-f.

The prototypes for this shape are Middle Helladic; it is not common in Late Helladic, and does not occur after Late Helladic II. The ivy pattern is found on the three examples illus-

trated in *Palace of Minos*: *d*, from the Maket tomb in Egypt (Thothmes III), *e* and *f* from Volo; all three are of mainland manufacture and their date, as ours, LH II. The other mainland examples are decorated with the tennis racquet (*Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXXIII, no. 2, LH I), or variations of spiral patterns and dots (*Eleusiniaka*, fig. 97, nos. 351, 352; fig. 98, no. 534).

Late Helladic II.

2. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Fig. 5.

P 21254. H. 0.033-0.035 m., D. 0.075 m. Complete except for chips from lower body. Mended from many pieces. Pink-buff clay; buff slip; red glaze paint.

Flat bottom, sharply rounded profile, flat lip. Rim and handles painted red; band at base of neck and two on lower body. Double wavy-line pattern on shoulder. Base wheel of two double wavy lines in form of cross.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 82, fig. 11 (Myc. II B).

Decoration: *MP*, Motive 33: linear rock pattern, fig. 55, no. 5 (Myc. II B); Motive 68: base wheel, fig. 70, no. 3 (Myc. II A-B); 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1910, pl. 7, no. 2a (Thebes): base wheel;



FIG. 5. Base Wheels of Alabastra (Nos. 2-8)

Chamber Tombs, pl. XVII, no. 22 (LH III): wavy line (? or ivy). Neither parallel is exact. Late Helladic II A-B.

3. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Figs. 5-6.

P 21253. H. 0.05 m., D. 0.173-0.176 m. Complete except for part of rim and chips from lower body. Mended from many pieces. Pink clay; pink-buff slip; brown-black glaze paint, worn and fired red in several places.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 82 (Myc. II B) and 84c (Myc. III A:1), fig. 11; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LIII, no. 7 (LH II).

Decoration: *MP*, Motive 32: rock pattern, fig. 54, no. 5 (Myc. I-III B); Motive 68: base wheel, fig. 70 (Myc. II A-III A:1) (no close parallels shown); *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LIII, no. 7; *Eleusiniaka*, fig. 104, no. 364 (LH II); *Prosymna*, fig. 686, no. 158, fig. 687, no. 162



FIG. 6. Patterns on Nos. 3-5.

Concave base, flat spreading body, handles rising slightly higher than rim. Rim and handles painted. Band at junction of neck and shoulder. Shoulder decorated with wave pattern: crests of waves pointed under handles, rounded in panels between handles; leaf spray (?) just above one crest. Base wheel: broad central circle from which three sets of spokes, two double and one triple, radiate to outer band.

(LH II). The base wheel cannot be exactly matched.

Late Helladic II.

4. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Figs. 5-6.

P 21252. H. 0.039 m., D. 0.091 m. Complete except for fragments from base. Green-buff clay; buff slip; black glaze paint.

Low baggy body, rounded rim; pronounced

ridge at junction of neck and shoulder. Neck and handles painted. Concentric circles on rim and upper shoulder; two narrow bands at junction of shoulder and base. Shoulder decorated with low wave pattern, from which a double-stemmed ivy leaf springs in the panel between each handle; blobs along the lower stems. Wheel pattern on base: closed spiral at center from which four pairs of zigzag spokes radiate to lower band on body.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 82 (Myc. II B); *Asine*, fig. 270, no. 9.

Decoration: *MP*: Motive 12: sacral ivy, fig. 36, no. 24 (Myc. II B); Motive 32: rock pattern; Motive 68: base wheel, central spiral similar to fig. 70, no. 4 (Myc. II B), spokes to no. 2 (Myc. II A-III A: 1). Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 152, no. 1156 (LH II), fig. 688, no. 1181 (LH II); *Chamber Tombs*, pl. VI, no. 3, pl. XXXIX, no. 30. The blobby stem of the ivy spray is not usual.

Late Helladic II.

5. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Figs. 5-6.

P 21255. H. 0.051 m., D. ca. 0.121 m. Complete except for chips from rim, one handle. Mended from many pieces. Pink-buff clay, buff slip, red-brown glaze paint.

Rounded bottom, low rounded shoulder, curving rim. Rim, neck, and handles painted; four bands on upper shoulder. Shoulder decorated with wave-and-ivy pattern: crests of waves rounded, and above them, in the panel between each pair of handles, an ivy leaf with double or triple stem. Concentric circles on base: four at center, four halfway toward edge, three at junction of base and shoulder.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 84 (Myc. III A); *Prosymna*, fig. 454, no. 117 (LH III).

Decoration: *MP*: Motive 12: sacral ivy, fig. 36, c-d, nos. 23-27 (Myc. II B-III A:1); Motive 32: rock pattern; p. 404, concentric circles; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XL, no. 28 (LH II-III). The parallel dashes of the second type of ivy leaf may derive from a similar motive on lily

stalks (e. g. *MP*, fig. 32, f, h-j, 9, an elaboration of the first knobbed type).

Late Helladic II-III.

6. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Fig. 5.

P 21251. H. 0.035 m., D. 0.079 m. One handle missing; otherwise intact. Buff clay; lighter buff slip; clear red-brown glaze paint.

Flat bottom, high shoulder, rolling rim, small handles. Rim and handles painted. Broad band on neck, narrow band on upper shoulder. Shoulder decorated with wave pattern: pointed crest in center of each panel and beneath each handle. Concentric circles on bottom: three wide at center, three narrow at outer edge.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 82/84 (Myc. II B-III).

Decoration: *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XLIII, no. 27 (LH II-III); *MP* shows no rock pattern with pointed crests like these.

Late Helladic II-III.

7. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Fig. 5.

P 21256. H. 0.035-0.037 m., D. 0.088 m. Rim slightly chipped, otherwise intact. Buff clay; buff slip; brown-black glaze paint fired red in places.

Uneven body, wide rounded rim, large vertical handles. Rim, neck, and handles painted. Shoulder decorated with wave-and-ivy pattern: low waves with rounded crests, and in each panel a triple-stemmed ivy leaf running from left to right; the stem springs from beneath one handle and the tip of the leaf touches the neck band above the next. Three sets of concentric circles on bottom: broad band around small circle at center, three narrow bands halfway toward edge, three narrow bands at junction of base and shoulder.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 84 (Myc. III A); *Asine*, fig. 236, no. 8.

Decoration: *MP*: Motive 12: sacral ivy (Myc. III A); Motive 32: rock pattern I, fig. 54, no. 5 (Myc. I-III B); p. 404, concentric circles (Myc. III A); *Prosymna*, fig. 711, no. 161 (LH III).

Late Helladic III A.

8. Alabastron. Pl. 73 and Fig. 5.

P 21250. H. 0.058 m., D. 0.10 m. One handle missing, small chips from rim, otherwise complete. Buff clay; light buff slip; brown-black glaze paint.

High body, sharply curving and irregular profile. Bumpy surface, blister inside bottom. Rim, neck, and handles painted. Crude outline of wave pattern on shoulder, a pointed crest touching the neck band in each panel. Three concentric circles on bottom, crudely drawn free-hand.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 83 (Myc. II A-III A:1).

Decoration: not shown in *MP*; *Prosymna*, fig. 255, no. 654 (LH III), fig. 322, no. 544 (LH III), fig. 404, no. 841 (LH II-III).

Fabric and decoration are both so poor that dating is uncertain. The pot may be earlier than LH III.

Late Helladic III A.

9. Alabastron. Pl. 73.

P 21242. H. 0.039 m., D. 0.058 m. One handle missing, otherwise intact. Miniature, carelessly made. Buff clay; buff slip; brown-black glaze paint.

Flat bottom, high angular-biconical body. Rim, neck, and handles painted. Parallel vertical stripes from neck band to band around angle of shoulder. Blobs in wave-like pattern around body just above base. Broad circular band on bottom.

Shape: *MP*, Form 16, Type 83 (Myc. III A-B); *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LVII, no. 22 (LH III); *Prosymna*, fig. 508, no. 64. The decoration is also similar. *MP* does not illustrate these motives.

Late Helladic III A.

10. Three-Handled Jar. Pl. 74.

P 21259. H. 0.141 m., D. 0.115 m. Chips missing from rim and body. Mended from many pieces. Buff clay; buff slip; brown-black glaze paint.

Short piriform body, wide mouth, flat lip. Band handles set vertically, with medial ridge.

Underside of lip and neck painted. Lower body banded from below handles down to broad band above base. The lip is decorated with a wavy line between two narrow stripes, the handles with a saw-tooth pattern between two vertical stripes which loop around the lower handle attachments. Two panels of the shoulder zone between handles are filled with a lily pattern of two similar plants leaning in the same direction; in the third panel the lilies are opposed, and a dwarf ivy spray with quadruple stem is framed between them.

Shape: *MP*, Form 7, Type 24, fig. 3; the sole example, and that not close, is *Chamber Tombs*, pl. V, no. 15; cf. also 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1898, pl. 2, no. 7 (Eleusis); *Asine*, fig. 268, no. 4.

Decoration: *MP*: Motive 9: lily pattern, fig. 32 i, j (Myc. III A:1); Motive 12: sacral ivy, fig. 35 d (Myc. III A:1), and fig. 36, no. 13 (Myc. II B-III A:1). There are no good parallels for this combination of ivy and lily patterns; cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 246, no. 614, on which the ivy and caper flower are painted, and a similar motif in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, no. 2 b (LH III).

Even without close and dated parallels, the fine, strong lines and unconventional decoration of this pot would place it early.

Late Helladic II B-III A.

11. Three-Handled Jar. Pl. 74.

P 21257. H. 0.198 m., D. ca. 0.143 m. Complete except for one handle and minor chips. Mended from many pieces. Pink-buff clay; buff slip; red glaze paint.

Concave base, flaring foot; tall piriform body; light ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; wide mouth, flat lip sloping outward; vertical band handles with small knobs at lower attachments. Mouth and neck painted inside and out; handles painted. Lower body banded, painted solid above foot. The upper shoulder is decorated with a wave-and-ivy pattern: in each panel, one spray of ivy rises on a triple stem from the low waves, and below each handle a double stem ends in a loop around the lower handle attachment.

Shape: *MP*, Form 7, Type 17, fig. 3 (Myc. II B); *Prosymna*, fig. 438, no. 174; *Attica*, pl. 12, no. 5 (LH III).

Decoration: *MP*: Motive 12: sacral ivy, fig. 35 c (Myc. II B), fig. 36, no. 25 (Myc. II B); Motive 32: rock pattern, fig. 54, no. 5 (Myc. I-III B); *Prosymna*, fig. 717, no. 176 (LH III). The ivy pattern is rare on three-handled jars.

Late Helladic III A.

12. Three-Handled Jar. Pl. 74.

P 21248. H. 0.186 m., D. 0.159 m. Part of wall mended; otherwise intact. Green-buff clay; buff slip; brown-black glaze paint badly discolored.

Broad piriform body, vertical handles knobby at lower attachments. Mouth, neck, and handles painted. Rim decorated with wavy line between two narrow stripes. Upper shoulder filled with simple scale pattern bordered by narrow bands; loops around handles. Lower body banded.

Shape: *MP*, Form 7, Type 19, fig. 3 (Myc. III A:1).

Decoration: *MP*, Motive 70: scale pattern, fig. 70, no. 1 (Myc. II A-III B); *Prosymna*, fig. 456, no. 111; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 281, fig. 19.

Late Helladic III A.

13. Three-Handled Jar. Pl. 74.

P 21258. H. 0.091 m., D. 0.088 m. Rim mended, chip from foot; otherwise intact. Buff clay; light buff slip; undecorated. Noticeable wheel-marks on surface.

Offset, slightly concave, foot; squat piriform body; wide mouth, straight-edged rim, neck passing into shoulder without ridge or junction; handles set well down on shoulder.

Attica, pl. 12, no. 4. No type in *MP* is as squat as our specimen.

Late Helladic III A.

14. Stemmed Goblet. Pl. 74.

P 21262. H. to rim 0.103 m., H. with handles 0.144 m., D. 0.124 m. Complete except for chips from rim and foot. Mended from three

pieces. Pale pinkish-buff clay, fine light buff slip. Exterior unpainted; inside of bowl painted with red-brown glaze in sweeping horizontal strokes.

Thin sloping foot, concave underneath; short stem; deep rounded bowl. Thin offset lip, two high-swung ribbon handles.

Shape: *MP*, Form 79, Type 263, fig. 16, but with low band handles (Myc. I-II B); the reference is to *Korakou*, figs. 58-60 (heavy LH I versions of the form), fig. 78 (LH II).

This goblet is a rare piece. The prototype may be seen in the silver goblets from Dendra (*New Tombs*, p. 136, fig. 117), and in a one-handled gold cup from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae (*Schachtgräber*, pl. CVII, no. 427). There is close affinity to the Ephyræan goblets in the shape of the bowl (*Korakou*, pl. VII, nos. 1, 2, LH II), and examples with two low handles (*Prosymna*, fig. 127, no. 259) or one high-swung handle (*ibid.*, fig. 105, nos. 400, 406) are common.

The only other examples with two high handles are both Attic: one a goblet decorated in Ephyræan style (*Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XIX, no. 138), and one unpublished vase without decoration but of inferior fabric (*Attica*, p. 29; Athens, N.M. 3). The exact provenance of these pieces is unknown, but noted as "Alikí"; they appeared in an Athenian antique shop toward the end of the nineteenth century. They may well have been made in Athens itself; the fabric is almost indistinguishable from Yellow Minyan ware, of which many sherds have been found on the Acropolis; a few of these sherds have a profile reminiscent of this goblet (*North Slope*, fig. 363; *Prehistoric Pottery*, fig. 131).

Late Helladic II.

15. Kylix. Pl. 74.

P 21249. H. to rim 0.12 m., H. with handle 0.179 m., D. 0.135-0.139 m. Complete except for chip from rim. Mended from twelve pieces. Pink clay; pink-buff slip. Undecorated.

Thin, sloping foot concave underneath; slender flaring stem; deep tapering bowl; thin offset lip; one high-swung ribbon handle from rim.

Shape: *MP*, Form 79, Type 271, fig. 16 (Myc. II B); *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, no. 2h (Agora P 17754); *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XLII, no. 11 (LH II).

Late Helladic II.

16. Kylix. Pl. 74.

P 21243. H. 0.15-0.155 m., D. 0.17 m. One handle missing; otherwise complete. Mended from seven pieces. Pale buff clay; light buff slip; brown-red glaze paint, slightly streaky.

Flat, disk-shaped foot with small countersunk depression underneath. Long tapering stem, shallow spreading bowl, light ridge at junction of stem and bowl. Thin lip turning outward. Vertical ribbon handles from rim to below curve of bowl. Interior unpainted. Lip painted inside and out; outer surface of handle painted. Stem banded; single band on upper surface of foot, edge painted. Reserved zone on lower bowl between stem and handles, bordered by three narrow bands above and below. The upper zone of the bowl is decorated with a band of running spirals: five double interlocking spirals on each side, with a triangular filling ornament in each space above and below the connecting links.

Shape: Not a standard decorated kylix shape on the mainland. Close to *MP*, Form 79, Type 264, fig. 16 (Myc. III A:2 e; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LVII, no. 11), an unglazed or monochrome form. Nothing in the decorated form approaches it until Type 259 (Myc. III A:2 1); *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, 2, pl. 50, nos. 9-11 (Rhodes); the mainland bowl shape is generally more angular (*Attica*, pls. 6, 7) or shallower (*ibid.*, pl. 7, no. 2), though there is a resemblance to the form usually painted with a murex motif (*Prosymna*, fig. 235, no. 1068). Undecorated types are quite similar: Agora P 17755, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, no. 2 i (LH III); *Annuario*, XIII-XIV, 1930-1931, fig. 9, right; and *Asine*, fig. 271, nos. 4, 5 (LH III) (other vases from this tomb are LH II, p. 435, note).

As in the case of the stemmed goblet No. 14,

this kylix shows strong influence of metallic prototypes such as the silver vessels from Dendra (*New Tombs*, fig. 99, nos. 2, 3; note the comparison of clay and silver goblets in fig. 117), and a bronze goblet from Knossos (*Palace of Minos*, IV, 1, fig. 305 b).

Decoration: This form of spiral is not matched on any published Mycenaean vase. The closest is *MP*, Motive 46: running spiral, fig. 59, nos. 1-4 (Myc. II A-III A:1), no. 32 (Myc. I-II A). The triangular filling ornament, not classified as such but as *zwickel*, is a derivative of the Minoan papyrus motif: *MP*, Motive 11, fig. 34, no. 55 (Myc. III A:1), no. 57 (Myc. III A:2). The combination of spiral and *zwickel* is rare; *MP*, Motive 46, fig. 60, no. 40 (Myc. III A:1) shows an identical filling ornament with a different spiral, and the design appears again, in different form, on a pilgrim flask from Athens dated in the second quarter of the fourteenth century (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XL, no. 2). It seems not to occur otherwise on the mainland at this period, but there is similarity to the el-Amarna pottery (Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pls. XXIX, XXX), and Aegean parallels in a krater from Enkomi (*Palace of Minos*, IV, 1, fig. 310), an alabaster amphora from Knossos (*ibid.*, IV, 2, fig. 875 b), an amphora from Asklepio on Rhodes (*C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, 1, pl. 40, no. 5), and a krater from Ialysos, which is banded below the spiral pattern like the stem of this kylix (*Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-1924, fig. 143, no. 3).

The spiral itself recalls much earlier forms of spiral design on frescoes, gold, and stone. *MP*, Motive 46, fig. 59, nos. 2 (Myc. II B), 4 (Myc. III A:1), both fresco patterns, are closer than any pottery motifs in *MP*, and there is an interesting similarity to the spiral on the fresco in the tomb of Senmut in Thebes depicting the offer of Minoan vases to the Pharaoh (*Ancient Crete*, figs. 536, 537; cf. also figs. 542, 545, and Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, fig. 182); the spirals on a scarab of Sesostri I and on a wooden plaque of Amen-hotep II are related (*Aegean and Orient*, pls. I

J, III L). The spiral borders of the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus are also similar (*Ancient Crete*, figs. 248-249). Cf. the spirally-banded goblet found in the Diktaian Cave (*Palace of Minos*, IV, 1, fig. 309 a).

On the mainland the spirals on the gold-work and grave stelae from Mycenae appear the closest: *Schachtgräber*, pls. V, VI, VIII, IX, X (stelae); pls. XX, no. 38 (gold plaque), pl. XXI, no. 67 (twisted gold wires), pl. XXXVI, no. 232 (diadem), pl. LXXIX, nos. 278, 283

missing from wall and spout. Mended from 133 pieces. Fine buff-red clay; pink-buff slip; red-brown glaze paint badly worn. Surface powdery.

Low raised base; broad bulging ovoid body; slender flaring neck; slight ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; elongated spout with plain tapering rim set at 40° angle to vertical axis of pot. Sturdy strap handle sloping from lower part of shoulder to rim has a pronounced central rib ending in a blunt knob, beneath which the lower attachment is pierced lengthwise by an airhole.

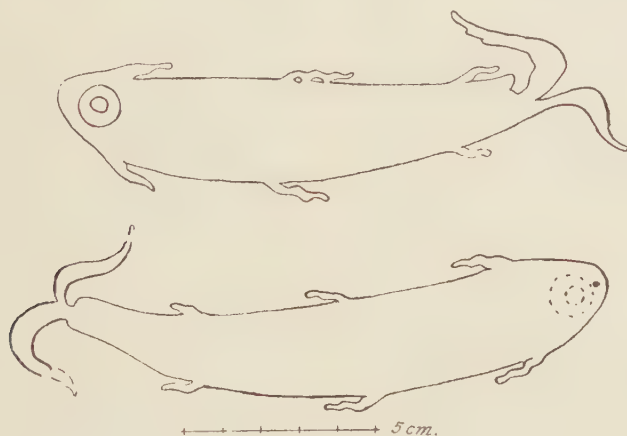


FIG. 7. Fish on No. 17.

(scabbards), pl. XC, no. 396 (dagger); also the gold spiral band from Grave III (Evans, *Shaft-Graves and Beehive Tombs*, fig. 37, center), the spirals on the rim of a metal bowl from Dendra (*New Tombs*, fig. 68), and the fresco spirals of Room N, West Portal, Palace at Mycenae (*B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, pl. XXVa). A similar spiral is found on an LH I cup, and associated sherds from Mycenae (Wace, *Mycenae*, fig. 92, c, p).

The preponderance of foreign parallels to this pot suggests that it is an imported piece, unlike the majority of pots in the tomb. Probably early fourteenth century B.C.

Late Helladic III A.

17. Jug with Beaked Spout. Pl. 73 and Fig. 7.

P 21246. H. 0.27 m., D. 0.24 m. Fragments

Neck and handle painted. Spout decorated with continuous band along rim, two lower transverse bands. Foliate band below ridge at junction of neck and shoulder. The front of the body is covered by a large octopus, with four floating tentacles on either side, between which are scattered dot-and-curlicue filling ornaments. High on each side of the vessel, filling the space between the octopus and the lower end of the handle, a fish resembling a dolphin but with a forked and curiously attached tail. The eyes of all three marine creatures are reserved circles with a painted dot for the pupil. Narrow stripe above broad band around base.

Shape: *MP*, Form 41, Type 143, fig. 5 (Myc. II B); *Prosymna*, pl. VIII, fig. 167, no. 413 (LH II); fig. 701, no. 304 (LH II-III). A number of examples are extant, both from the

mainland (*Korakou*, pl. II, fig. 69, LH II) and Rhodes (*Mykenische Vasen*, pl. IX, nos. 53, 54; *Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-1924, figs. 108, 134, no. 10); at least two have been found in Attica or near by ('Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, pl. 10, no. 8, Sphettos; *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pls. I, V, ? Salamis). In general, Late Helladic III examples have more attenuated body proportions, a shorter and more curving spout, a higher handle (*Attica*, pl. 14, no. 3; *Prosymna*, fig. 290, no. 703). The metal prototype from which this kind of handle is imitated may be seen in *Schachtgräber*, pl. CIII, no. 74.

Decoration: For the shoulder band cf. *MP*, Motive 64, fig. 69, no. 6 (Myc. II A); Welter, *Aigina*, fig. 27; this mainland form of foliation is commoner on metal than clay (*Schachtgräber*, pl. XIII, no. 3, gold diadem; pl. XIV, nos. 3, 5; *Palace of Minos*, IV, 1, fig. 232, bronze basin).

For the dolphin cf. *MP*, Motive 20, fig. 48 (no close parallel and none earlier than Myc. III A: 1; nos. 4 and 7, with forked tails, are Myc. III B), cf. no. 13; for the octopus cf. Motive 21, especially fig. 48, no. 4 (Myc. III A: 2e), which is considerably later than our pot. Several pots of this type are decorated with the octopus motif (*Prosymna*, pl. VIII, no. 413), but not in combination with other marine motifs; the only other example of secondary decoration in addition to the octopus is also Attic, in this case papyrus (*Attica*, pl. 2, no. 3, stirrup jar). A very similar octopus appears also in combination with two dolphins on the Tiryns frescoes (*Ancient Crete*, figs. 30-31).

Late Helladic II, toward the end.

18. Jug with Cutaway Neck. Pl. 75.

P 21247. H. as restored, 0.244 m., D. 0.19 m. Large fragments of neck and wall missing; handle entirely gone except for lower attachment. Restored in plaster. Pink clay, coarse and slightly micaceous. Monochrome decoration in dull pink-red glaze paint.

Small raised base concave underneath; broad top-shaped body, nearly biconical; tall slender neck; pronounced ridge at junction of neck and

shoulder. Plain flaring lip cut away vertically above handle. Broad band handle from neck to middle of shoulder with strong central rib ending in blunt pinched knob at lower attachment.

Shape: Taller and with sharper contours than other jugs of this type; *MP*, Form 37, Type 136 is close but more squat, fig. 5 (Myc. III B); *Asine*, fig. 269, no. 1 (LH III); *Δελρίον*, XI, pl. 23, no. 7 (Vourvatsi). Cutaway jugs decorated with curving vertical stripes are familiar, though only two have been found in Attica (*Attica*, pl. 14, no. 2; *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XVIII, no. 133); monochrome examples are less numerous, and there are none of precisely this shape, which is nearer to *Korakou*, fig. 67 (LH II), than the usual LH III types (*Attica*, fig. 20 a). There is closer resemblance to beaked and molded-mouth jug forms than to other cutaway jugs (*Attica*, fig. 20 c, pls. 14, no. 3, 15, no. 1; *MP*, Type 144, fig. 5 (Myc. III A: 1)). The sharply-profiled lip, rivet-like lower handle attachment, ridge between neck and shoulder, and solid red glaze, all suggesting conscious imitation of metallic forms, also indicate an early date within Late Helladic III A.

Late Helladic III.

19. Small Jug with Cutaway Neck. Pl. 75.

P 21260. H. 0.085 m., D. 0.069 m. Chip from rim; handle mended; otherwise intact. Buff clay; light buff slip; red-brown glaze paint. Carelessly made.

High base; plump ovoid-biconical body; short straight neck; flaring lip cut away vertically above the upper handle attachment; rolled handle from rim to greatest diameter of body.

Lip, neck, and handle painted solid, with reserved triangle (? accidental) at front of neck, half-loop around lower handle attachment; band around base. The body is decorated with five sets of vertical stripes, the three at the front of the pot double and the two alongside the handle triple.

Shape: *MP*, Form 36, Type 135, fig. 7 (Myc. I-II); crude imitation in miniature of large "oinochoe" form (e.g. *Annuario*, VI-VII,

1923-1924, fig. 11; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XLV, no. 1, pl. LVI, no. 19 (both LH III); not far in shape from *Korakou*, fig. 66, no. 2 (LH II).

Late Helladic II-III.

20. Coarse Jug. Pl. 75.

P 21245. H. 0.194 m., D. 0.163 m. Chips from rim; otherwise intact. Surface worn and powdery. Pink clay; pink-red glaze paint.

Small rounded bottom, ovoid body, short neck, plain lip, slightly flaring mouth. Rolled handle from below rim to just above middle of body.

Shape: *MP*, Form 24, Type 109, fig. 7 (Myc. II-III B). A common type at all Mycenaean sites, there are over sixty-five examples from Attica (*Attica*, p. 50, fig. 20, Type D, pl. 15, no. 9; *Fountain*, p. 396, fig. 77 a and b). An almost identical jug was found at Mycenae in a group also containing a kylix very like No. 15 from this tomb (*Chamber Tombs*, pl. XLII, nos. 10 and 11, LH II).

Late Helladic II-III.

21. Askos. Pl. 75.

P 21261. H. to spout 0.10 m., H. with handle 0.132 m., D. 0.119-0.122 m. Complete except for chips from wall; body too badly warped to allow exact fit between adjoining wall fragments. Mended from many pieces. Pale buff clay; pale buff slip; brown-black glaze paint.

Small raised base, low ovoid body. Spout with slightly concave profile rises vertically from upper shoulder. Rolled basket handle set vertically on top of the pot, pierced at both ends. Spout-lip painted inside and out; two horizontal bands on spout below. Handle decorated with slanting stripes between narrow lateral bands; band around each end of handle. Two oval loops are painted around the entire handle, and from the second of these eight sets of wavy lines, alternately single and double, are drawn vertically down the body to a narrow stripe just above the base. Band around base.

Shape: There seems to be no previously published example of an askos with vertical spout of stirrup vase type and handle of feeding jug

type. *MP* gives only the typical slanted spout, with the handle sloping from the top of the pot to the spout (e.g., fig. 11, Type 195; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXVII, no. 10, LH II). The spouts are less slanted in *Δελτίον* I, p. 39, fig. 10, no. 1 and *Korakou*, fig. 97, no. 2 (LH II), but still oblique. Although the askos is less rare in Attica than in the Argolid (*Attica*, p. 52, Type A), this variation on the form has less connection with other Attic askoi than with the type of stirrup vase with upright spout familiar in Athens (*Fountain*, fig. 69 b; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 33).

Decoration: This is the typical decoration of the tall "oinochoe" with cutaway neck (references under Nos. 18 and 19 above). It also occurs on an alabastron from Thebes, which is not dated but is probably LH III ('Αρχ. Έφ. 1910, fig. 17 ξ).

Late Helladic II-III.

22. Miniature Jug. Pl. 75.

P 21241. H. 0.073 m., D. 0.065 m. Intact. Buff clay; buff slip; red-brown glaze paint.

Small raised foot concave underneath; squat globular body; high neck concave in profile; flaring lip; band handle from rim to just above middle of body. Lip banded; handle decorated with transverse stripes between narrow lateral bands; broad band around base of neck and foot. The upper part of the shoulder is filled with a horizontal wavy-line motif; at the broadest part of the body four narrow stripes are bordered by a broad band on either side; bands bordering three narrow stripes just above foot.

Shape: *MP*, Form 25, Type 113-115, figs. 5-6 (Myc. III A: 2 e-III C:1).

Decoration: These miniature jugs are familiar both in Attica and the Argolid; *Attica*, p. 66, fig. 15; *Prosymna*, fig. 274, no. 538, fig. 497, no. 48 (wash drawing of same, fig. 697, no. 48), all LH III.

Late Helladic III B-C.

23. Deep Cup. Pl. 75.

P 21263. H. 0.067 m., D. 0.124 m. Complete; mended from many pieces. Pink-buff

clay; pink-buff slip; unglazed. Pronounced wheel marks on surface.

Small ring foot; broad deep bowl with ogival profile; flaring lip and molded rim; vertical band handle.

Shape: Not closely matched in *MP*; similar to Types 214, and 220, fig. 13 (Myc. III B); *Attica*, Type G, fig. 14 (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 28, figs. 7, 8, sub-Mycenaean). The shape is closer to the Attic type of undecorated cup with a miniature handle on each side of the bowl, e. g. *Attica*, Type E, pl. 12, nos. 10, 12. It is also similar to *Attica* Type C which is apparently peculiar to Athens (*Fountain*, fig. 59 c). Cups of this general form, decorated or undecorated, are familiar in both Athens (Graef, *Antiken Vasen*, pl. V, no. 181) and the Argolid (*Prosymna*, fig. 106, no. 441, fig. 120, no. 230, both LH III), although marked variations from the standard suggest that they were not mass-produced, at least in Athens (cf. *Prosymna*, I, p. 422).

Late Helladic III B-C.

24. Two-Handled Bowl. Pl. 75.

P 21200. H. 0.092 m., D. 0.174-0.179 m. Small chips from top of rim, side of foot; otherwise intact. Pink-buff clay, gritty and poorly levigated; thin buff slip; red glaze paint, fired black in some places. A very sturdy pot, both fabric and decoration well preserved.

Flat base, from which the body narrows in sharply and flares out again toward the rim; kalathos-shaped. Broad flat rim, two horizontal loop handles.

The exterior of the bowl is banded: a broad band below the rim, horizontal bands on handles, three narrow stripes around the waist, a stripe and broad band around the base. The rim is decorated with an irregular wavy line. In the interior, the upper part of the bowl is set off by a band and narrow stripe below the rim, and three bands above the bottom, which is painted solid. Framed by these bands, two fish and a bird pursue each other in a circle around the bowl. The bodies are outlined and filled by parallel wavy lines. A row of dots is painted in

front of the head of each fish, giving it the appearance of blowing bubbles upward.

Shape: *MP*, Form 82, Type 291, fig. 15 (Myc. III C:1); bowls of this type are known from the Acropolis and Attica generally (*Fountain*, fig. 53, p. 372; *Attica*, fig. 16 E, pl. 10, no. 12), although usually more ogival in profile. At other Attic sites, as also in Rhodes where the shape is common, the bowl is usually spouted (*Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XVIII, no. 128; *Attica*, pl. 10, no. 13; *Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-1924, figs. 38, 42, 43, 63; also with plastic figurines on the rim, *ibid.*, fig. 65, no. 31, fig. 102, no. 13). The metal prototype is the spouted bowl with wishbone or button handles known from Dendra, Asine, and recently from Athens (*Royal Tombs*, pl. XXXI, no. 6; *Asine*, fig. 206; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 106, pl. 26 b).

Decoration: The banded exterior and wavy rim-decoration are frequently found on bowls of this shape: *Fountain*, fig. 54 c, p. 373; *Asine*, fig. 265, no. 6. A figured scene on the interior is unusual; the two previously published examples are a sherd from the Acropolis showing part of a crudely drawn fish (*Fountain*, fig. 54 g; cf. also fig. 37 c, ? fish on krater fragment), and a bowl from Kalymnos, in much finer style, with a fish-and-waterfowl scene (*B.M.C.*, I, pl. XV, A 1016; LH III; cf. p. 194). The fish is not matched in *MP*, Motive 20; stylistically it is closer to Motive 7 (bird), fig. 30 p (LM III), fig. 31, no. 39 (Myc. III C:1). The total effect recalls a shallow bowl from Klavdia with three fish inside (*Levant*, pl. XII, no. 1; *MP*, Motive 20, fig. 48, no. 4, Myc. III B). Cf. also *Levant*, pl. X, no. 2; fish inside fish on krater.

Cypriote or Rhodian influence is likely; cult uses have been attributed to these bowls in Rhodes and the same may hold for Athens (Kenner, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 127-130).

Late Helladic III C.

25. Fragments of Large Krater. Pl. 77.

P 21278. Four fragments of which two join; part of rim and handle preserved. Max. dim

of largest fragment 0.17 m. Buff clay; reddish glaze paint.

Shape: *MP*, Form 3, Type 10(?) (Myc. III C:1); *Korakou*, fig. 91, LH III.

Decoration: On the handle, a wavy line between two vertical bands; cf. *Fountain*, p. 394, fig. 75 h, amphora. On the upper shoulder fragment, a motif which might be stylized papyrus (*MP*, Motive 11, fig. 34, no. 36, Myc. III A:2 1) or nautilus (*MP*, Motive 22, fig. 50, no. 11, Myc. III A:2 e).

Late Helladic III.

T. of blade 0.004 m. Heavily corroded; much of cutting edge and back disintegrated.

The cutting edge is gently curved; the back apparently had a more pronounced curvature; the end is cut square. The handle tang retains two flat-headed rivets for the attachment of handle plates, presumably of wood. Where the original metal is preserved the blade is seen to be beautifully finished and drawn out to an extremely thin fine edge.

Another implement of the same type has been found in a chamber tomb on the Areopagus



FIG. 8. Razor (No. 27), Speartip (No. 28), Comb (No. 31), Bead (No. 34).

26. Uncatalogued.

Mention may be made of the following which do not merit illustration: (a) fragments of a three-handled jar with a cuttlefish on the shoulder, (b-e) scraps of small alabastra, one with no trace of pattern preserved, one with ivy pattern and two with plain bands, (f-1) the stems and bases of seven undecorated kylikes.

THE MYCENAEAN BRONZES AND JEWELRY

27. Bronze Razor. Pl. 76 and Fig. 8.

B 937. P. L. 0.164 m., L. of handle 0.04 m.,

(*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 157; fig. 4, pl. XXXIX, 3), and many others have come to light throughout the Mycenaean world. The identification as razors has been questioned (*Prosymna*, p. 347) but it is supported by the great delicacy of the edge, the shortness of the handle, the bluntness of the end, features which fit the implement for use as a razor but which would be without parallel in a weapon or household knife, while the thin edge and the remarkably short handle argue against its being a meat cleaver. For the original identification cf.

Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1888, p. 171. All the razors from the Heraion are LH III.

Late Helladic III A.

28. Tip of Bronze Weapon. Pl. 76 and Fig. 8.
B 936. P. L. 0.038 m., P. W. 0.0265 m., T. 0.0115 m.

Massive blade with heavy median rib.

This could be the tip of almost any thrusting weapon: rapier (*Prosymna*, pl. II, nos. 2, 5; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX), dagger (*Prosymna*, figs. 196, 607), spear (*Prosymna*, figs. 510, 608; *Schachtgräber*, pl. XCVII, no. 449; pl. XCVI, nos. 902, 933; pl. LXXII, no. 215), or sword (*Prosymna*, fig. 298; *Schachtgräber*, pl. LXXX). It is most probably from a sword or rapier.

Late Helladic III A.

29. Bronze Arrowheads. Pl. 76.

B 938. a. P.L. 0.0335 m., P.W. 0.0125 m.
One barb missing.

b. P.L. 0.0335 m., W. 0.015 m.
Points of both barbs corroded.

c. P.L. 0.028 m. Points of both barbs missing.

d. P.L. 0.026 m. Tip and points of both barbs missing.

e. P.L. 0.0255 m. Tip corroded; one barb missing.

All slender, sharply pointed, with very slightly curving edges and long tapering barbs. No tang or median rib. *Prosymna*, fig. 335, no. 5, pp. 341 ff.

The immediate association with the following obsidian arrowheads suggests a date early in Late Helladic III.

Late Helladic III A.

30. Obsidian Arrowheads. Pl. 76.

ST 501 a. L. 0.028 m., W. 0.013 m., T. 0.003 m.

b. L. 0.025 m., W. 0.013 m., T. 0.003 m.

Both intact.

ST 502 a. L. 0.0205 m., W. 0.013 m., T. 0.003 m.

b. L. 0.02 m., W. 0.0135 m., T. 0.004 m.

Both intact.

The first two are long and tapering, with quite short, flat barbs (*Prosymna*, fig. 263, no. 2); the second two are comparatively stubby and are more curved on the cutting edge (*Prosymna*, fig. 265, no. 6).

At the Heraion all stone arrowheads come from contexts antedating LH III (*Prosymna*, I, pp. 254, 342). Obsidian arrowheads are generally earlier than bronze, but since both were in one quiver here, in a pottery context dated LH III A (Nos. 9, 16), these may be among the latest stone arrowheads found at any Mycenaean site. The shape remains unchanged throughout the Helladic era; cf. *Asine*, fig. 175, no. 4 c (EH II); *Schachtgräber*, pl. CI, top row (LH I).

Late Helladic III A.

31. Ivory Comb. Pl. 76 and Fig. 8.

BI 665. L. 0.057 m., H. to back 0.036 m., H. with central medallion 0.041 m., T. at top 0.008 m. Several teeth broken or missing.

High rounded back with two ovolo mouldings on either side. The central knob consists of a plain disk on either side, with a connecting shank.

Prosymna, fig. 419, no. 2, LH III, like all ivory artifacts at the Heraion (I, p. 281); but cf. also *Chamber Tombs*, fig. 32, LH I-II. A similar comb was found in 1951 in the "Lily Bowl Grave" of the Agora together with vases of LH II-III A date (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 107).

Late Helladic II-III.

32. Fragments of Bone Pins. Pl. 76.

BI 666. P. L. 0.01-0.03 m.; D. 0.004 and 0.008 m.

Six fragments. The two distinct shaft diameters suggest two separate pins.

Two sections are curved, four straight. Original design uncertain. Common shapes are shown in *Schachtgräber*, pl. LXXI, no. 898;

Asine, fig. 180; *Eleusiniaka*, fig. 120, β - δ ; *Prosymna*, pp. 285-286, fig. 107. Fragments of bone pins were also found in four of the chamber tombs at Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs*, p. 212 and note 11).

The date is suggested by the proximity of the fragments to the comb, No. 31, and to vases Nos. 6 and 11. Similar fragments were found in the "Lily Bowl Grave" of the Agora (cf. No. 31).

Late Helladic II-III.

33. Necklace. Beads of Quartz and Glass. Pl. 76.

a. G 415. L. 0.014 m.-0.017 m., D. 0.016 m.-0.02 m.

Four beads of chalky white paste, with lighter bands.

b. J 123. L. ca. 0.004 m.-0.007 m., D. ca. 0.006 m.-0.01 m.

Sixty-six beads. Two of pink quartz are spherical, with flakes of metallic-looking paint adhering to surface. Two of white paste are depressed spherical in shape, and laterally banded, similar to G 415. Ten of white paste are spherical and laterally ribbed. One of blue paste is spherical and vertically ribbed. Four of blue paste are spherical and plain. Forty-five white discs are of paste or bone. D. ca. 0.006 m. Many intact, others fragmentary; cohering in series when found.

An assortment of beads very like this was found in the "Lily Bowl Grave" near by (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 107), with quartz (or light amethyst) and blue paste mixed (J 124, LH II). For a longer necklace of this type cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 464, no. 6; for bead-shapes in general, *ibid.*, I, pp. 296 ff., *Chamber Tombs*, pls. VIII, XXXV (34 c is similar to ours).

Late Helladic III A.

34. Steatite Bead. Pl. 76 and Fig. 8.

ST 498. L. 0.018 m., W. 0.0155 m., T. 0.007 m.

Shaped like a figure-of-eight shield, and pierced through the waist. Convex on upper surface; four circular depressions on underside.

Possibly a seal, but more likely a neck ornament. A similar bead found in a near-by Late Helladic III C deposit has a blank underside (ST 506). Though related in shape to usual lentoid beads (*Prosymna*, fig. 283, no. 15), this piece has more in common with gold than stone ornaments; cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 578, a shield-shaped gold bead for a chain, and the gold beads of a necklace from Enkomi, LH III B (*Ancient Crete*, fig. 486). Cf. also the ivory shields from Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pl. 34 (LH III B).

Late Helladic III B-C.

35. Buttons. Pl. 76.

a. ST 499. L. 0.013 m., D. 0.023 m. Black steatite, scratched and worn. Truncated cone, unevenly made.

b. ST 500. L. 0.0145 m., D. 0.0195 m. Black steatite, polishing marks on surface. Biconical; sharply profiled.

c. M 869. H. 0.012 m., D. 0.017 m. Terra-cotta; mended from many pieces; one fragment missing. Gritty red clay; signs of burning. Blunt cone; splayed base.

Fountain, fig. 93, e-g, m; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXXV, no. 35; *Asine*, p. 375, fig. 246.

Late Helladic II-III.

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC POTTERY

36. Skyphos from Cremation Burial. Pl. 77.

P 21275. P. H. 0.093 m., D. at rim estimated ca. 0.13 m. Rim, one handle, and part of wall remain. Pink-buff clay; red-brown glaze in places discolored by burning.

Deep, rounded bowl; slightly flaring lip. Bowl painted inside; reserved band around inside of lip. Outside of lip painted with one wide, one narrow band and a zigzag line; in the handle zone were three sets of compass-drawn concentric circles with a maltese cross in the core. Lower body banded. A band on the handle with a tail to either side.

Ripe Protogeometric, probably later than the grave group illustrated *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 24, fig. 22.

37. Lekythos from Child's Grave. Pl. 77.

P 21264. H. 0.159 m., D. 0.101 m. Small chip from foot; otherwise intact. Light pink-buff clay; dull dark brown-red glaze.

Ring foot almost conical underneath; ovoid body; flaring trumpet mouth. Air hole on shoulder to right of handle. Lip glazed inside and outside; four bands on neck; handle striped horizontally. At edge of shoulder, two narrow glazed stripes; below shoulder, four reserved bands. The shoulder is decorated with three sets of five concentric semicircles with an hourglass in the core.

Ripe Protogeometric; an early example of hourglass filling.

38. Lekythos from Child's Grave. Pl. 77.

P 21265. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.065 m. Lip broken and mended; partly restored in plaster. Otherwise intact. Light pink-buff clay; dull black-reddish brown glaze, slightly worn on mouth and handle.

Broad flaring foot deeply rounded underneath; ovoid body; flaring lip; band handle. Broad band on inner face of lip carried to edge of rim; horizontal stripes on handle; three bands around lower neck. From a fourth band at the junction of neck and shoulder reserved triangles hang apex down. Two reserved lines around edge of shoulder, two around lower body.

On lekythoi in general, see V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 69-77. These two may be placed between the group from Agora Grave IX (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 24, fig. 22) and the group from Kerameikos Grave 40 (*Kerameikos*, IV, p. 41; pls. 17, 18).

Ripe Protogeometric.

THE FIFTH-CENTURY POTTERY

39. Red-Figured Lekythos. Pl. 77.

P 21266. P. H. to top of handle 0.187 m., D. 0.075 m. Complete except for mouth and foot; mended from several pieces.

On shoulder, bars and rays. A Nike is flying right, holding a scarf in her outstretched hand.

Above, running meander; below, reserved ground line encircling the whole vase. Handle glazed outside. Relief contours for chin and nape only. Hasty painting: the outlines of the sakkos are obliterated in places by the background glaze.

Attributed to the Beth Pelet Painter; added to the list, *A.R.V.*, p. 493, as no. 12 (*Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 1525).

About 470 B.C.

40. Black-Bodied Lekythos with Pattern. Pl. 77.

P 21267. P. H. 0.195 m., D. 0.073 m. Complete except for mouth, fragments from wall. Mended from several pieces.

On shoulder, bars and rays. On upper and lower body, framing the area where a figured scene would ordinarily be, a running meander to the right. Red wash on reserved areas; outer face and underside of foot reserved. Handle black outside.

About 470 B.C.

41. Black-Bodied Lekythos with Pattern. Pl. 77.

P 21268. P. H. 0.127 m., D. 0.052 m. Foot, mouth, and handle missing. Mended from several pieces.

On shoulder, bars and rays. On wall just below shoulder, a running meander to the right. Lower body solid black. Nothing at junction of foot and body. Red wash on reserved areas.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen 4, pl. 166, nos. 1-10.

42. White-Ground Palmette Lekythos. Pl. 77.

P 21271. P. H. 0.145 m., D. 0.051 m. Foot, handle, and wall fragments missing; mended from several pieces.

On shoulder, bars and rays. Decoration on body almost entirely obliterated: traces of upright palmette on white ground; below, two reserved lines. Red wash on reserved areas.

Beldam Workshop type. Cf. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, p. 186; also the example in *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen 3, pl. 111, 21.

43. White-Ground Palmette Lekythos. Pl. 77.

P 21269. P. H. 0.179 m., D. 0.072 m. Mouth, foot, and wall fragments missing; mended from several pieces.

On shoulder, bars and rays. On wall, running meander to right, then six large palmettes in pairs vertically opposed—the outer pairs tip to tip, the center pair base to base. Below, a reserved stripe; on the black glaze of the lower part, a white stripe and then a pair of white stripes. Handle glazed above. Red wash on reserved areas. Surface badly worn.

The palmette composition is not a common one; for the upper half of it, cf. *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen 3, pl. 112,16.

44. White-Ground Palmette Lekythos. Pl. 77.

P 21270. P. H. 0.148 m., D. 0.06 m. Foot and mouth missing; mended from several pieces.

On shoulder, two circles of rays. On wall, running meander to right above a band of three-deep checker pattern. Below this, three horizontal circumscribed palmettes right, and a second band of checker pattern. Two sets of reserved stripes on solid black glaze of lower part. Handle glazed black above.

Probably from the Beldam Workshop.

45. Lekythos Fragment. Pl. 77.

P 21272. Max. dim. *ca.* 0.068 m. Shoulder, neck, and handle preserved. Slight groove at junction of neck and shoulder.

On shoulder, palmette pattern: three in the middle, the center one inverted with tendrils which end in upright palmettes on either side; at each end of this central palmette motif, one loose palmette. Red wash.

46. White-Ground Lekythos Fragment. Pl. 77.

P 21273. *a.* P. H. 0.096 m., Max. dim. 0.12 m.

b. Max. dim. 0.068 m.

Wall fragments from large lekythos.

On *a* the lower right part of the scene is preserved: the left leg of a woman (?) standing facing front; a small portion of her himation, painted purple, remains. To the right are the legs of another figure (male?), standing to the left. The inner lines of the legs in both figures are not drawn, since they were covered by garments.

On *b* two horizontal lines represent the steps of the stele against which a third figure was leaning, as shown by the crossed legs. Two folds of a sash hang down, and two horizontal lines above may belong to a basket for offerings held by the frontal figure in the middle (on *a*). A small part of an object at the right edge of the fragment could be the left end of the mouth of a vase (probably an alabastron) which has been placed on the steps of the stele.

Dilute glaze line below picture.

440-430 B.C.

47. White-Ground Lekythos Fragment. Pl. 77.

P 21274. P. H. 0.104 m., D. 0.105 m. The lower body only is preserved; foot missing; mended from several pieces.

The lower part of a male figure remains, preserved to the thighs; he faces right and leans upon a staff. He stands on the right foot; the left leg is drawn back and bent at the knee. He wears an himation, painted purple, of which heavy folds hang down in front; another edge comes down behind, at the height of the thighs. The figure stands in front of a stele; the left part of the base and the lower shaft are preserved. The base is in two parts, the upper one having a concave profile. A fillet hangs down from the shaft. Dilute glaze line below picture. Part of a reserved line at the junction of body and foot is preserved. Surface badly worn in pictured zone.

440-430 B.C.

EMILY D. TOWNSEND

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THE EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION, ATHENIAN AGORA I 286.

(PLATE 78)

THE major parts of this inscription have been published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 36-37, no. 24; Dow, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 71-81, no. 37 (including *I.G.*, II², 1032, 991, 1960, and 2453); Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 201-213, no. 41; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 169-170, no. 66.¹

Study of the fragments of this inscription in Athens, the joining of new fragments from the Agora and the placement of others, all small, and the addition of two fragments already published from the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (*I.G.*, II², 1007 and 1032, fgt. v) as indubitable parts of this inscription make it possible to fix the length of the *lacuna* in Decree I and to bridge it, to reconstruct Decrees IV and V with a considerable degree of definiteness, to supply parts of seven names from the tribe of Aiantis, to fix the arrangements of wreaths after Decrees I and V and to present minor corrections and improvements at several points. All previously published pieces have been re-read from the stones in Athens with the help of squeezes and photographs. The accuracy of earlier readings can be judged from the relatively few emendations which need to be made in this final publication. The readings of several smaller pieces which unquestionably belong to the stone, but which cannot be definitely placed, are herewith presented.

All five decrees are capable of restoration *in toto* except for names and dates. Only four lines in Decree IV are not represented by readings. Since the analogy of Decrees IV and V of *I.G.*, II² 1011 makes it reasonably certain that Decrees III and IV of this inscription were essentially similar in content, the length and restorations can be accepted with confidence.

The names of all but four of the 107 ephebes who are known to have been listed (line 89) are represented in whole or in part. Seventy-three are given here, 68 (plus one name which cannot be read) occur in the Delphic inscription (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 24), of which 37 are common to both lists.

The following stones are parts of this inscription. The designation of the various fragments by previous editors is retained. Inventory numbers have been corrected, or supplied when the original publication omitted them, and, in particular, all pieces previously designated by Sigma and a number have been given the new numbering

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt for his permission to republish this inscription on which he has done the major part of the work and for his kindness in placing at my disposal the facilities of the Epigraphical Center at the Institute for Advanced Study. Professor Sterling Dow kindly sent me his squeezes of several fragments. I should like also to mention with gratitude the helpfulness of the Agora staff, and especially of Miss Lucy Talcott and Professor Eugene Vanderpool, in facilitating my work in Athens. Mrs. Reinmuth prepared Fig. 1.

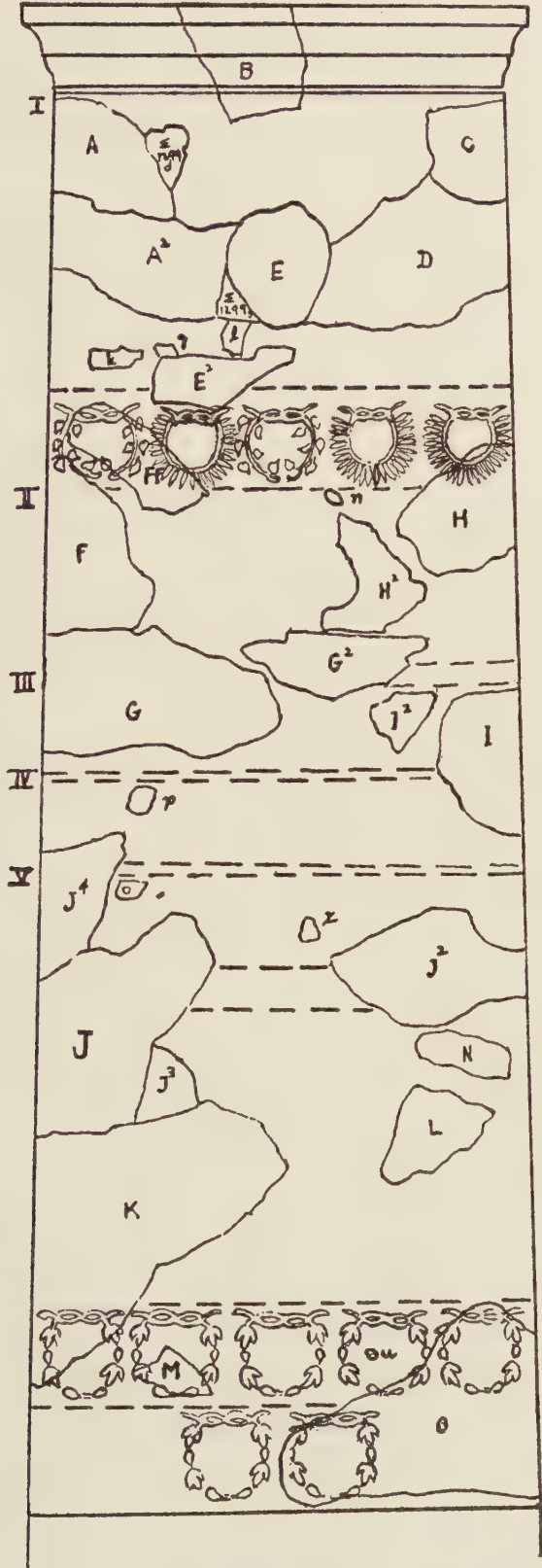


FIG. 1

(I 286 a, b, c *et cetera*) assigned to them by the Agora Museum. The old Sigma designation is given in parentheses only in those cases in which it has been employed in earlier publications. References to illustrations are added. Braces indicate joins. The listing follows the inscription from top to bottom and from left to right, section by section (Fig. 1).

- { A, I 989 c with new join Σ1299 d, now attached to I 989 c (Pl. 78).
- { A², I 286 e with new join Σ1299 s, now attached to it between E and A² at lines 22-29 (Pl. 78).
- { E, I.G., II², 1032 (E.M. 7605) (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { B, I 992 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { C, I 958 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { D, I 286 a which joins E at lines 21-24 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 37; IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { I 286 l (Pl. 78) belongs below Σ1299 s which is now a part of I 286 e and with I 286 k (Pl. 78) makes possible the restoration of lines 30-36.
- { I 286 g joins, and is now attached (Pl. 78) to
- { E², I 286 j (Pl. 78; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 203). Meritt numbers this Σ1299. The lateral position of E² is determined by I 286 g and I 286 k.
- { FF, I 286 d (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 203). Dow numbers this I 286 a.
- { I 286 n, lines 78-80 *med.* (Pl. 78).
- { F, I 989 b (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { G, I 286 b (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72). Meritt's suggestion of a join between G and G² is confirmed.
- { G², (Σ1299 b) (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 204) is attached to G, I 286 b. Meritt numbers this Σ1299 also.
- { H², I 286 i (Σ1298) (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 203) does not join H as Meritt states, but the lower part of H² joins G².
- { H, I 286 c (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { I², I 286 h (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 204).
- { I, I.G., II², 991 (E.M. 5296) (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
- { I 286 p (Pl. 78) yields letters of five consecutive lines which fit best the sequence demanded by space considerations and by the text in lines 116-120 and, if correctly placed, give two letters of the patronymic of the proposer of Decree IV.
- { I 286 o (Pl. 78) may be placed in lines 129-130 to fill out the demotic of the proposer of the decree and give the first three letters of *πομπήν* in the next line, although it does not join I 989 d.
- { I 286 x (Pl. 78) does not join anywhere, but the 2 to 3 letters from four consecutive lines agree spatially with the normal reconstruction of lines 133-136 *med.*

- { J⁴, I 989 d (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XXXII, no. 66).
 J, I 989 a (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72; XVI, 1947, pl. XXXII, no. 66).
 K, *I.G.*, II², 1960 (E.M. 564) (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
 { J³, I 286 f (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 205).
 J², I 286 g (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 205).
 N, *I.G.*, II², 1039, fgt. v (E.M. 5259) (Pl. 78).
 L, *I.G.*, II², 2453 (E.M. 5238) (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72).
 M, I 3457 (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 213).
 I 286 u (Pl. 78). consisting of one letter only, *mu* corrected to *pi*, which can only be a part of the name of the *toxotes*, Pystilos in the citation.
 O is the designation I give to *I.G.*, II², 1007 (E.M. 7604), which is without question a part of this inscription (Pl. 78).
 I 286 m, q, r, s, t, v, w, y can not be definitely placed (Pl. 78).

It will serve no useful purpose to repeat the measurements of the separate pieces or the over-all measurements of joining fragments. The measurements of the assembled fragments from the Agora and plaster casts of the larger pieces from the Epigraphical Museum form the basis for the over-all dimensions which are given below.

Of the hitherto unpublished pieces (I 286 k through y), only two are more than chips: I 286 k with a maximum width of 12 cm. and I 286 l with a maximum height of 9 cm. The others vary from 5 cm. to 1 cm. in height and only the inscribed surfaces are original.

Professor Eugene Vanderpool has succinctly summarized the provenience of the Agora fragments in the following statement. The grid references in parentheses are to the over-all 20-meter grid which appeared as Plate 12 in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953 and are here used for the first time to mark the place of discovery of inscriptions. The conclusions which Professor Vanderpool draws from the finding place of the small pieces as to the location of the original stele should be particularly noted.

“Most of the fragments of this inscription were found near the southeast corner of the Agora. The stele appears to have stood originally in front of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos, about opposite Pier 7 from the south, and to have been broken up after the Herulian invasion for use as building material in the Late Roman Fortification. A quantity of small fragments and chips from it (I 286 k through y) found all together in a filling of Roman times opposite Pier 7, and presumably left behind when the stele was broken up for building use, give a clue as to its original position (P 11).

“Some of the main fragments were used in the filling of the south tower of the gate of the Late Roman Fortification (Q 13; cited in earlier publications as Section

Iota, north tower). Other main fragments came from modern house walls in this neighborhood, no doubt extracted from the Late Roman Fortification; and a few were found in modern construction 100 m. and more to the north and west of the tower. One fragment, *I.G.*, II², 1960 (E.M. 564) is reported to have come from a considerable distance to the east, east of the Tower of the Winds."

The place of discovery of the other pieces from the Epigraphical Museum are given as follows: E.M. 5296 (*I.G.*, II², 991), Hadrian's Arch; E.M. 7605 (1032), Stoa of the Giants; E.M. 5238 (2453) and E.M. 7604 (1007), place not given; E.M. 5259 (1039, fgt. v), "ad Panagiam Pyrgiotissam, ut videtur," i. e. near the tower at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, but whether Kumanudes actually found this fragment with the 69-70 other pieces which Koehler put together as parts of *I.G.*, II², 1039, is quite uncertain.

The small pieces (Pl. 78) whose readings are given below can not be definitely placed.

I 286 m

ΟΥΣΚ

Α' Αλέξιδο[ς]

I 286 m is a puzzling fragment. The readings in line 2 suggest the name in the accusative case and the patronymic of Nikon, son of Alexis, of Berytos, the *paidotribes*, whose patronymic is known only from the Delphic inscription. In lines 39 and 137 of this inscription, the name is followed immediately by the ethnic. The only other place where his name can occur is in the citation at the end of Decree V. There the *omega* of the name is preserved, but spatial considerations and the fact that the patronymics of the teachers are not otherwise given in this inscription, exclude the readings of this fragment in that place. We must conclude that it is a part of the roster of names, in which case the doubtful *alpha* should with more probability be read doubtful *sigma*.

I 286 q

vac. 0.025 m.

NAB

The uninscribed space in line 1 of I 286 q makes it impossible for this piece to supply the missing letters in the citation of the *paidotribes*, Nikon of Berytos.

I 286 r

ΥΔΕΚ

ΑΛ

Α^v.

I 286 s

υ.

ΛΗΣΤ

I 286 t

^{v.v.} Α

ΗΣ

vac.

The uninscribed spaces before the *alpha* in line 1 of fragment I 286 t and the position of the two letters in line 2 would indicate the head of a column of names with the name of a tribe above it. The only *alpha* of a tribal name which is lacking is that of Antiochis. Fragment t does not belong there, however, because the letters of line 2 do not fit with the readings of line 248 and there is no uninscribed space in line 249 to correspond with that below the preserved letters of line 2 of this fragment.

I 286 v

ΗΔΡ

ΩΙΘ

I 286 w

ΗΘ

Ν

I 286 y

ΟΣ

All these pieces of Hymettian marble formed a large rectangular stele with a horizontal cavetto-crowned cyma reversa moulding on top, a part of which is preserved, comparable in general shape, magnitude and arrangement of inscription with *I.G.*, II², 1006, 1008, 1009 and 1011, all of the second century before Christ. Its height from top of moulding to bottom of lowest wreath can be closely estimated at 2.35 m., its width tapers from 0.65 m. under the moulding to 0.73 m. at line 144 and 0.75 m. at line 166. Its thickness varied from 0.175 m. at the top to 0.195 m. at the bottom. Its back and sides were rough-picked.

The line interval (center to center) is 0.011 m. to 0.013 m. in the body of the inscription, 0.009 m. to 0.01 m. between the names in Col. I of the catalogue, with somewhat wider spacing of lines in Cols. II and III.

The variation in size and spacing of letters has already been commented upon. Lines containing proper names are usually more widely spaced, as Meritt has pointed out, but capriciousness in size of letters and in spacing is found in other lines as well, as can be clearly seen by comparing διετήρησε[ν] near the beginning of line 88 with ἐκατόν in the line below it, μένους κοσμοῦ at the beginning of line 91, with ἡταῖς of the same word, and many other examples. Indeed it may be said that the writing is regularly irregular.

Hence the lines vary in length. Lines 1-14 contain 53 to 63.5 letter spaces (counting *iota* as one-half letter space); lines 15-28, where the readings are virtually complete, 65 to 73.5; lines 29-42 have 64 to 74, while line 43 counts 77.5 letter spaces. In Decree II, lines 78-99 have from 74 letters in line 85 to 84.5 in line 96. The average length of the restored lines in Decree III is 82 letters which conditions both the estimate of the extent of the *lacuna* in lines 113-114 and the length of line to be restored in Decree IV. Omitting the first and last lines, Decree V yields an average length of only 76.5 letters (preserved readings and restorations) in spite of the greater width of the lower part of the stele.

This inscription falls into the third of five fairly well established schemes of ephobic inscriptions in the period from the fourth through the first centuries before Christ.

I a. One or more general decrees honoring the ephebes and their teachers, especially the *sophronistes*, of a single tribe, followed by the roster of ephebes under deme captions. In *I.G.*, II², 1156 (334/3 B.C.) we find decrees by the boule, by the tribe, and by the people of Eleusis, where the ephebes had performed guard duty. *I.G.*, II², 1189 of the same year, but for another tribe, preserves only a decree of the Eleusinians. This decree or a similar one by the people of a place where the ephebes had been stationed was apparently not normative in this or in later schemes. A third example of this type is *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59-66, no. 8 (333/2 B.C.). The decree beginning in line 10 of Col. III, I should prefer to interpret as a tribal decree and, therefore, to supply *τοῖς φυλέταις* in place of *τοῖς λοχαγοῖς* not only because the heading states that the *sophronistes* was honored a) by the boule and demos and b) apparently also by the phyle, but also because of the analogy in *I.G.*, II², 1156. Furthermore there seems to be no parallel for the inclusion of a resolution of praise by groups other than political units.

I b. No honorary decrees. The roster of the ephebes of a single tribe under deme captions. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1918, p. 75, no. 95 (324/3 B.C.); *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 273-278 (ca. 330/29 B.C.) and *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 184-185, no. 91 (*fin. s. IV a.*) are of this kind. A variety of this type was the dedicatory inscription set up to honor the *sophronistes* of a single tribe, presumably by the ephebes of that tribe, such as we have in *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239 (333/2 B.C.) and *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942-51, p. 21, no. 24 (ca. 289/5 B.C.).

II. A general decree honoring the ephebes and their teachers, followed by the names of the ephebes of all tribes under separate deme captions with the name of the *sophronistes* under each tribal name.

The change in scheme was apparently in conformity with a decree of the first years of the third century which regulated the honor to be paid the ephebes and their officials, a fragment of which we have in *I.G.*, II², 556. It seems to have provided that the names of all ephebes of a given year be inscribed on one stone, that the name of the *sophronistes* be placed at the head of the roster of his tribe (line 13) and that an official (the *kosmetes* ?) be awarded a crown [— — — *στε*] *φανωσάτω αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος* [— — —] (line 12). The only inscription which shows all these features is *I.G.*, II², 478 (305/4 B.C.). The name of the *sophronistes* was preceded by the abbreviation *Σω* which is preserved in Col. III, line 33 and which Sundwall correctly equated with "sophronistes."

With declining numbers of ephebes, the *sophronistai* for individual tribes were dropped and their titles and names disappear from the inscriptions (first in *I.G.*, II², 665 of 268/7 B.C.), and the ephebes were no longer listed under deme headings (*I.G.*, II², 681 of the year 249/8 B.C.). The type, however, remains distinctive: one general honorary decree followed by the names of the ephebes of all tribes.

III. Two decrees, one general, honoring the ephebes and their teachers followed

by citations for the *kosmetes* and the ephebes, the other, honoring the *kosmetes* alone. The catalogue of all ephebes by tribes follows. Below this are given the citations for the individual teachers. Although not complete, *I.G.*, II², 1027 (174/3 B.C.) seems to be the first of this category. The normative form from this time until the latter part of the first century can be seen complete in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 198-201, no. 40 (171/0 B.C.); *I.G.*, II², 1006 (122/1 B.C.) and 1008 (118/7 B.C.). The distinctive features are two honorary decrees (excluding an adventitious third by the people of Salamis or Eleusis), the list of all ephebes by tribes, and the placement of the citations.

The inscription Agora I 286 introduces a change in the pattern by the addition of two decrees, III and IV. The opening words of Decree III, *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφήβων*, and the preserved readings demonstrate its kinship with Decree IV of *I.G.*, II², 1011 (107/6 B.C.). Decrees IV and V in *I.G.*, II², 1011 are a pair of decrees identical in length, language and content, proposed by the same man, the first, in the month of Gamelion in an *ἐκκλησία κυρία*, the second, in Thargelion in a called assembly of the same year. Kirchner described them as decrees "in honor of the ephebes and of the *kosmetes*," but their content belies this description as well as the fact that the ephebes were honored in Decree I and the *kosmetes* in Decree II. Without detailed analysis, one may say that these decrees are clearly the formal and official acceptance of the report of the *kosmetes* regarding the sacrifices which he and the ephebes under him had offered for the well-being of the state. The assumption that Decree IV of Agora I 286 forms a similar pair with Decree III is supported by the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 1011, which is the only other inscription exhibiting this innovation, by the preserved readings, and by the spatial relations of the fragments which permit restorations in accordance with this assumption. The variation of language in the closing lines of Decree IV, lines 126-127 from that of Decree III, lines 112-114 of Agora I 286 is to be accounted for by the additional statement concerning the dedication of a phiale in Decree IV. The recognition of this offering is found in both decrees in *I.G.*, II², 1011 and is a stock part of the "acceptance decree" found in the inscriptions of the next category. The problem posed by two almost identical decrees separated by a few months' interval in the year of the ephebes' service can not be discussed here.

IV. Although the inscriptions of the first century, all dating from after Sulla's visit to Athens, reveal several modifications in the administration of the ephebia, the form of the inscription is modified in only one respect. An "acceptance decree" is added to the general decree and the decree honoring the *kosmetes*. Its content and formulae parallel the pairs of decrees in Agora I 286 and in *I.G.*, II², 1011. This "acceptance decree" is the first of the three decrees in *I.G.*, II², 1039 (83-73 B.C.); 1042 (*ca.* 41/0 B.C.) and 1043 (39/8 B.C.). *I.G.*, II², 1041 (47/6-43/2 B.C.) and *I.G.*, II², 1040 plus 1025, the concluding portion of 1040 (21/0 B.C.) preserve fragments of the general decree only.

V. With *I.G.*, II², 1963 (13/2 B.C.) the inscriptional records of the ephebes assumed a form which in its essentials they retained throughout the Imperial Period. They contain no honorary decrees and are apparently set up at private expense, as many of them specifically indicate. After the superscription ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ and the dating by archon, the officials and teachers, sometimes also those who had borne the expenses of the gymnasium, the victors and *agonothetai* of various contests are named. There follows the catalogue of all ephebes, usually under tribal captions.

I

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 53-74

- 127/6 Ἐπὶ Θεοδ[ωρίδου ἀρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγε[ίδος τρίτης πρυτανείας] ἡ Σωσικρά^υ
της Εὐφρο[νίου Θριάσιος ἐργ]αμμάτευ[εν· Βοηδρομιῶνος πένπτ]η ἰσταμένου
πένπτη τῇ[ς π]ρυτ[α]νείας· ἐκκλη[σ]ία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προ[έ]δρων ἐπε
ψήφισεν Ἀνδρόνικος [Ἀνδρονίκου Βουτάδης· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ·] νασαί
- 5 Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρ[ίτου Ἀζηγιεύς] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἔφηβέ[σ]αντες ἐπὶ^υ
Διονυσίου ἀρχοντος θ[ύσαντες ταῖς ἐγγραφαῖς τὰ εἰσιτήρια] ἐν τῷ πρυ
τανείῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῇ[ς ἐστίας μετὰ τε τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱε]ρέως τοῦ
δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρ[ί]των [ἡκολούθουν τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμ]ασι· διετέ
λεσαν δὲ πειθαρχοῦν[τες τῷ κοσμητῇ καὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις· ἔθυσ]αν δὲ καὶ τὰς
- 10 θυσίας ἀπάσας τοῖς θε[οῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις· ἐποίησαντο δὲ] καὶ τὴν ἀπά[ν]
τησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ π[ροέ]πειψαν αὐτά· ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς β[ε]βήκοις δι' ἑαυτ[ῶν]
τοῖς Μυστηρίοις ὡσαύ[τως ἐν Ἑλευσίνι· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δρ]όμους π[άν]
τας εὐσχημόνως τοὺς τ[ε] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τὰς λαντά[δας] ἔ[δρα]
[μον καὶ] τὰς ποιπὰς ἐπόντ[ε]υσαν κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου θε[ῶν]
- 15 οἷς· εἰσ[ήγαγον] δὲ καὶ τὸν Δ[ιόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆ]ς ἐσχάρας κ[αὶ εὐσεβῶς τὴν ἑαυ]τῶν φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ[ο]
δεικνύμενοι ταῦρον [ἐπείψαν καὶ ἔθυσαν τῷ] θεῷ ὥς ὅτι μά[λιστα εὐπρεπέ]στατα· ἐποίησαντο δὲ κ[αὶ]
μελέτην ἐν τοῖς ὄπλο[ις καὶ ἀπεδείξαντο] ἐν τε τοῖς Θεσεί[οις καὶ ἄλλ]ως κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ^υ
ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπ[οίησαντο δὲ κα]ὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τ[ὴν εἰς Δελ]φούς ἀξίως ἑκατέρων τῶν πόλε
ων εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐσχημ[όνως] ἀνασ[τρ]αφέντες· ἐλειτούργ[ησαν δὲ] καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσαις εὐ^υ
- 20 σεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν [ἐν]λείπον[τες] τῶν ἀναγκαίων κα[ὶ ἐστ]εφανώθησαν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφά^υ
[ν]ωι ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ κοσμητ[ὴς] καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτῶν· ἐποίησα[ντ]ο δὲ καὶ τὸν εἰς Σαλαμίνα
πλοῦν^υ
ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντ[είων]· ἔθυσάν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου [τῷ] Διὶ καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπόνπενυσαν
καὶ ἔθυσαν τῷ Αἴαντι κα[ὶ τῷ] Ἀσκληπιῷ· ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν [λα]μπάδα καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως·^υ
[ἔ]θυσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρ[ων] καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς κατέχουσ[ιν] τὴν Ἀττικὴν· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς^υ
- 25 [Πει]ραίοις τῷ Διονύσῳ [καὶ] εἰσήγαγον τὸν θεὸν παρακ[αθί]σαντες ἐν τῷ Πειραεῖ ἡμέρ[α]ς^υ
[τέτταρ]ας εὐτάκτως·^υ ἐ[λει]τούργησαν δὲ καὶ ταῖς σε[μναῖ]ς θεαῖς ἀνεγκλήτως· [παρήδρεν]
[σαν δὲ καὶ ταῖς] ἐκκλησ[ία]ις ἀπάσαις ἐν τοῖς ὄπλο[ις εὐσχ]ημόνως· ἀνέθηκαν δ[ὲ] καὶ φιάλην
[τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θ]εῶν κα[τὰ] τὸ ψήφισμα ἀπὸ δρ[αχμῶν ἑκατ]όν· συνετήρησαν δ[ὲ] καὶ τὴν πρὸς]
[ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν κα]ὶ φιλίαν ἐν ὅλῳ [τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ· ὅπως οὖν ἡ τε βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνονται]
- 30 [τιμῶντες τοὺς πειθαρχοῦντας τ]οῖς τ[ε] νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν^υ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχ[θαι]
[θαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λαχόντας προ]έδρου[ς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ]
[τούτων· γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλε]σθαι τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινεῖσαι]
[τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Διον]υσίου ἄ[ρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς]
[χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ εὐσεβείας ἐν]εκεν [ἧς ἔχοντες διατετελέκασιν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς]
- 35 [εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φι]λοτιμ[ίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνεί]

- [πείν τὸν στ]έφα[νον τοῦτον Διονυσί]ων τε [τῶν ἐν ἄστει τῷ καινῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἑ]
 [λευσινίων κα]ὶ Πτολεμαίω[ν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶ]σιν· τῆς δ[ὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπὶ]
 [μεληθῆνα]ι τοὺς στρατηγ[οὺς] καὶ τὸν [ταμίαν τῶν] στρατιω[τικῶν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους]
 [αὐτῶν τόν] τε παιδοτρ[ίβην Νί]κωνα Βηρύτιον καὶ τὸν ὁ[πλομάχον Σωτάδην Σολέα καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν]
 40 [Νίκανδρον Εὐών]υμ[έα κ]αὶ τὸν τοξότην Πυσ[τίλον Ὁ]θήθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Πεδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων]
 [καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Θαρ]ρίνον Λανπ<τ>ρέα καὶ τὸ [ν ὑπηρέτην Ἰέρωνα Ἀναγυράσιον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε]
 [τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα] τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί[αν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν]
 [ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθε]σιν τῆς στήλης τ[ὸ γεγνημένον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.]

One line uninscribed

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|--|----|--|--|
| 45 | [ἡ βουλῇ]
ὁ δῆμος
<i>In an ivy</i>
<i>wreath</i>
τὸν
κοσμητὴν
Ἀπολλώνιον | [ἡ βουλῇ] ἡ ὁ δῆμος
[τὸν κο]σμητὴν
<i>In a golden</i>
<i>wreath</i> | [ἡ βουλῇ]
ὁ δῆμος
<i>In an ivy</i>
<i>wreath</i>
[τὸν]
κοσμητὴν | 60 | [ὁ δῆμος ὁ]
[Σαλαμινίων]
<i>In a golden</i>
<i>wreath</i>
[τοὺς ἐφῆ]
[βους καὶ τὸν]
[κοσμητὴν] | [ἡ βουλῇ]
ὁ δῆμος
<i>In a golden</i>
<i>wreath</i>
[τὸν]
κοσμητὴν |
| 50 | Σουνιέα
καὶ τοὺς
ἐφῆβους | 55 [καὶ τοὺς]
ἐφῆβ[ους] | 60 [Ἀπολλώνιον]
[Σουνιέα]
[καὶ τοὺς]
[ἐφῆβους] | 70 | [Ἀπολλώνιον]
[Σουνιέα] | 75 [Ἀπολλώνιον]
[Σουν]ιέα |

II

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 74-85

- 127/6 Ἐπὶ Θεοδω[ρίδου ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Α[ιγείδος τρίτης πρυτανείας] ἡ [Σωσικράτης Εὐφρονίου] Θριάσιος
 ἔγραμμά
 τευεν· Βοη[δρομ]ῶνος τετράδι με[τ' εἰκάδας κατ' ἄρχοντα κατὰ] θεὸν [δὲ .ca. 7... μετ' εἰκάδα]ς
 τετάρτη καὶ ε[ἰ]
 80 κοστῇ τῆς [πρυτ]ανείας· ἐκκλη[σία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐ]πε[ψήφισεν ... ca. 10...]ης
 Ἐράτωνος [Εὐ]
 πυρίδης καὶ [συνπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ] ca. 25 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀ[πολλώνιος
 Σο[υνι]
 εὖς χειροτον[ῆθαι κοσμητῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφῆβους εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχον]τος τοῦ μετὰ Λυ
 κίσκου ἤρξεν τὴν [ἀρχὴν κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δή]μου πρ[οέστη δὲ κ]αὶ τῆς εὐταξίας
 τῶν ἐφῆβων καὶ τ[ῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν γενομένης ἐπιστασίας ἐπεμ]ελήθη· ἔ[θυσεν δὲ κ]αὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπά
 85 σας μετ' αὐτῶν τ[οῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις· ἐποήσατο δὲ κ]αὶ τὴν ἀποδ[ημίαν] μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Δ[ελ]
 φους ἀξίως ἐκατέ[ρων τῶν πόλεων εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐσχημόνως ἀναστρ]αφείς· ἔλειτ[ούργ]ησεν δὲ καὶ ἐν
 ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσα[ις εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν ἐνλείπων τῶν ἀναγκ]αίων καὶ ἐστ[εφάνωθη τῷ τοῦ
 θεοῦ]
 στεφάνῳ· διετήρησε[ν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλί]αν δι' ὅλου το[ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὄντας τὸν]
 ἀριθμὸν ἑκατὸν ἐπτά [καὶ πάντας διεφύλαξεν· ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἐ]φηβοὶ χρυσῷ στ[εφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσαν]
 90 ἀποδεικνύμενοι τῇ[ν γεγονυῖαν εἰς αὐτοὺς δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὖνοι]αν· ὅπως ἐφάμλ[λον ἦ τοῖς καθιστα]
 μένοις κοσμηταῖς δικ[αίως καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διεξάγειν καὶ ἐκε]ῖνοι τοῦτο πράττ[ωσιν ὅπως τιμῶνται]
 καταξίως ὑπὸ τῆς β[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους·] ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δ[εδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λα]
 χόντας προέδρους [εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ το]ύτων· γνώμ[ην δὲ συνβάλλεσθαι τῆς
 βου]
 λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν κοσμητὴν τῶν ἐ]φῆβων [Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀπολλωνίου
 Σουνι]
 95 ἑα καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμ]ον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κ[αὶ δικαιοσύνης ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ]
 πρ[ὸς τοὺς] ἐφῆβους κα[ὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνεπιεί]ν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον Διον[υσίων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστει
 καινοῖς τρα]
 [γ]ῳδοῖς καὶ Παναθηναί[ων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ] Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς [ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύ-
 σεως τοῦ στε

- φάνον ἐπιμεληθῆναι το[ὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τ]ὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ
ψήφισμα τὸν]
γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ[τανείαν εἰς στή]λην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορ[ᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ
τὴν ἀνά]
100 θεσιν τῆς στήλης τὸ γενό[μενον ἀν]άλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν [στρατιωτικῶν.]
Two lines uninscribed

III

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 82

- 128/7 Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ με<τὰ> Λυκίσ[κον ἐπὶ τῇ]ς Ἱπποθ[ων]τ[ί]δ[ος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἡ]
.....^{ca. 11}... νος Κεφα]
λῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαι[στ ...^{ca. 6}...]Ἀ[...^{ca. 12}...]ε[ος κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ
Μητρώιον]
105 κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφ[ήττιος εἶπεν ...^{ca. 12}... Ἐλαφῆ]βο[λι]ῶνος
δ[εκάτ]ει ὑστέραι μ[ιᾷ]
καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία[ι] ἐν [τῷ θεάτρῳ ...^{ca. 17}...]υ Βερενικίδ[ης εἶπ]εν·
ὑπ[ὲρ ὧν] ἀπα[γ]
γέ[λ](<λ>ει ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφήβων Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀ[πολλωνίου Σουνιεύς ὑπὲρ τῇ]ς θυσίας ἧς ἔθυσ[εν
ἐν τῇ π]ομπῇ *vacat*
μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων τῷ τε Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλ[λοις θεοῖς· δεδόχθαι ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ τῷ δήμῳ τ[ὰ μὲν
ἀγ]αθὰ δέχεσθαι[ι]
τὰ γεγρονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυν ἐφ' [ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε β]ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμ[ου καὶ π]αίδων
καὶ γυναι[κ]
110 κῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμ[άχων τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν] Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀπ[ολλωνίου]υ
Σουνιέα καὶ
[τοῦ]ς ἐφήβους καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι αὐτοὺς κιττοῦ στεφάνῳ εὐσεβείας] ἔν[εκ]εν [τ]ῆς π[ρὸς τοὺς θ]εοὺς
καὶ φιλοτιμ[ί]
ας τῆς πρὸς [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ
π]ρυτανείαν ἐν
[στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης μερί]σαι τὸν ἐπὶ
τεῖ δ[ι]
[οικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα. *vacat*] *vacat*

115 *One line uninscribed*

IV

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- 128/7 [Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄ]ρχο[ντος τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἐπὶ τῆς ...^{ca. 8}... δεκάτης πρυτανείας ἡ ...^{ca. 11}...]
νος Κε □
[φαλῆθεν ἐγραμ]μά[τευεν· ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαιστ ...^{ca. 24}...ιως κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ
τὸ] Μητρώιον
[κατὰ τὸ ψήφ]ισμα [ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφ[ήττιος εἶπεν· Μουνιχιῶνος τετραδὶ ἱσταμένου τετά]ρτει
τῆς
[πρυτανεί]ας· τ[ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ...^{ca. 24}... καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ
δῇ]μῳ· Χαρ
120 [...^{ca. 7}...]ΓΑ[...^{ca. 13}... εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητὴς ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας τῷ τε
Διονύσῳ καὶ τ]οῖς ἄ[λ]
[λοις θεοῖς ἧς ἔθυσεν μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἃ
ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ]
[κοσμητὴς γεγρονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυν ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ
παίδων]
[καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν

Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀπολ]

- [λωνίου Σουινία καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ]
 125 [τὸν δὴ]μον κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι κιττοῦ στεφάνωι ἐπειδὴ αἰρούμενοι προνοῆσαι μὲν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας πε]
 [ρι]στέλλαι δὲ τὸ [ἱερὸν τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀνατεθείκασιν τῇ θεῷ φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα]
 πρὸς πάντας ἀ[ποδεικνύμενοι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγοραῖ.
vacat]

One line uninscribed.

V

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 77

- Δάμων Σίμου [Σο]υ[εὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐφήβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκον παραγενό]
 130 μενοι ἐπὶ τὴν πομ[πὴν καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντείων καὶ ἔθυσαν τῷ Αἴαντι· ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν]
 τῷ ἀγῶνι ἄμ[ιλλαν τοῖς πλοίοις· ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως· ὅπως οὖν ἀπάντων]
 τούτων ὑπά[ρχηι αὐτοῖς ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι]
 τοὺς ἐφήβου[ς τοὺς ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετ]ὰ Δ[υκίσκον καὶ τὸν κοσμ]ητῆ[ν] Ἀ[πο]λλ[ώνιον Ἀπολλωνί]
 ου Σουινία κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῷ στεφά]νωι κ[ατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἀνε]ιπεῖν τὸν στέφανον
 τοῦτο[ν Διονυ]
 135 σίων τῶν ἐν [Σαλαμῖνι τραγιδῶν τῷ καινῷ ἀγῶνι· τ]ῆς δ[ὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ σ]τεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως [v]
 ἐπιμεληθ[ῆναι τὸν τε στρατ]ηγὸν [καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμε]λη[τάς· ἐπαινέσαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς παιδευτὰς αὐτῶν τὸν τε παιδοτρίβ[ην Νίκων]α Βηρύτιον κ[αὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχον Σωτάδην Σο]λέα καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Νίκανδρον ὁ
 Εὐωνυμ[έα καὶ τὸ]ν τοξότην Πυσ[τίλον Ὀῦθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Π]εδιά εκ Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν γραμμα
 τέα Θαρ[ρίνον Δ]αμπτρέα καὶ τὸν [ὑπηρέτην Ἰέρωνα Ἀναγυρά]σιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλ
 140 λου στεφά[νωι·] ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δ]ήμου εἰς <σ>τήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι <ε>ν τῷ
 τεμένει τοῦ Αἴαντος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς σ]τήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰ[ς]
 τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποτεταγμένων [τῷ δήμῳ.] *vacat*

One line uninscribed

ΟΙ ΕΦΗΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΙ [ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟ]Σ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟ[N]

Three lines uninscribed

Ἐρεχθίδος

194

[Οἰνείδος]

231

Αἰαντίδος

Τιμοκλῆς Δημοκλείδου Κηφισεύ[ς]

150 Πλειστίας Διονυσίου Κηφισιεύς

Ἐπικράτης Τίμωνος ἐκ Κηδῶν

Αἰγείδος

Λυσίμαχος Φιλοξένου Φιλαί[δης]

Σώφιλος Σωφίλου Ἐρικεε[ύς]

155 Μηνόδωρος Διογένην Ἐ[ρικεεύς]

Φίλων Σωφίλου Κολλυτ[εύς]

Πύρρος Δημοκλείδου Τ[ειθράσιος]

Σωτάδας Σωτάδου Φι[λαίδης]

Στησαγόρας Εὐμήλο[υ Φιλαί]δη[ς]

*Thirteen lines
missing*

----- ΝΕΜ-----

[-----ca. 9-----] Λευκί[ου -----]

[-----ca. 9-----] ος Τρικο[ρύσιος]

235

[Χαρμίδης Π]αραμόνου Τρι[κορύσιος]

[-----ca. 9-----] [οδότου] Μαραθῶνι[ος]

[Διόφαντος Δημη]τρίου Μαραθῶνιο[ς]

[-----ca. 9-----] Διον[υσίου] Μαραθ[ώνιος]

239

[-----ca. 8-----] Μο[ιραγένου -----]

160 Καλλίστρατος Ἀριστ[. . .]ν Ἐρικεύ[ς]
Πανδιονίδο[ς]

Χάρης Χάρητος Παιανιεύς

Ἀπολλοφάνης Ληναί[ου] Κυδαθηναίεύς

Κάστωρ Ἀρχίππου Κυδαθηναίεύς

165 Καλλίμαχος Καλλιμ[ά]χου Παιαν[ιεύς]
Θάρσανδρος Νικοστ[ράτου] Πα[ια]νιεύς

Δημήτριος Μητρο[δώρου] Π[αι]ανιεύς

Σωφά[ι]νης Δημοκράτου Παιανιεύς

Λεωντίδης

170 Μηνόδωρος Ἡρακλείδου Κολωνήθεν

Νικίας Εὐφημίδου Κρωπιδῆς

Ἀγέλαος Ἀγελάου ἐξ Οἴου

Πολυαίνετος Ἀμύκλου Σκαμβονίδης

Ἀπολλόδοτος Σθενίου Κήττιος

175 Τιμοκράτης Ἀλεξάνδρου Ποτάμιος

Αἰσχύλος Αἰσχύλου Ὑβάδης

Σωσίβιος Τέλωνος Ὑβάδης

Πι[ο]λεμαΐδης

Διοσκουρ[ίδ]ης Ἀριστοκλέου Φλυεύς

180 Ἀθηναγόρ[α]ς Πυρρίνου Κυδα[ντίδ]ης

Νέων Φιλοκράτου Οἰναῖος

Θεοκλῆς Εὐθυκλέους Βερενικίδης

Νικοκλῆς Δημητρίου Φλυεύς

Φιλωνίδης Ἀριστομένους Προσπάλτιος

185 Εὐμαχίδης Ἀριστάνδρου Ἐκαλήθ(ε)ν

Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Προσπάλτιος

Ἀκαμαντίδης

Τιμοκράτης Θεοδώρου Χολα<ρ>γεύς

Θεόδωρος Διονυσίου Κεφαλήθεν

190 Μενεκράτης Λυκόφρονος Χολ[αργεύς]

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Αὐτοκλέους Θε[ο]ρίκιος

Εὐνικίδης Δημητρίου Εἰτε[αῖος]

Στρατόνικος Θεογένου Ἐρ[μειος]

267 One line uninscribed

ἡ βουλή

ὁ δῆμος

[ἡ βουλή]

[ὁ δῆμος]

[ἡ βουλή]

[ὁ δῆμος]

285 [ἡ βουλή]

[ὁ δῆμος]

Citations in olive wreaths

270 τὸν παιδοτ[ρί]

[βην Νίκ]ω[να]

[Βηρύτιον]

275 [τόν ὄπλο]

[μάχον]

Σωτάδη[ν]

Σολέα

[τὸν ἀκοντισ]

[τὴν Νίκαν]

[δρον Εὐω]

[νυμέα]

[τὸν τοξότην]

Μ[υστίλον]

[Ὁθήθεν]

290 [ἡ βουλή]

ὁ δῆμο[ς]

τὸν ἀφέτην

Πεδιέα

ἐκ Κεραμέων

295 [ἡ βουλή]

[ἡ δῆμος]

[τὸν γραμμα]

[τέα Θαρρή]

[νον Λανπ]

300 [τρέα]

301 [ἡ βουλή]

[ὁ δῆ]μος

τὸν ὑπηρέτην

Ἰέρωνα

305 Ἀναγυράσιον

About three
lines missing

243 [---ca. 8---]ΓΟ[-----]

[Διονύσιος] Διογ[έν]ου [-----]

245 [---ca. 7---]Ν[ικοκλέους] Πα[μνούσιος]

[---ca. 8---]ος Διογνήτου Παμ[νούσιος]

[Ἀ]ντιοχίδης

[---ca. 6---]αρχος Μηνοδότ[ον] [-----]

[Φίλων Φί]λωνος Παλ[ληνέως]

250 [---ca. 6---]ος Εὐανδρ[-----]

Ἀτταλί[δος]

[Πυθίλ]ας Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ον [-----]

[Ἀχαιὸ]ς Ἀπ[ολλοδώρου] [-----]

About thirteen
lines missing

Five lines
missing

The readings of the new pieces have been incorporated in the text. The placement of these fragments in relation to the pieces already published is presented in sequence.

I 989 c with new attached fragment Σ 1299 d (consisting of two joined pieces), lines 3-10 *init*:

Line 4: The reading Ἀνδρόνικος introduces a dilemma. Fifty letter spaces are accounted for: 16 are read, 25 more are needed for the necessary formula at this point, a space of 0.10 m. (= *ca.* 9 letters) at the end of the line is uninscribed. Since the average number of letters in the first 12 lines (excluding line 4) is 56.5, only 6.5 letter spaces at most are available for both patronymic and demotic. "At most," because the blank space at the end of the line precludes crowding, and the best measurements that can be made on the assembled fragments allow no more. Only the shortest of patronymics or demotics, not both, can be restored. If we assume that the demotic was inadvertently dropped, the patronymic Λυσίου might be supplied from a possible remote ancestor Ἀνδρόνικος Λυσίου (*I.G.*, II², 2385, line 59 in a catalogue of Kekrops, middle of the fourth century). More probably the phrase καὶ συνπρόεδροι was dropped. On that assumption Ἀ. Ἀνδρονίκου Βουτάδης who is known to have been *epimeletes ca.* 130-120 B.C. (*I. G.*, II², 1939, line 47) is a very likely identification.

Line 5: The orator of the decree, Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρίτου is perhaps identical with Π. Π. Ἀζηριεύς, ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν in a catalogue of officials which Peek places *ca.* 200-150 B.C. (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942-51, p. 23, no. 25, line 6) and the grandfather of Π. Π. Ἀ., *epimeletes* of Delos, *ca.* 50/49 B.C., *P.A.* 12, 107. Roussel (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 357, no. 474) identifies the *epimeletes* of Delos with the praetor (ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα) in Cicero, *ad Att.*, 5, 11; *P.A.* 12, 106. Of the same family are Πολύκριτος Πολυχάρμου Ἀ. (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 61, 62, 63, 64 of 25/4-2/1 B.C.) and his son Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρίτου Ἀ. (Graindor, *Chronologie*, 57 and 59; *I.G.*, II², 3120 of the Augustan Age) who is probably the same man as the homonymous individual named in an honorary inscription also of the Augustan Age, *I.G.*, II², 3904.

Line 8: Dow and Meritt read the final letter after the break as *epsilon*, and Meritt restored [ἐδήλωσαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αἴρ]εσιν, the last word doubtless suggested by κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου προαίρεσιν in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 170-171, no. 67, lines 9-10 of the year 116/5 B.C. (the upper part of *I.G.*, II², 1009) which occurs at the same point in the decree, and its use, but in different connections, in *I.G.*, II², 1006, lines 33 and 59. But the letter should be read *alpha* cut over an *epsilon* or *sigma*, one of a number of corrections in this inscription,—*epsilon* cut over *rho* in the first letter of ἐστ[εφανώθη] in line 87, in addition to the corrections of this kind and the corrections *in rasura* already noted by Dow and Meritt. The peak of the *alpha* is somewhat above the upper line level, traces of the broken cross-bar and the fore-shortened right slanted stroke ending in mid-line, like the *alpha* in ἵσταμένον in line 2, can be seen. The restoration expresses the idea frequently associated with the sacri-

fices offered ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας, that of obedience to the laws and the decrees of the people, *I.G.*, II², 1006, line 8; 1011, line 7; 1028, lines 74-75 and *passim*.

Lines 9 and 38: I restore διδάσκαλοι rather than παιδευταί because of the reading of the former in line 21.

Line 11 *fin*: The reading εἰαντ[ῶν] was suggested by Wilhelm to Meritt who passed it on to me.

Two other suggestions of Wilhelm which Meritt communicated to me I have not adopted: line 15 *med.*, ἐν πᾶσιν for Meritt's προσέτι and line 17, [φιλοτίμ]ως for Meritt's [καὶ ἄλλ]ως. In the former, I have preferred to restore εὐσεβῶς because, of the adverbs customarily used in this connection (εὐσχημόνως *I.G.*, II², 1029, line 9; 1006, line 14; 1028, line 13; εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως 1009, line 38; 1006, line 14; cf. 1011, lines 13-14, ὑπόδειγμα κατ[αλι]πόντες τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσε[βε]ίας) it best fits the available space. In the latter, Meritt's reading seems to me better, because the ephebes were enjoined by law to make a display under arms not only at the Theseia, but on other occasions and at other places as well.

Three specific occasions prescribed by law for an ἀπόδειξις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις are recognized by the inscriptions of the second and early part of the first century, at the Theseia and Epitaphia, which are usually coupled, and the final review before the boule at the conclusion of the year's service. Separate mention is usually made of the displays at the festivals and before the boule (*I.G.*, II², 1006, lines 23, 33; 1008, lines 17, 30; 1028, lines 20, 42; 1029, lines 13, 25; 1030, lines 19, 37). *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 170-171, no. 67, line 28 groups them, "They made a display in arms at the Theseia, the Epitaphia and before the boule." *I.G.*, II², 1011, lines 21-22, καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποίησαντο ἐν τῷ πα....⁹..... τῇ βουλῇ, seems to point to an exhibition before the boule other than the final review.

These ἀποδείξεις must be distinguished from the armor race, δρόμος ἐν ὅπλοις, the attendance as an honor guard at sessions of the ekklesia, ἐφεδρεύειν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐν ὅπλοις, the armed escort of deities and heroes in parade, προέμπειν ἐν ὅπλοις, the armed marches in Attica, ἐξέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐν ὅπλοις and αἱ ὑπαντήσεις τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ εὐεργέταις ἐν ὅπλοις.

I 286 e to which is attached the new fragment Σ 1299 s, lines 22-29 *med*:

This fragment resolves the "hitherto enigmatic" letters, βλ (Dow) and rightly οδ (Meritt) at the bottom of E, line 28 *med.*, but they are parts of the phrase ἀπὸ δρ[αχμῶν] not of the name Theodorides and the restoration of ἑκατόν is therefore certain.

A reference to the decree of Theodorides in connection with the dedication of a phiale to the Mother of the Gods would not be possible in any case, since Dioskourides, son of Dioskourides, of Phygaia was responsible for that decree while Theodorides proposed the decree which provided for the contribution of a hundred books to a

library, as is clear from *I.G.*, II², 1030, lines 35-37; 1029, line 24; 1028, lines 40-41. In *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 171, no. 67, lines 30-32, the dedication of a phiale and the contribution of books are connected, but the decree of Theodorides was concerned only with the second. Apparently between 127/6 and 95/4 B.C., Metrophanes sponsored a decree which provided that the ephebes place books in the Ptolemaion also, *I.G.*, II², 1029, lines 25-26; 1041, line 23; 1043, line 50.

I 286 l, lines 30-36 *med*:

Although small, this fragment bridges the *lacuna* in Decree I and fixes it at six lines. Its readings align perfectly with the sequence expected after line 29 and dovetail into the first-line reading of I 286 k, which in turn comes within three letters of linking up with I 286 g, now attached to the piece published as E² without a number, but which is now designated I 286 j. I 286 g was originally glued to E², but had become separated from it before Meritt's reading.

I 286 k, lines 36-40 *init*:

This small piece does not join with any other, but with I 286 l and Σ 1299 g fixes the lateral position of E² and confirms the restorations at the beginnings of lines 36-40.

It should be noted that one line is blank between the end of Decree I and the citations.

This is the earliest inscription honoring the ephebes and the *kosmetes* with five wreaths. The first full citations in *I.G.*, II², 665 (268/7 B.C.) are not in wreaths. The customary number before this inscription seems to have been three (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 5-7, which is a restoration of *I.G.*, II², 766 with new fragments from the Agora of 244/3 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 190-193, no. 37 of 220/19 B.C. and in the same volume, pp. 198-201, no. 40 of 171/0 B.C.). *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 193-197, no. 38 of 286/5 B.C. and *I.G.*, II², 1027 of 174/3 B.C. have only one wreath preserved, but its position is such in both cases as to suggest that there were two others. Part of a *thallos* wreath is preserved in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 79, no. 12, with a date probably early in the third century, but it doubtless enclosed the citation of a teacher whose wreaths were commonly of *thallos*.

Each of the wreaths here as in *I.G.*, II², 1011, corresponds to one of the decrees. Meritt noted the parallelism of Decrees III and IV of this inscription with IV and V of *I.G.*, II², 1011, and in consequence suggested that here too, ivy crowns were voted in recognition of the sacrifices performed by the ephebes and the *kosmetes* in behalf of the state. One of these is the first at the extreme left. The second wreath from the left and the wreath at the far right partially preserve golden leaves (differentiated from the ivy and the olive by stiff ray-like petals) and represent respectively the crowns voted the ephebes in Decree I and the *kosmetes* in Decree II. For the ephebes only are mentioned within wreath two, and the *kosmetes* alone within the wreath at the extreme right (to judge from the spacing of the preserved letters and part of the

wreath). The sequence of wreaths in *I.G.*, II², 1011 and 1028 indicates that the other ivy wreath for the *kosmetes* and the ephebes jointly came third and the golden crown voted by the Salaminians in Decree V was represented in fourth place. The use of five wreaths in *I.G.*, II², 1006 and 1008, although the stones record only three decrees, the general decree, the decree honoring the *kosmetes*, and an honorary decree of the Salaminians, plausibly leads to the conclusion that the two decrees corresponding to III and IV of this inscription, which I have called "acceptance decrees," had been duly passed, but had not been inscribed upon the stones.

I 286 n, lines 78-80 *med*:

The reading *θεόν* in line 2 of this fragment makes it unlikely that it is a part of the list of names. The blank space of at least a line's width above the readings of line 1 suggests that it may then be from the first lines of a decree, in which case *θεόν* points directly to Decree II, in which the preserved readings indicate double dating. Assuming the restoration of line 79 up to *θεόν* to be correct, the position of *πε* line 3 of the fragment, would make the readings of line 80 up to this point too long by approximately three letters. Now Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, p. 77 have pointed out that the restoration of *ἐκκλησία κυρία* in Decree I, line 3 and II, line 80 both in the same prytany can not be correct, and propose a calendar equation which would permit the restorations to stand if *κυρία* is dropped in one of the decrees. The discrepancy in line lengths would indicate that it should be omitted here.

Meritt has kindly communicated to me the suggestions of Tod (by letter) of *ὄντας* for the previous restoration *ὄντων* (line 88 *fin.*), and of Stamires,—*γεγονυῖαν* for *γεγονέαν* (line 90 *init.*) and *πράττ[ωσιν]* for *πράττ[οντες]* (line 91 *fin.*), all of which I have adopted.

I 286 p, in the first half of lines 116-120:

The placement of this small piece yielding 2-3 letters of five consecutive lines in Decree IV is doubtful. If it is not a fragment of names, it may well fit here, since the sequence of letters agrees only here with the restorations we should expect. If correctly placed, the last line gives two letters of the patronymic of the man who moved the decree. The proposer of the parallel decrees in *I.G.*, II², 1011 was the same individual. If that was true in this case, we could combine line 106 *fin.*, [...^{ca. 17}.....] *υ* *Βερενικίδ[ης]* and lines 119-120, *Χαρ*[...^{ca. 7}...] *γα* [...^{ca. 18}.....] to make one name. Since syllabic division is regularly followed, the second syllable of the name must begin with a consonant. *Χαρμίδης Ἀγαθαίου Βερενικίδης* would most adequately meet the requirements of space and readings, but the name is not attested.

The language of Decrees III and IV should be much alike according to the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 1011. But lines 125-126, [— . .] *στεῖλαι δὲ το* [— —], is difficult to parallel anywhere. The restoration assumes that the words, [*περι*] *στεῖλαι δὲ το* [*ιέρων*] are synonymous with *ἐπικοσμεῖν τὸν ναόν* in *I.G.*, II², 1011, lines 71, 80.

Demosthenes (XXXVI, 47) employed the expression, *ταῦτα* (referring to citizenship) *κοσμεῖν καὶ περιστέλλειν*.

The general honorary decree of *I.G.*, II², 1011, lines 12-13, records that the ephebes of 107/6 B.C. dedicated three phialai valued at 100 drachmai each to Dionysos in Athens, Dionysos in the Peiraieus and to the Mother of the Gods at the Galaxia. In the two "acceptance decrees," however, notice is taken only of the adornment of the temple of Dionysos (presumably in Athens), lines 71 and 80. Agora I 286 mentions the dedication of only one phiale to the Mother of the Gods, lines 27-28, and therefore her *ιερόν* (there was apparently no *ναός*, formal temple)² must be restored in line 126. Pausanias (I, 3, 5) tells us that it was located near the Bouleuterion and the Tholos, with a statue of the goddess by Pheidias.

I 286 o, lines 129-130 *init*:

Owing to the nature of the break and the smallness of the piece, this fragment can not be joined with J⁴, I 989 d, but I have little doubt that it belongs here. *Δάμων Σίμων* [*Σο*] *ννι*[*εύς*] may be the older brother of *Χαίριππος Σ. Σ.*, ephebe in 107/6 B.C., *I.G.*, II², 1011, col. V, line 103.

I 286 x, lines 133-136 *med*:

This small piece may belong between J, I 989 a, and J², I 286 g, although it joins no other fragment.

N, *I.G.*, II², 1039, fgt. v, lines 233-239:

This stone was picked from the shelves of the Epigraphical Museum because of its similarity in appearance, in texture and in lettering to Agora I 286. It is E. M. 5259 and according to Museum records had not been published. It was only after returning to this country that I ran across it as *I.G.*, II², 1039, fgt. v., where, however, it does not belong as an examination of the squeezes will show. The line interval in *I.G.*, II², 1039 is greater, guide lines are visible, *theta* regularly has the cross-bar and not the dot or vertical stroke. On the other hand, the lettering of E. M. 5259 shows identity with the lettering of Agora I 286 in the *theta* with the dot, *mu* with center slanting strokes extending a bit beyond the point of meeting, in the *upsilon* and in the *alpha* which exhibits the same variation between the sharply broken and the curving cross-bar. The line interval agrees closely except for the admitted irregularity between lines 229 and 230. The wider spacing of the names in Col. II as compared with Col. I upon which Meritt has already commented, extended to Col. III. The letter height of E. M. 5259 corresponds with the height in the adjoining fragment L.

A correction was made in line 236,—under the *tau* of *οδότον* in *rasura* an *epsilon* can be seen and traces of a *sigma* (?) under the *upsilon*. Two of the five fragmentary

² Homer A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 203-205.

patronymics can be equated with patronymics occurring in the Delphic inscription in names which are not duplicated in this inscription. Line 237, [---]τρίου Μαραθώνιο[ς] with Διόφαντος Δημητρίου, *F. de D.*, 2, 24, col. I, 26 (in preference to Δημήτριος Δη[...]. . .] of Col. II, 19, because of the spacing) and line 235, αραμόνον Τρι[κορύσιος] with Col. II, 40, Χαρμίδης Παραμόνον.

E. M. 5259 does not join J², I 286 g nor L, *I.G.*, II², 2453 (E.M. 5238). With the seven fragmentary names of Aiantis which it supplies, plus the one in J², and the four in L, this tribe, whose roster begins Col. III, has 12 representatives. The *lacuna* indicated in lines 240-242 would provide space for three additional names. It may well have been greater, since Attalis has a relatively weak representation in the preserved catalogues of this century,—five in 171/0 B.C. (assuming that the five lines which can not be read under the tribal name were inscribed, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 201, no. 40); nine in 118/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1008); five in 117/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1009); eight in 107/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1011). Meritt's allocation of 34 ephebes to Col. II is unassailable from the measurements. These, with the 40 of Col. I, leave 33 names for Col. III, three of which belong to Antiochis. It is unlikely that Attalis had the larger share of the remainder.

O, *I.G.*, II², 1007:

That the teachers, the secretary and the attendant were honored by citations within wreaths at the end of the catalogue was clear from K (*I.G.*, II², 1960) which gave the wreath for the *paidotribes* and by M (I 3457) which shows parts of two wreaths and gives the name and demotic of the *hoplomachos*. Two complete wreaths giving the names of the *aphetes* and of the *hyperetes* and part of a third wreath can now be added, and the arrangement of the wreaths definitely determined by the discovery that *I.G.*, II², 1007 (E.M. 7604) is a part of this inscription.³ It is a stone of the same kind of marble and of the same texture. The thickness is 0.195 m. as compared with 0.175 m. in the upper part of the stele, and the back and preserved right side are rough-picked. The line interval is 0.015 m. as in M between name and demotic, and 0.018 m. between title and name as in K. The height of letters and letter shapes agree.

Since the right margin is preserved, the citation of the *aphetes* is now shown to have come last in the first row of wreaths. Since the wreaths of the instructors follow the sequence in which they are named in the decree (the restorations of the citations for the *akontistes* and the *toxotes* in *I.G.*, II², 1008, lines 129-133 should be reversed), only two wreaths remain for the second row. Since there is a *vacat* of 0.24 m. from the right margin to the edge of the preserved wreath in the second row, and the vestiges of the fourth wreath in row one are preserved *ca.* 0.075 m. beyond the edge

³ George A. Stamires had independently worked out the connection of *I.G.*, II², 1007 with Agora I 286 and showed me the paper in which he had brought together the evidence.

of the wreath below it, the latter was centered between wreaths three and four of the first row. The remaining wreath was doubtless similarly centered between wreaths two and three of the first row. Meritt correctly deduced that the assistant *hoplomachos*, Artemidoros, son of Neon, of Tarsos, who is known only from the Delphic inscription, was not honored by a citation, since he had not been mentioned in the decree.

This arrangement is confirmed by the measurements. From the left margin of K to the beginning of the names in Col. II of the catalogue measures 0.25 m. and from this point to the beginning of the names in Col. III can be closely estimated at the same distance. Assuming the remaining distance to the right margin to be *ca.* 0.25 m., we arrive at *ca.* 0.75 m. Measuring on O, we find that the distance from the right margin to the edge at the widest point of the preserved wreath in the second row is 0.24 m. The width of the two preserved wreaths at the widest point is *ca.* 0.135 m. Assuming a similar distance between the left edge of the stone and the first wreath in the second row, plus the width of the two wreaths (*ca.* 0.27 m.) and allowing 0.015 m. between the two wreaths we get *ca.* 0.75 m. for the width of the stone. Similarly for the first row, five wreaths yield *ca.* 0.675 m., two margins, each *ca.* 0.015, spaces between wreaths 0.015 each, gives us *ca.* 0.75 m.

I 286 u:

By a curious quirk, the fragment I 286 u, consisting of a single letter, can without question be placed in the missing fourth wreath of the first row, because the *mu* has a horizontal stroke at the top between the outer sloping strokes. The name of the *toxotes* in lines 40 and 138 is written *Μυστίλον*, although that fact was not recorded by previous editors. The stonemason's copy must have read *Μυστίλον* in the three places where the name occurred, which was later corrected to *Πυστίλον*. The Delphic inscription, which I have re-examined, reads *ϋι* in the one occurrence of the name. *Μυστίλη* is unmistakably read in a tombstone inscription which Kirchner places after the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 12218). Boeckh recorded *Μυστίλου* in an inscription from Roman times (*C.I.G.*, II, 2140, a, 3) which was, however, later emended to *Μυστικοῦ* (*I.G.*, IV, 1872). Thucydides (VI, 4) names Pystilos as one of the founders of Akragas. The two names, Mystilos and Pystilos, seem to be otherwise unknown.

It may be added that the *paidotribes*, Nikon, son of Alexis, of Berytos, was succeeded in office in the following year 127/6 B.C. by an Athenian, Apollodotos of Halimous, as we learn from a dedicatory inscription found in the Peiraieus and doubtless set up there by three ephebes of that year, *I.G.*, II², 2982.

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REMARKS UPON THE COLOSSAL CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUE OF ATHENA IN THE PARTHENON

INTRODUCTION

IT is not to be expected that even fragments of the gold and ivory colossal statue of Athena in the Parthenon should have survived the ravages of time. However, a good deal is known about the statue from small copies in the round and from coins, plaques, gems and the like; also, the famous statue is mentioned by ancient writers, sometimes at considerable length. Consequently we have a fairly good idea of her appearance.

And when we come to consider the pedestal on which the statue stood, we find that there are data which can be studied to advantage. Obviously the importance of the statue called for a carefully designed pedestal. Thus it is desirable that all existing data concerning the pedestal be recorded.

Let us, then, make a few remarks not only about the colossal statue, but also about the pedestal on which the statue stood.

I

ATHENA PARTHENOS, THE CLIMAX OF THE PANATHENEA

Figure 1 shows the position of the colossal statue (often referred to as the Parthenos) in the east cella of the temple. The blocks which give the position of the statue are toward the west end of the nave and on the axis of the temple. They are poros blocks of the type used for foundations. They are flush with the marble pavement of the nave, and they are *in situ*. The poros blocks, thirty in number, cover an area so extensive that they at once tell us that the statue which stood above them was of colossal size (Figs. 1, 2).¹

Another point to be noted is the great distance of the statue from the eastern peristyle of the temple. Did the statue receive light only through the big east door, or was there an opening in the roof of the cella? There is proof that the temple was *not* hypethral, for the pavement of the nave of the east cella was at a lower level than all its four sides, and the pavement is well enough preserved to assert that there never was a means of draining off rainwater. During the winter months the rain, just as it

¹ The thirty poros blocks have not failed to interest archaeologists. The best of their numerous articles is by W. B. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 93-106). He gives many useful references. Dinsmoor's article deals largely with the date of the repairs to the pedestal. The present article, on the other hand, will take up certain details of an artistic and architectural nature.

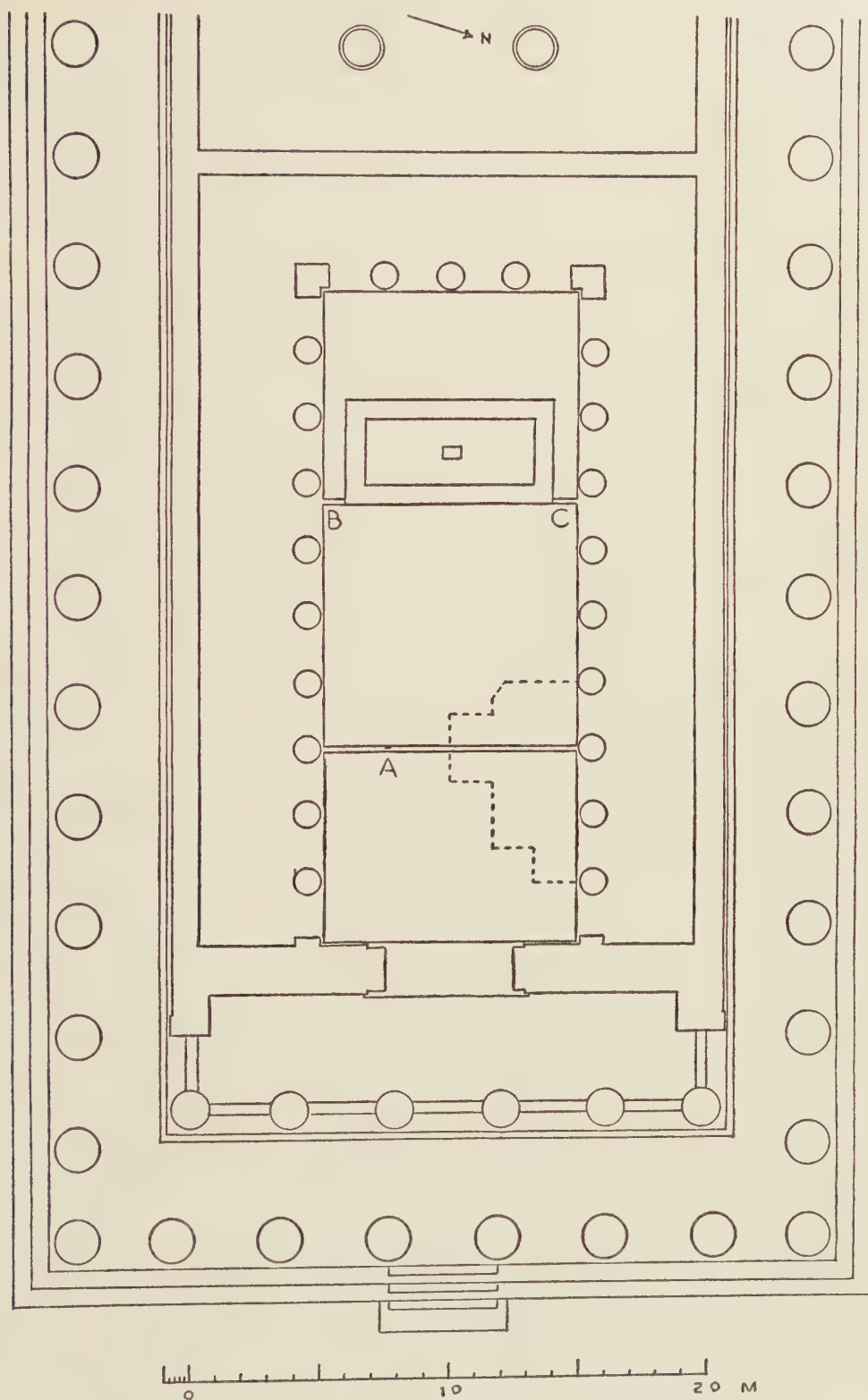


FIG. 1. Plan of the east cella of the Parthenon showing 1) the position of the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena; 2) at A, B, and C traces of the rim of a water basin in front of the statue. The pavement where dotted is gone.

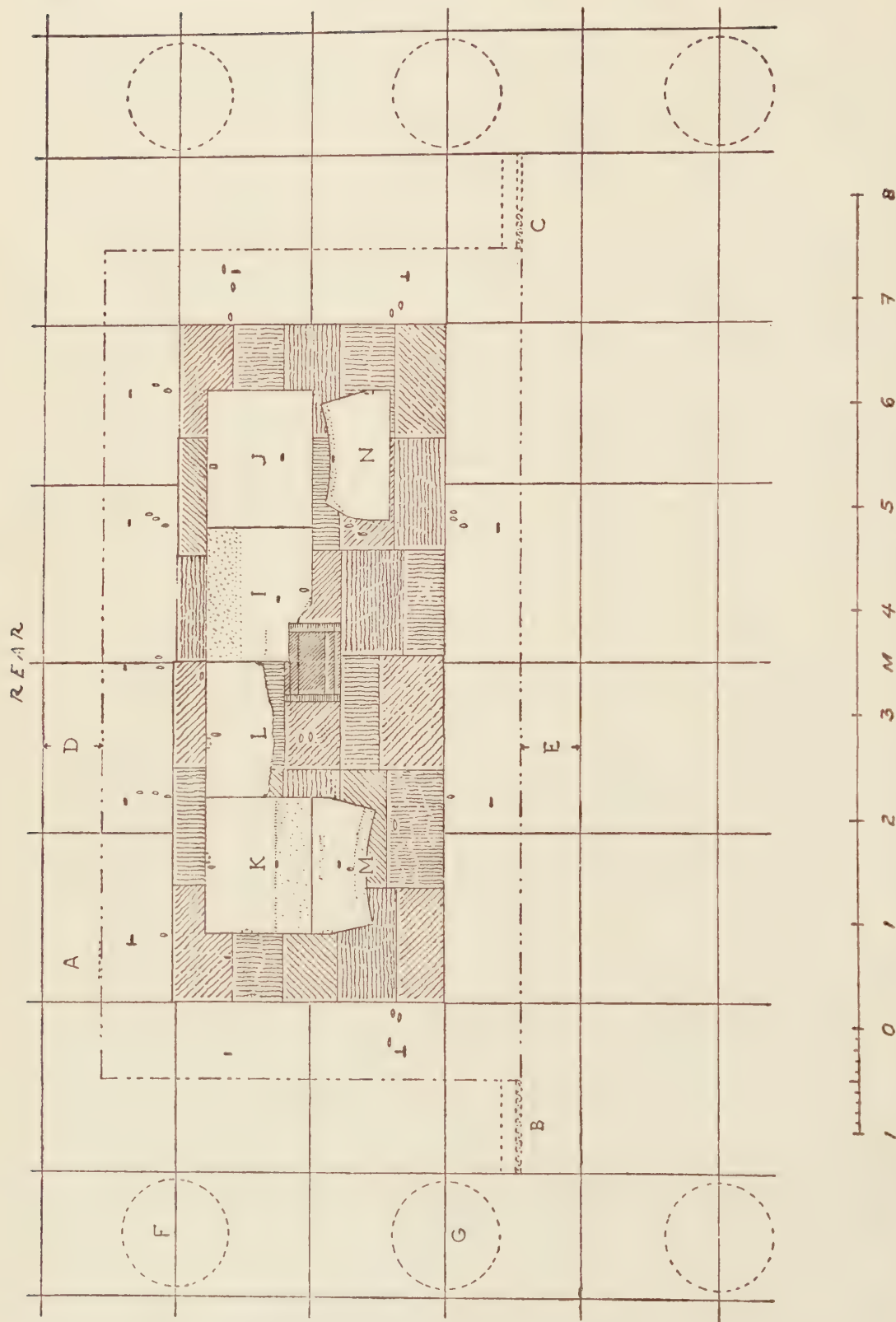


FIG. 2. Data for the original pedestal. The dotted line gives the outline of the pedestal upon the pavement of the temple. The hole in the center of the poros foundations is the socket for a large post which ran through the pedestal and up into the statue. The post was the chief member of the armature of the statue. Dressings at C and D are later than the original pedestal, but earlier than the restored pedestal.

does today, must have come down at times in torrents. There can be no doubt that, if the nave had no roof, the rainwater would have been disposed of in an efficient manner.

But the lighting of the statue was undoubtedly carefully considered by Pheidias, the famous sculptor of this famous statue. A very expensive and beautiful statue, and a cult statue at that, would not be put in a place where it did not receive the kind of lighting wanted by the sculptor. The east door was a large one, measuring *ca.* 4.80 m. from side trim to side trim and *ca.* 9.60 m. from the sill to the bottom of the lintel. Further, the columns of the pronaos were made 0.07 m. less in diameter than the columns of the opisthodomos, an operation which admitted more light into the cella than if the columns had not been made slimmer.² Still further, the angle intercolumniations of the columns of the pronaos were less than the intervening intercolumniations, an arrangement which allowed more light to pass through the three central intercolumniations than if all the intercolumniations were equal.³ Lastly, there is the peristyle of the temple. In this case the end intercolumniations are contracted on all four sides of the temple. If we confine our attention to the peristyle of the east façade, we note that, as in the case of the colonnade of the pronaos, more light reached the cella than if all seven intercolumniations had been made equal. It is evident that the lighting of the cella from the east, the direction of the rising sun, was studied with care.

Pheidias certainly was aware of the mystic quality of a statue which is placed in a subdued light, and, good sculptor that he was, he would know how to emphasize that mystic quality. Consider the materials he used for the statue. Gold and ivory are both effective in a subdued light: the gold (which does not tarnish to any great extent), because the highlights from it gleam in a half light when most other materials used for statues do not; the ivory, because it is a number of tones lighter than human flesh—a light tone, especially for the face, was needed in a dim light if the statue was to be awe inspiring, surely one of the *desiderata* of the sculptor.⁴

Moreover, Pheidias must have been fully aware of the great value of contrasts for works of art, *including a contrast in lighting*. Suppose that you, reader, are an ancient Greek taking part in the famous Panathenaic Procession. All the way from the Dipylon to the Parthenon you are walking in the open air, with the statues, monu-

² *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, p. 67.

³ Cf. *Ibid.*, fig. 56. The intercolumniations of the columns of the opisthodomos were treated in a similar way, probably for the same reason, namely, to give more light to the Treasury.

⁴ Polished white marble for the flesh might have been about as effective in tone as ivory. But, since the statue was to have drapery of gold, it had to be constructed over a wooden core. Ivory had been, since archaic times, the material regularly combined with gold drapery for the face, the hands, and the feet. Ivory has a decided advantage over marble for a statue constructed about a wooden core, as we shall see was the case with the Parthenos, for ivory is a fairly tough material. It can be cut into thin pieces and fastened to its background with no danger of the ivory breaking. This is an advantage which cannot be claimed for thin pieces of marble.

ments and buildings on either side bathed in a fantastically brilliant summer light (the procession took place in August), *until you enter the Parthenon*. What an overwhelming impression the Athena makes upon you, due not alone to the marvellous beauty and masterful technique of the statue, but also to the unexpected features you encounter—the large size of the statue, the lavish use of gold and ivory, the mystic subdued light inside the temple contrasted with the broad sunlight outside the temple! What a tremendous climax for those taking part in the Panathenea! Here is good art at its best.

II

ORIGINAL PEDESTAL FOR THE PARTHENOS⁵

There is definite evidence from contemporary records that the Parthenos was dedicated in 438 B.C. Consequently the pedestal beneath the statue is not later than 438 B.C. But the pedestal was probably in position before this date, for it is not likely that the colossal gold and ivory statue took less than a year to set up. Thus, although an exact date cannot be assigned to the pedestal, we have an approximate date which is quite good enough for our purposes. The reader will find that our discussion of the first pedestal will be concerned almost entirely with matters dealing with the fifth century B.C.

1. FOUNDATIONS OF THE PEDESTAL

The Parthenon was largely built upon a pre-existing solid platform of poros. The temple, from its northeast corner westward for about half the length of the temple and from the same corner southward for almost half the width of the temple, rests directly upon the Acropolis rock. But everywhere else there are solid poros foundations going down to the Acropolis rock. Along the south side of the temple the foundations descend for somewhat more than 11 m. below the upper surface of the top step of the temple.

Let us make a cross section of the foundations of the Parthenon, taking the section through the middle of the foundations of the Parthenos, and let us carry the section downwards as far as the Acropolis rock (Fig. 3).⁶ In Figure 3 we see the rapidly sloping nature of the Acropolis rock, and, further, we note that there was

⁵ The pedestal shows traces of having been restored only once. The first pedestal we will call the "original pedestal," and the second pedestal the "restored pedestal."

⁶ The level 145.61 in Figure 3 is obtained from levels given by Kavvadias and Kawerau, 'Η Ανασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Πίναξ Ζ'. The level 157.33 is the level of the stylobate where our section is taken. (Due to the crowning of the stylobate, level 157.33 is 0.13 m. above the level of the stylobate at the southeast corner of the temple, where Kavvadias and Kawerau give the level as 157.20).

probably as much as 7 m. of solid poros construction beneath the center of the pedestal of the Parthenos.⁷

The pedestal of the Parthenos overlapped its poros foundations on all sides (Fig. 2). The poros and marble paving blocks upon which the pedestal stood have pry holes, dowel cuttings, and weather marks of a number of different periods, but there is little difficulty in distinguishing between evidence of the fifth century B.C. and that of later periods.

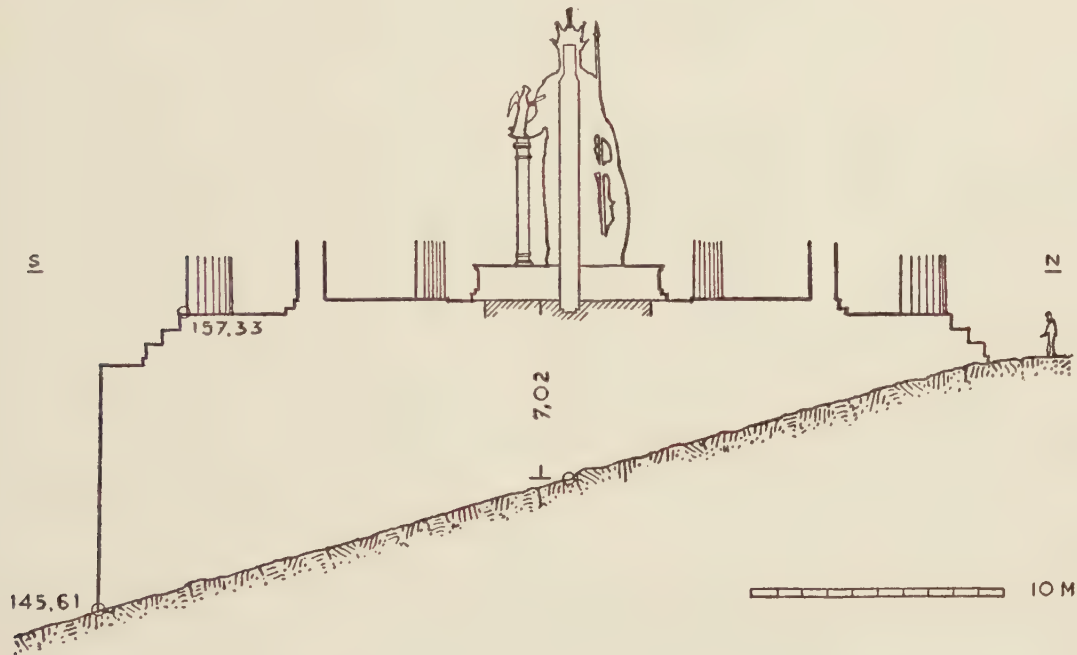


FIG. 3. Cross section of the foundations of the Parthenos, showing the approximate relation of the poros foundations of the statue to the Acropolis rock.

The six marble blocks now lying on the poros foundations of the pedestal hide a good deal of those poros foundations (Fig. 2). However, a fairly accurate restoration of the hidden portions of the foundation can be made (Fig. 18, lightly dotted lines).

A number of important Greek pry holes in the poros foundations are fortunately not covered by the six marble blocks. These pry holes, together with the six marble blocks themselves, help us to restore the jointing of the eight marble blocks which originally rested upon the poros foundations (Figs. 2, 4).

⁷ A good example of a solid poros foundation for a temple may be seen in Aegina, in the temple of Apollo (?) near the town of Aegina. Greek temple foundations are generally more economical in type; only walls and colonnades, as a rule, have well designed foundations.

But by far the most important feature of the poros foundations is the socket for the vertical timber which ran up through the pedestal and into the statue, where it became the chief supporting member of the armature of the statue (Figs. 2, 5, 6, 7). Figure 5 shows that the post did not exactly fit the hole left for it in the poros blocks; the hole was not quite long enough and 0.10 m. too wide. These discrepancies neces-

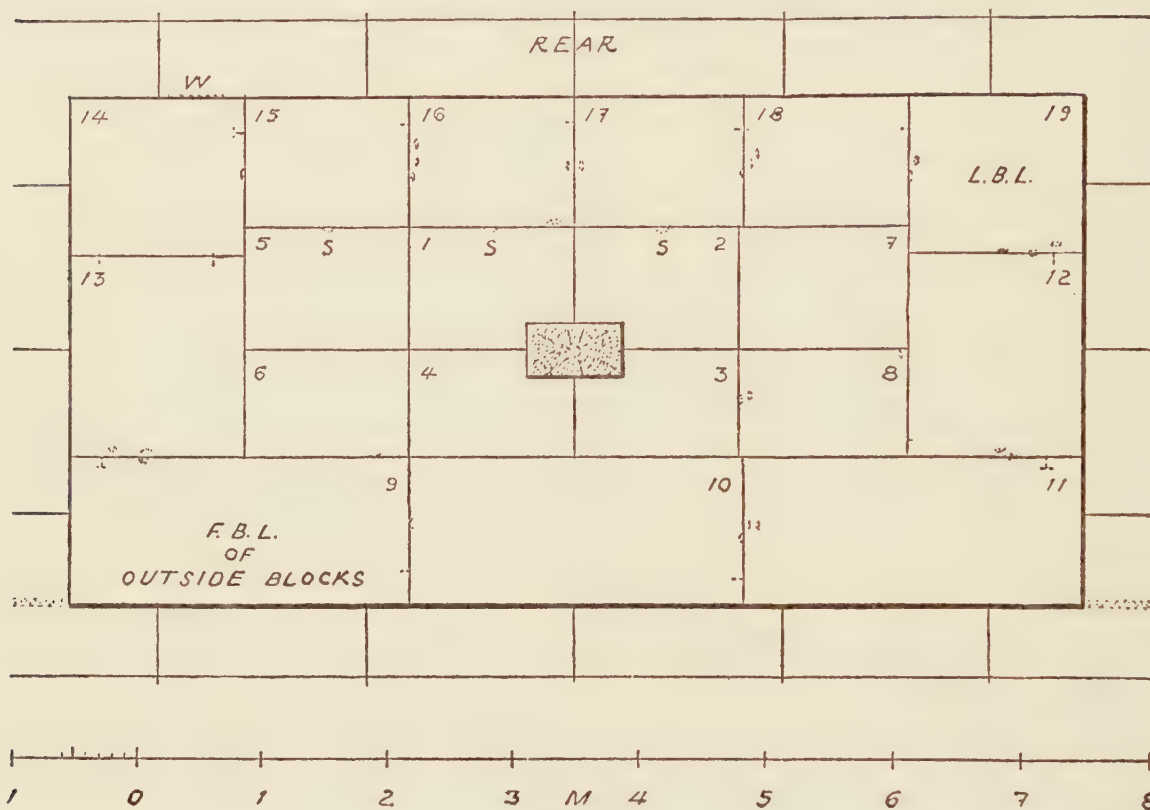


FIG. 4. Restoration of the lowest course of the pedestal of the statue. The cuttings for dowels and pry holes and the weather line at W are in the plane of the pavement of the temple (cf. Fig. 2). The three shift holes (marked S) are on the under sides of the blocks of the bottom course of the pedestal; they served to shift these blocks into position.

sitated trimming back slightly the vertical faces of the poros blocks to the north and south of the post, and making a cutting in the bottom of the hole to receive a lug projecting from the bottom of the post—a lug which prevented the bottom of the post from moving in either an easterly or a westerly direction. Further, we should note that the above trimming and cutting inside the hole could not have been done after the interior blocks of the pedestal were in place: here, then, we have an indication that the poros foundations, the pedestal, the statue (in all three of which the post was buried), and the post itself were conceived as a unit.

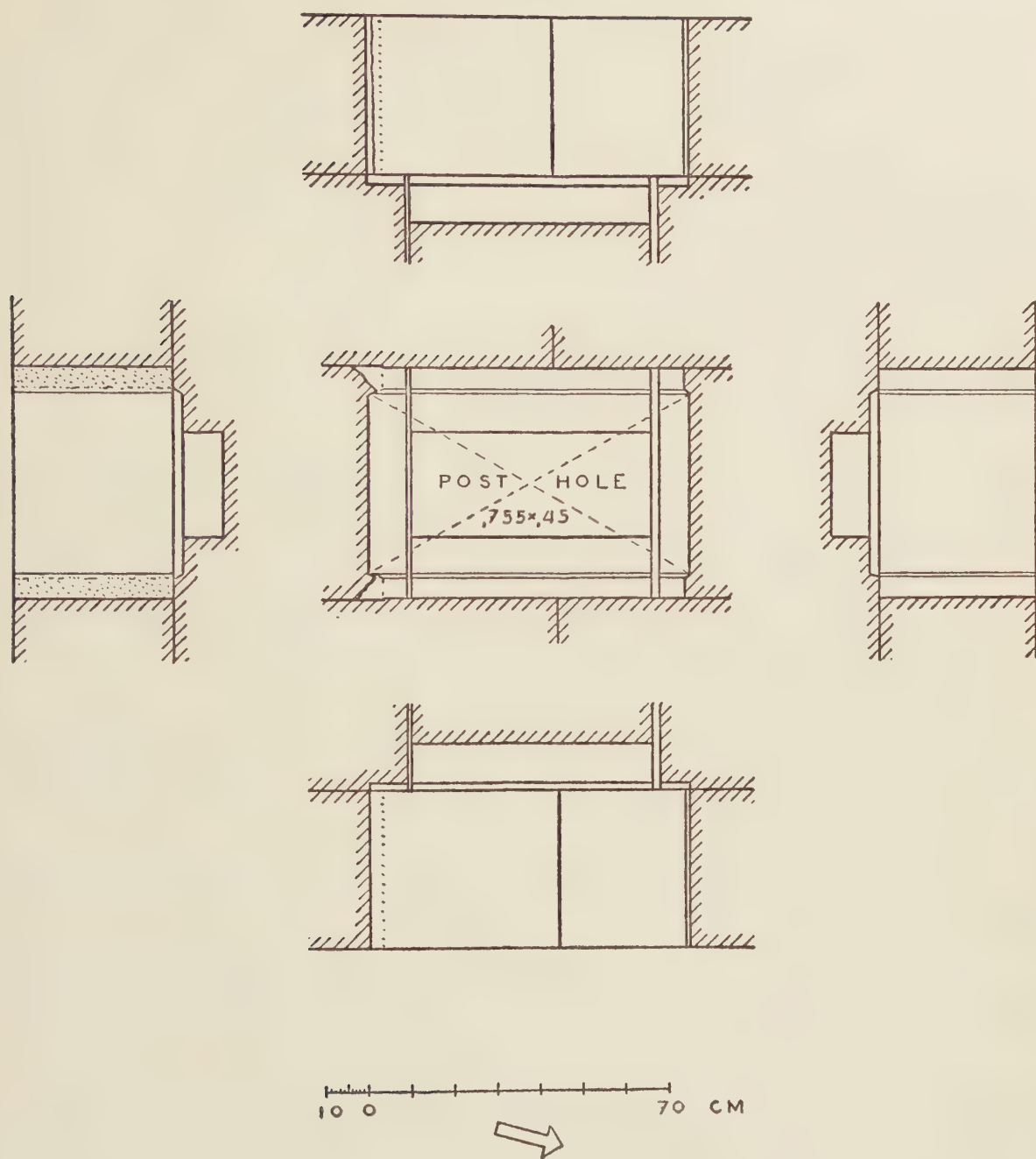


FIG. 5. Detail of the socket in the middle of the poros foundations of the Parthenos.

The cuttings for the post within the hole measure 0.755 m. x 0.45 m. (horizontal measures). If we express these figures in ancient Attic feet of 1 AT.FT. = 0.328 m., we have, nearly, 2 AT.FT. — 4 DACS. by 1 AT.FT. — 6 DACS. Now 2 AT.FT. — 4 DACS. is equal to 0.738 m. This gives a play of 0.0085 m. on the north and south sides of the post, a play necessary for inserting the post. (We have seen that there already existed ample play to the east and the west of the post). In the poros foundations, then, the post itself had a cross section of 2 AT.FT. — 4 DACS. by 1 AT.FT. — 6 DACS. We shall note further on, that the post was carried, unchanged in cross section, through the bottom course of the pedestal.

2. BOTTOM COURSE OF THE PEDESTAL

The existing data for the bottom course of the pedestal are shown in Figure 2, where all cuttings, etc. later than the original pedestal have been omitted (with the exception of dressings B and C). The data consist of:

- a) Dowel cuttings, pry holes and a weather line in the plane of the pavement of the cella.
- b) Data derived from the six marble blocks, recently reset, but originally coming from the interior of the pedestal (Fig. 2).
- c) Dressings at B and C, dating between the completion and the repair of the pedestal. They give the north and south outlines of the original pedestal upon the pavement of the cella.

We begin with the outlines of the pedestal upon the pavement. The west face of the bottom course of the pedestal is given by a weather line at A, Figure 2 (also indicated at W, Figure 4). The east face of the bottom course is found by making E, Figure 2, equal to D, Figure 2, for the following reasons:

- 1) The marble paving blocks of the cella have almost a constant width, and every other north-south joint runs through the center of a column of the nave (Fig. 2).
- 2) The poros foundation of the pedestal and the socket in this same foundation are on the axis of the intercolumniation F-G, Figure 2 (as well as being on the axis of the nave).

The east face of the bottom course of the pedestal is thus found to line with the east edges of dressings B and C, Figure 2 (cf. also Figs. 1, 4); in other words, the dressings did not run under the pedestal. They were made after the bottom course of the pedestal was in place. They ran up to that bottom course where they stopped, thus indicating the positions of the north and south faces of the bottom course of the pedestal.

It will be seen by looking at Figure 2 that the bottom course of the pedestal overlapped the poros foundations almost exactly an equal amount on all four sides.

We now take up the outside blocks of the bottom course of the pedestal. The positions of the vertical joints running in from the outside of the pedestal are easily found from the pry holes and dowel cuttings in the pavement (Fig. 4). Note that the southeast block was the first block laid, and that the northwest block was the last laid. There were three large blocks on the east side of the pedestal—the front of the pedestal; six smaller blocks on the west side—the rear of the pedestal. Thus, the ancient Greeks, upon entering the cella, saw the colossal statue ahead of them standing on a pedestal the bottom course of which was made up of large blocks (averaging 2.688 m. in length)—big blocks, in scale with the big statue. The corresponding blocks at the rear of the pedestal were in a less conspicuous place and consequently could be of a more convenient size (averaging 1.344 m. in length, half the length of the blocks on the front of the pedestal).

A height of 0.30 m. for the bottom course of the pedestal is given by the height of the marble blocks now lying upon the poros foundations (Fig. 2). To demonstrate this we will show that block I, Figure 2, whose height is 0.30 m., is now occupying its original position. And to show that block I is in its original position will require proof that the pedestal was made up of three courses, of which I belonged to the bottom course.

The top of the pedestal should not be above the eye of a man standing on the pavement of the cella, otherwise some of the gold of the statue, and possibly some of the ivory of the feet, would always be hidden. Why use such expensive materials and then hide even portions of them? The distance from a man's eye to the pavement on which he is standing is generally taken to be 1.50 m. We would, then, expect the height of the pedestal to be not more than 1.50 m.

There are two statuettes representing the Parthenos, the Varvakion and the Lenormant, which are of value for our argument.⁸ Each pedestal is low in proportion to its statue. And each pedestal is made up of three parts—a set of moldings at the bottom, a die, and a set of moldings at the top, of lesser height than the moldings at the bottom. In the case of the Varvakion statuette the height of the pedestal is one-tenth the distance from the bottom of the pedestal to the top of the crest of the helmet; in the case of the Lenormant statuette, the height of the pedestal is one-sixth the distance from the bottom of the pedestal to the top of the head (the crest is not preserved, but if like the Varvakion's, its height would be one-eighth the height of the statue). This base, unlike the Varvakion base, is decorated with a frieze of figures. Unfortunately the frieze is in bad condition. The center of gravity of the frieze is

⁸ Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 447, fig. 47, and p. 449, fig. 49; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, figs. 599-601.

well above the center of gravity of the face of the pedestal, a characteristic which doubtless existed in the original pedestal of the Parthenos, otherwise the original frieze

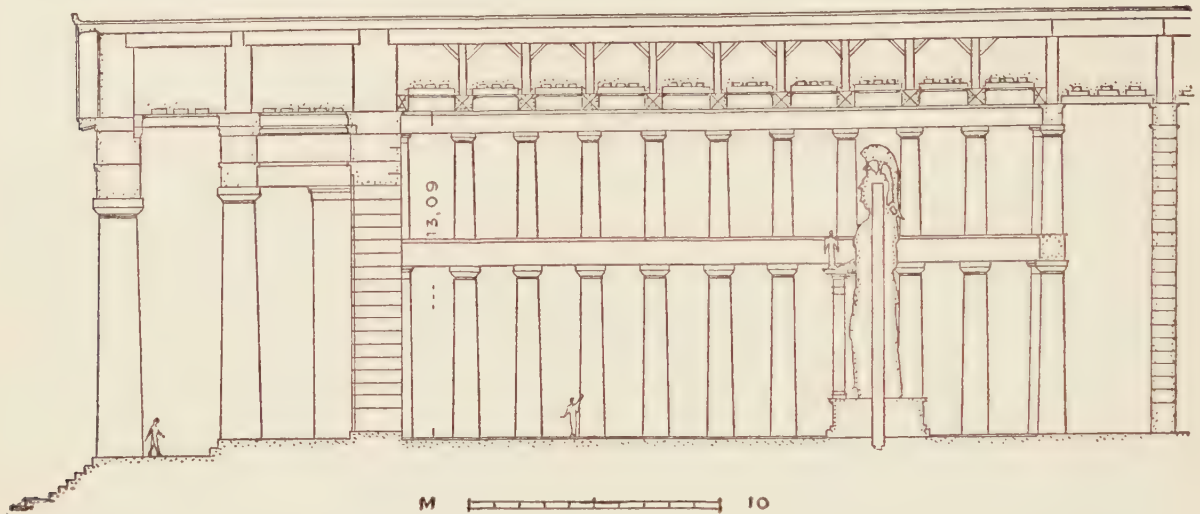


FIG. 6. Longitudinal section through the east cella of the Parthenon: restoration.

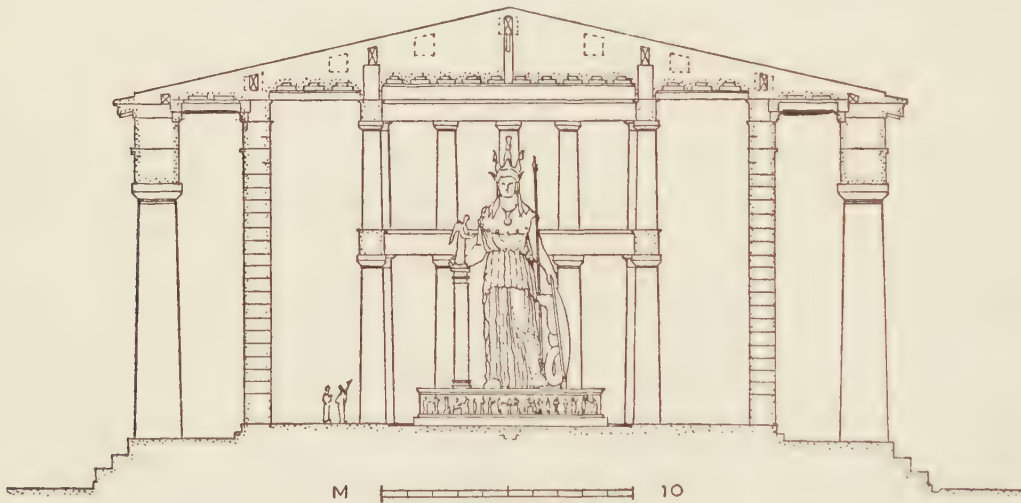


FIG. 7. Cross section through the east cella of the Parthenon: restoration.

would have been too near the pavement of the cella to be seen effectively. Pausanias tells us that the original pedestal was ornamented with a frieze representing the birth of Pandora,⁹ in the presence of twenty gods and goddesses. The frieze, then, if we

⁹ Pausanias, I, xxiv, 7. For a relief in white marble at Pergamon, a fragmentary copy (?) of the relief on the pedestal of the Parthenos, consult *Jahrb.*, V, 1890, p. 114, fig. 9. Praschniker in *Jahresh.*, XXXIX, 1952, pp. 6-12, presents a valuable discussion of the relief of the birth of Pandora on the pedestal of the Parthenos.

include the figure of Pandora, had twenty-one figures. We shall shortly see that the two statuettes are of help in establishing the height of the original pedestal and the distance of the original frieze above the pavement. From the height of the pedestal we shall deduce that the pedestal had three courses, and that 0.30 m. (the height of the blocks now resting on the poros foundations) was a suitable height for the bottom course of the three courses.

Now, the fifth century Greeks who entered the cella from the pronaos should not find the cella, which is by far the largest division of the temple, less high than the pronaos (Fig. 6). This means that the bottom of the wooden beams across the nave should not be below the coffers of the pronaos (Fig. 6). The bottom of the wooden beams across the nave could not be at a higher level, because there would be too little space between the wooden coffers which rested on the beams and the wooden construction which supported the marble tiles of the roof (Fig. 7).¹⁰ The clear height of the cella thus becomes 13.09 m. (Fig. 6).¹¹

¹⁰ Mr. Paul Mylonas, a graduate of the Polytechnic School of Athens in both Architecture and Mechanical Engineering, called the writer's attention to the way the timbers of the roofing above the nave were arranged (Fig. 6, 7). Mr. Mylonas has studied the roofing in some detail, and he hopes to publish his investigations before long.

The writer is grateful to Mr. A. A. Trypanis, Professor of Mechanical Engineering at the Polytechnic School of Athens, for his valuable assistance. He calculated the loads on the cypress beams across the nave, and determined the necessary cross section for the beams. The beams are 11 m. long, and 0.65 m. x 0.65 m. in cross section. The loads on any one of the beams are of two kinds (Figs. 6, 7) :

1) Loads concentrated at the center of the beam:	
Woodwork supporting the marble tiles.....	1.847 kg.
Marble tiles	2.608
<hr/>	
Total	4.455 kg.
2) Loads uniformly distributed over the beam:	
Weight of beam	2.230 kg.
Weight of wooden coffers	1.440
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Total	3.670 kg.

The effects of the two kinds of loading were taken into account in calculating the size of the beam. The maximum fiber stress in the beam and also the maximum shearing stress in the beam proved to be acceptable working figures for cypress. The greatest deflection of the beam was *ca.* 0.01 m., which is an allowable amount for this particular beam.

Assuredly scaffolding would be needed for repairs to the colossal statue and especially for the rapid removal of the gold plates in times of danger. Also, since in the Parthenon there are no traces of stairs leading to the attic between the horizontal ceiling and the pitched roof of the temple, scaffolding would be required for repairs to that part of the temple (Fig. 7). Repairs to the antifixes would need scaffolding on the outside of the temple. And scaffolding would be wanted for the other buildings on the Acropolis. There are two areas on the Acropolis designed to store materials of all kinds, where scaffolding might have been kept; one area is northeast of the Propylaea, the other at the east end of the Acropolis behind the Heroon of Pandora (cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 512-513; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 24-25). The Chalkotheke is another place where materials were stored.

¹¹ Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, pl. 16.

Pliny gives the height of the statue as 26 cubits, but he does *not* say that the 26 cubits (11.544 m.) *excludes* the height of the pedestal.¹² But let us suppose that this is what he meant, namely, that 11.544 m. was the height of the statue alone. Figure

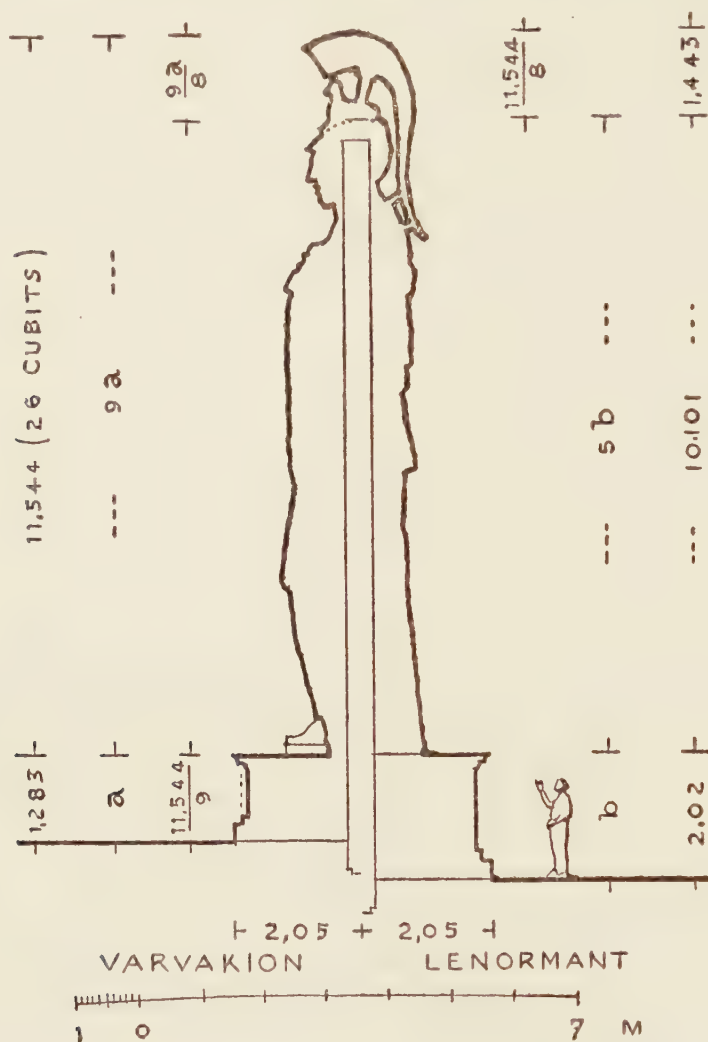


FIG. 8. Parthenos 26 cubits (11.544 m.) high.

8 shows how the height of the pedestal of a statue 11.544 m. high can be found by proportion from both the Varvakion and the Lenormant statuettes.¹³ The average height of the two bases is

$$\frac{1.283 + 2.02}{2} = 1.652 \text{ m.}$$

¹² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 18. For the length of the Greek cubit consult *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XII, p. 76. The encyclopaedia was published in 1929, but it has been brought up to 1948 by the addition of a number of volumes.

¹³ For the calculations derived from the Lenormant statuette, we have (Fig. 8):

$$\begin{aligned} 5b + 1.443 &= 11.544 \\ b &= 2.02 \text{ m.} \end{aligned}$$

Such a base is too high, as it is *ca.* 0.15 m. above the level of a man's eye—the golden portions of the statue in contact with the pedestal would never be seen, which is hardly permissible. Further, using the average height of the pedestal, namely, 1.652 m.,

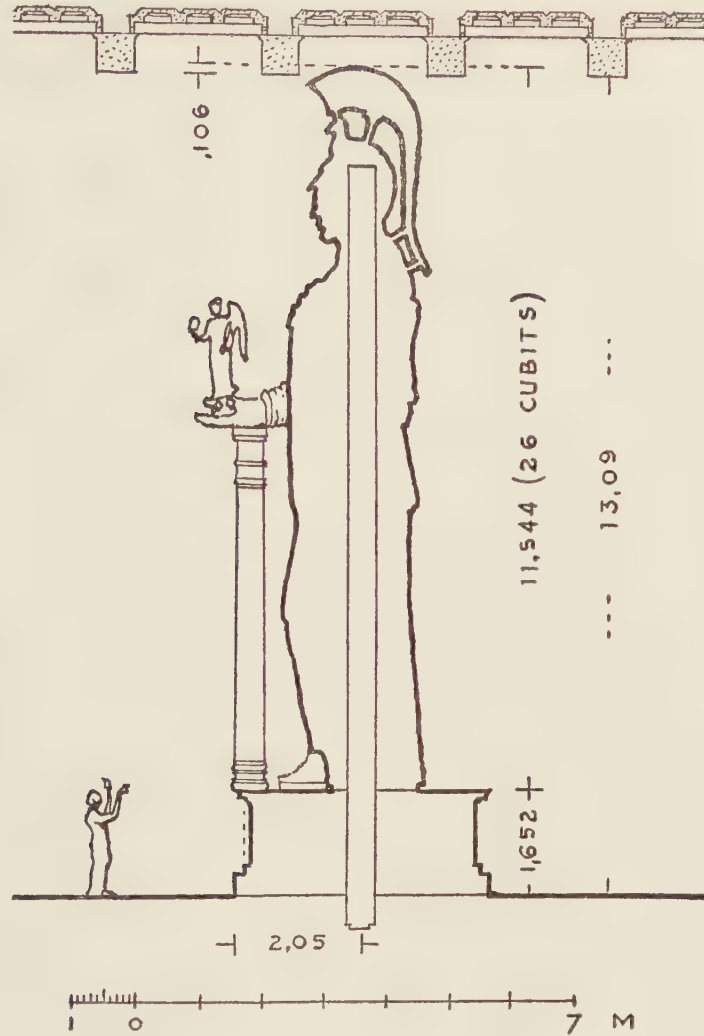


FIG. 9. Parthenos 26 cubits (11.544 m.) high placed upon a base of an average height derived from the Varvakion and Lenormant statuettes.

we obtain a height of 13.196 m. ($11.544 \text{ m.} + 1.652 \text{ m.} = 13.196 \text{ m.}$) for the statue and the pedestal together (Fig. 9). But 13.196 m. is 0.106 m. above the bottom of the beams across the nave (Fig. 9). This relation will never do. Moreover, the column supporting the victory in the hand of the Parthenos is such a great distance in front of the "backbone" of the statue that the face of the column overhangs the die of the

pedestal (Fig. 9. Half the width of the plinth of the pedestal, 2.05 m., is obtained from direct measurement on the pavement of the cella). We are, therefore, obliged to abandon the supposition that Pliny's 26 cubits represented the height of the statue *without the base*.

But, taking Pliny's 26 cubits as *including the base*, that is, taking 26 cubits to mean the distance from the pavement to the top of the crest of the helmet, we obtain

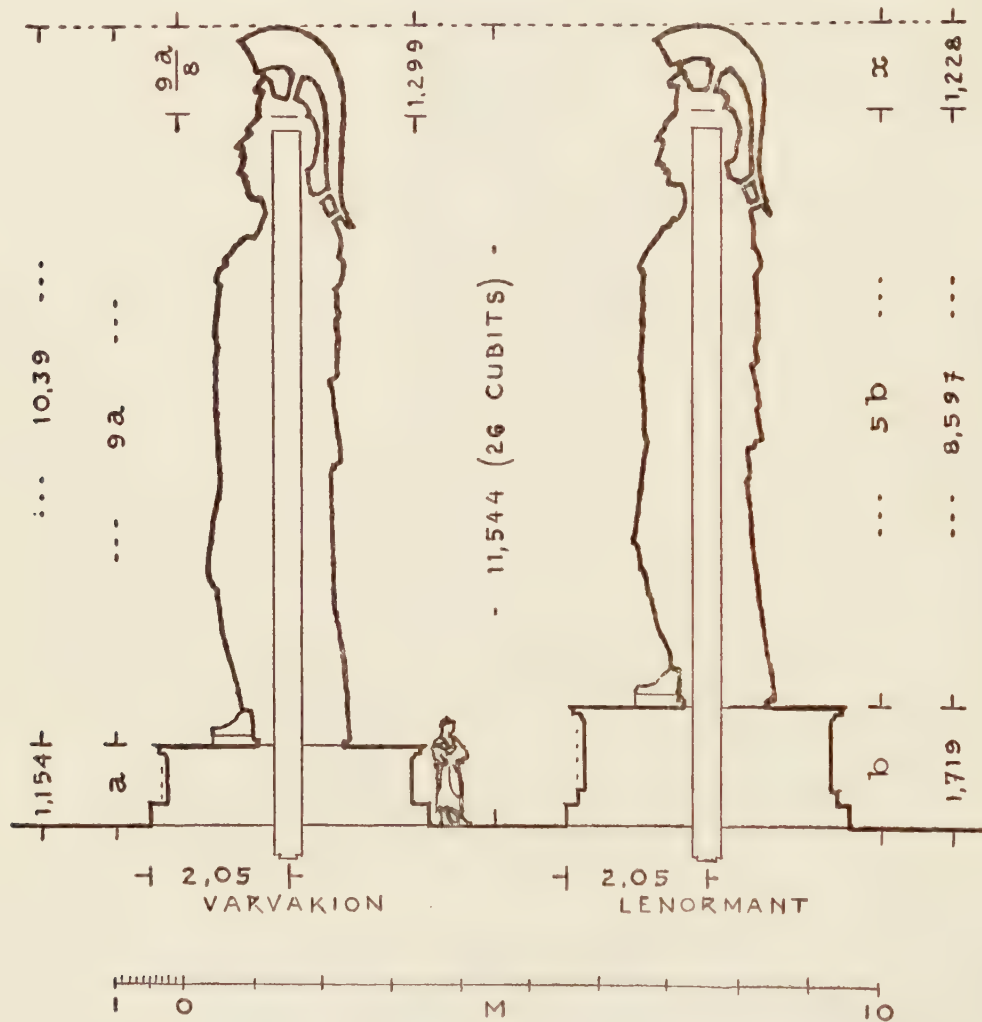


FIG. 10. Parthenos and its base together 26 cubits (11.544 m.) high.

satisfactory results. Figure 10 shows the dimensions for the Parthenos and its base if these two were to measure together a height of 26 cubits (11.544 m.). In the case of the dimensions obtained from the Lenormant statuette, the height of the crest (the crest is not preserved) and the height of the base are found as follows (Fig. 10):

$$1) \quad x = \frac{x + 5b}{8}$$

$$= \frac{5}{7}b$$

$$\therefore x = \frac{5}{7} \times 1.719$$

$$= 1.228$$

$$2) \quad x + 6b = 11.544$$

$$\frac{5}{7}b + 6b = 11.544$$

$$b = 1.719$$

The average height of pedestal is $\frac{1.154 + 1.719}{2} = 1.437$ m. This is a good height

because the top of the pedestal is 0.063 m. below a man's eye, and, consequently, no part of the gold and ivory of the Parthenos would be hidden by the upper part of the base. Using 1.437 m. for the height of the pedestal for the Parthenos, the relation of the statue to the interior of the cella becomes as indicated in Figure 11, where, it will be seen, there is a suitable distance of 1.546 m. between the top of the crest of the helmet and the bottom of the wooden beams across the nave (see, also, Figs. 6 and 7 for more complete representations of the Parthenos in the interior of the cella). Thus we have shown that Pliny's 26 cubits included the base, and that—this is important for our argument about the height of the bottom course of the pedestal—the total height of the pedestal was less than 1.50 m.

We are now in a position to return to our argument about the height of the bottom course of the pedestal. We have still to show that the height of the bottom course is given by the height (0.30 m.) of the six marble blocks now lying on the poros foundations. We shall prove our proposition by demonstrating that block I, Figure 2, is in its original position.

We suspect that the six blocks were expressed by a plinth *ca.* 0.30 m. high on the outside of the pedestal, for, such a plinth is no higher than the sill of the big east door (which was the same size as the west door¹⁴), and, moreover, such a plinth would serve to lift the carved frieze of the pedestal into a position where the figures could be seen to advantage (this lifting of the frieze is suggested by the Lenormant statuette). A 0.30 m. plinth at the bottom of the pedestal is surely not too high for our colossal statue.

A pedestal a little less than 1.50 m. in height would be built up of three courses. For this reason the pedestal of the Parthenos, like the bases of the two statuettes mentioned above, was, with little doubt, composed of three members—one at the bottom, another in the middle (a die), and a third at the top (a set of capping moldings). Now, the outline of the pedestal upon the pavement measures 8.065 m. from north to south (Fig. 2). The face of the die, on which the figures of the frieze were cut, must have measured from north to south somewhat less than 8.065 m.; say, 7.505 m. (Figs. 12, 13). From 7.505 m. we find 0.357 m. as the average axial distance

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, fig. 58.

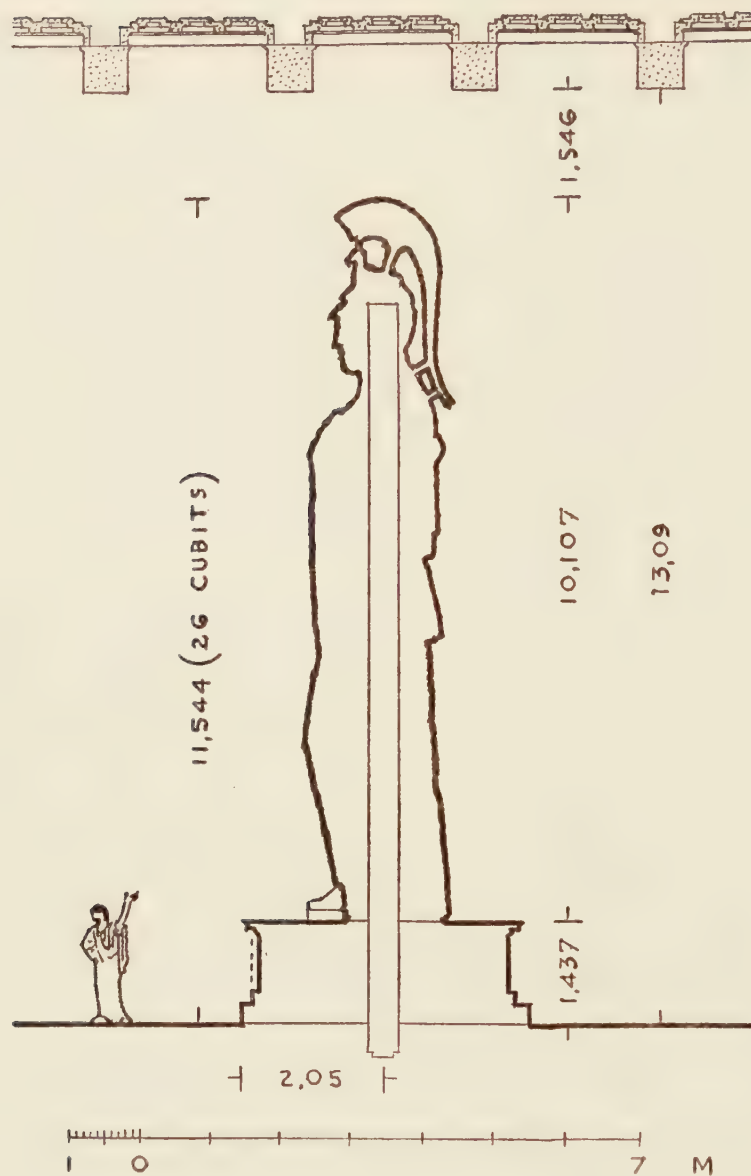


FIG. 11. Parthenos and its base together 26 cubits high, in which the Parthenos is standing upon a base of an average height derived from the Varvakion and Lenormant statuettes.

of the twenty-one carved figures of the frieze, and 0.357 m. in turn gives *ca.* 0.75 m. for the height of the background for the carved figures, obtained by proportion from similar friezes of the fifth century B.C.¹⁵ There was probably some sort of an archi-

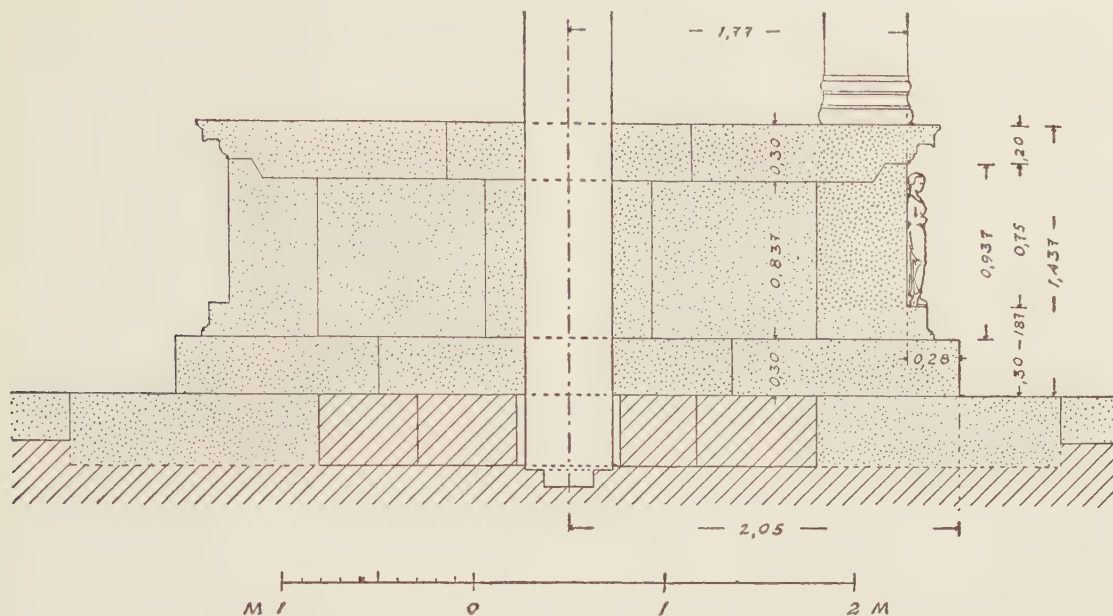


FIG. 12. Section through the pedestal of the Parthenos, looking north: restoration.

tectural member at the bottom of the frieze for the carved figures to rest on, which gives *ca.* 0.937 m. for the total height of the die (Fig. 12).

And the height of the crowning moldings? With a height of 0.30 m. for the bottom course, *ca.* 0.937 m. for the height of the die, and *ca.* 1.437 m. for the total height of the pedestal, the height of the crowning moldings of the pedestal becomes *ca.* 0.20 m. (Fig. 12).

For the proof that the blocks now lying on the poros foundations come from the interior of the pedestal, we submit the following: They are dressed in the manner of the fifth century B.C., and their dowel cuttings, pry holes and shift holes are also of the fifth century type. Of course this is not proof that the blocks come from the interior of the pedestal. But what makes us sure that they belonged to the interior is that:

- 1) The six blocks show no fire damage, just as we should expect in the case of blocks from the interior of the pedestal.
- 2) The six blocks fit the pry holes that are today visible in the poros course beneath the six blocks (Fig. 4).
- 3) One of the six blocks, I, Figure 2, has a good fifth century cutting the right size for one quarter of the "backbone" of the colossal statue.

¹⁵ Praschniker, *Jahresh.* XXXIX, 1952, p. 8, fig. 1.

From what course inside the pedestal did the six blocks come? They have good Greek dowel cuttings and pry holes on their tops, showing there was a course of the fifth century above them—this means that the six blocks could not have come from the top course of the pedestal (Fig. 12).¹⁶ There could have been no relation between the six blocks and the die of the pedestal, as the heights of these two courses are so different (Fig. 12). Consequently, by elimination, the six blocks could have come only from the bottom course of the pedestal.

When we look at the six marble blocks lying on the poros foundations, we are not particularly impressed with them (Fig. 2). But they bear examination. All the blocks were reworked in comparatively late times for some purpose which had nothing to do with our fifth century pedestal. The blocks were placed in their present positions about thirty years ago.

Block I, Figure 2, is the most important of the six blocks; because it is the block which has the good Greek cutting which accurately fits around a quarter of the "backbone" of the Parthenos. The block cannot be placed southeast of the "backbone," because the width of the block is too great (Fig. 4)—the block could only have come from the northwest of the "backbone." Now, we have already shown that these six blocks belonged to the bottom course of the pedestal. In other words, block I is at present in its original position. Blocks J and K, on account of their width, surely come from the western portion of the pedestal, but J should be turned around, as we shall see when we discuss the order in which the blocks in the course above were laid. Block J thus turned around appears to be in its original place. If L is in its original position (see below), then M and N surely come from the eastern portion of the pedestal. M and N are too wide to go about the "backbone." M is in its correct position, judging by the pry hole in its top, used for the block above (Figs. 2, 13). N, thus, must be in its original position, for there is no other place to put it. L is too wide to go to the east of the "backbone"; L is in its original position.

The shift holes under blocks K, L and I, Figure 2 (cf. also Fig. 4), show that:

- 1) These blocks were being shifted in an easterly direction when they were laid.
- 2) These blocks were put in place before the blocks to the west of them (the outside blocks of the pedestal).

If we look at Figures 2, 5 and 12, we note that the blocks of the bottom course of the pedestal, which were in contact with the east and west sides of the "backbone,"

¹⁶ It may be suggested that the pedestal had a plinth above the capping moldings. This is not likely, as neither the Varvakion nor the Lenormant statuette has a plinth. The writer has measured ten bases in Athens all dating from the fifth century B.C. These bases have crowning moldings with no plinth above the moldings; bronze statues have lug cuttings in the tops of their bases for the feet of the statues (example, Athena Hygieia of the Propylaea of the Acropolis); marble statues rest directly upon their bases (example, the Themis from Rhamnous in the National Museum). The pedestal we propose for the Parthenos does not violate Greek tradition of the fifth century B.C.

overlapped their poros foundations—this is the reason why the “backbone” had a lug on its bottom.

We have now shown that the marble blocks at present lying on the poros foundations ran as a course to the outside of the pedestal and were there in all likelihood expressed as a plinth 0.30 m. high. We may safely add that, as the pry holes and dowel cuttings in the marble pavement immediately around the poros foundations (Fig. 2)

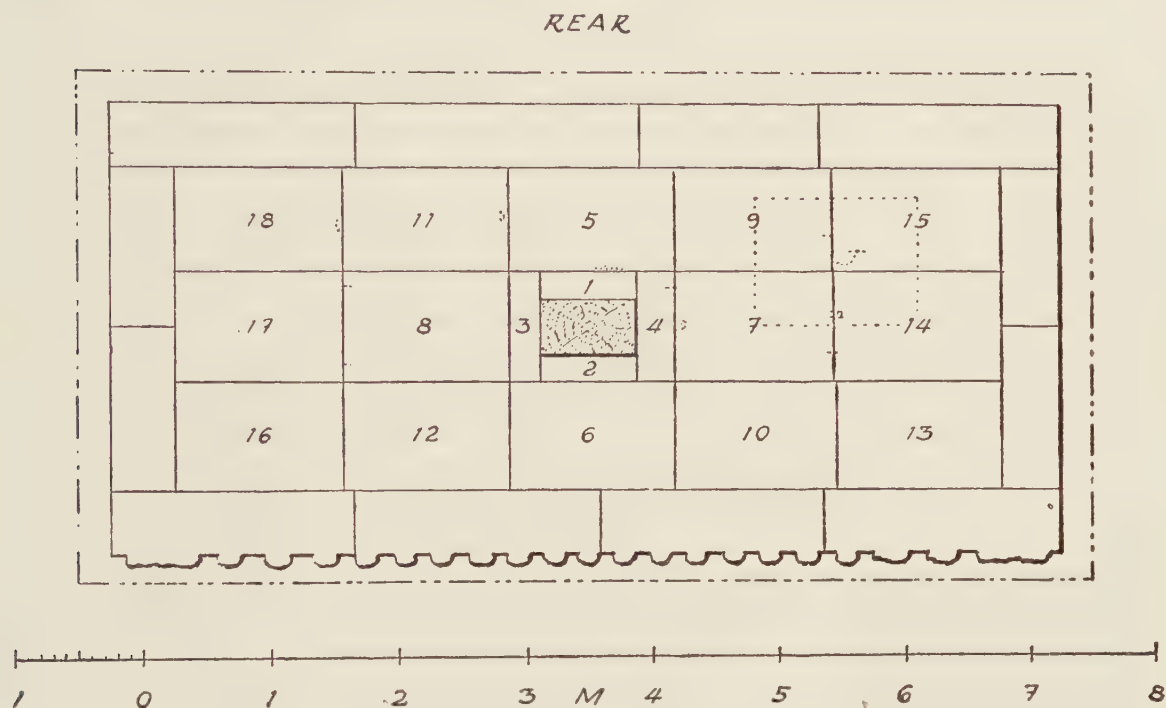


FIG. 13. Restoration of the middle course of the pedestal of the Parthenos. The dowels and pry holes are in the tops of the blocks now lying on the poros foundations of the pedestal (cf. Fig. 2).

are of the types used in Athens in the fifth century B.C. for fine-grained hard stones, the outside blocks of the bottom course of the pedestal were of marble, of Pentelic marble like the blocks lying on the poros foundations and like the paving blocks of the cella.

The probable order in which the blocks of the bottom course were laid is shown in Figure 4 (1 to 19 inclusive). The “backbone” was already in place. The first blocks laid would then be those about the “backbone,” blocks 1 to 4 inclusive—they braced the “backbone.” The next blocks laid would be the remaining blocks of the interior of the course (blocks 5-8 inclusive). Finally the exterior blocks of the course were laid (blocks 9 to 19 inclusive, of which 9 was the first block laid). Block 19 was the last laid of all the blocks of this course.

3. MIDDLE COURSE OF THE PEDESTAL

As we have said, there is a very probable copy in Pergamon of a portion of the frieze of figures on our pedestal.¹⁷ The figures of the copy are carved on the face of a white marble block, in this respect probably imitating the original. The average axial distance of the figures in the copy multiplied by twenty-one (the number of the figures) agrees with the long dimensions of pedestal of the Parthenos less twice the setback (*ca.* 0.28 m., Fig. 12) of the frieze behind the face of the plinth. This agreement shows that the frieze in Pergamon was at the same scale as the original in Athens. Further, with the birth of Pandora occupying the entire front of the pedestal, it is safe to say that the sides and back of the pedestal were undecorated, as in the case of the pedestal of the cult statues in the Hephaisteion.¹⁸ Thus the copy in Pergamon gives us good suggestions for the frieze of the pedestal of the Parthenos—marble blocks with figures carved upon them (probably with a painted background to make the figures stand out), height of the background of the carved figures, *ca.* 0.75 m. (Fig. 12), and sculptured figures only on the front of the pedestal.¹⁹

We have mentioned that the ground of the frieze was probably set back *ca.* 0.28 m. from the face of the plinth at the bottom of the pedestal (Fig. 12). This setback is not altogether guessed at, for it could not be greater without making a column, five meters high, overhang the frieze—this was the column which, as we shall see, supported the goddess's extended hand with a Nike four cubits high in it (Figs. 6, 12). If the inner face of the frieze blocks lined with the vertical joints between the marble and poros blocks of the foundations of the pedestal, as seems likely for proper bonding, then we have about the same thickness for our frieze blocks as in the case of the pedestal in the Hephaisteion (Fig. 12).²⁰

The vertical joints of the frieze blocks should break properly with the vertical joints of the course below (Figs. 4, 13).

As has been said, the height of the background for the figures of the frieze is estimated from the Pergamon copy. Further, we have suggested that there was some sort of member for the frieze figures to stand upon—a member which at the same time would raise the figures a suitable distance above the pavement, as indicated in the Lenormant statuette (Fig. 12).

The tops of the frieze blocks were probably cut like the tops of the frieze blocks of the pedestal in the Hephaisteion (*cf.* footnote 20). Such an arrangement had two advantages:

¹⁷ See footnote 9.

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 153, figs. 5, 6.

¹⁹ Were the frieze blocks made of dark Eleusinian stone with white marble figures dowelled to the frieze blocks, as in the case of the cult statues in the Hephaisteion? No Eleusinian blocks suitable for our pedestal have been found. That the Pergamon copy suggests marble figures carved on marble blocks is about all that can be said.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 153, fig. 5.

- 1) The colossal statue rested on a course it would not crack.
- 2) The height of the mouldings above the heads of the frieze figures was in scale with the small figures of the frieze (Fig. 12).

We have seen that the course *below* the middle course of the pedestal was wholly of marble. The course *above* the middle course was also of marble because it was a visible course. This indicates that the middle course itself was probably of marble (no other material would be sandwiched between two courses of marble except possibly Eleusinian stone, but there is no evidence of Eleusinian stone in the Parthenon).¹⁹ Besides, a pedestal made entirely of marble is a good strong pedestal on account of the high crushing strength of marble. And marble blocks can be securely doweled and clamped together. Such a pedestal was needed to carry the great weight of the colossal statue.

The widths and lengths of the interior blocks of the middle course of the pedestal are given by the pry holes, dowel cuttings and a dressing on the tops of the six blocks now lying on the poros foundations beneath the pedestal (Figs. 2, 13).

There would be but one course back of the frieze blocks if the pedestal was to be as solid as possible. The approximate height of the course is shown in Figure 12.

Let us see in what order the blocks of the middle course of pedestal were laid. In this connection we should remember that all the blocks of the bottom course of the pedestal were in place, and also that the "backbone" was in its position, *before the blocks of the middle course began to be laid*.

There are enough pry holes, and dowel cuttings, and a dressing to the west of the "backbone," in the upper surface of the course below the middle course to indicate the probable order in which the blocks of the middle course were laid (Fig. 13, 1 to 18). *First*, the blocks about the "backbone" were put in place (Fig. 13, 1, 2, 3, 4), to brace the "backbone." *Second*, blocks 5, 6, 7, 8 were laid, thus further bracing the "backbone." *Third*, blocks 9, 10, 11, 12 were pried into their positions. *Fourth*, blocks 13 to 18 were put in place. The special dowel cutting (Fig. 14)²¹ and the ordinary dowel cutting in J, Figure 2, do not indicate the above order for the laying of block 15, Figure 13, but, when J is turned around, a satisfactory solution is obtained. *Lastly*, the frieze blocks were laid around the inside blocks of the pedestal (Fig. 13).

There is no data to indicate the order in which the frieze blocks were laid.

4. THE TOP COURSE OF THE PEDESTAL

The jointing of the blocks of the top course is determined from the jointing of the blocks below—for good construction the joints of these two courses should break (Figs. 13, 15). The length and width of blocks 5-18 inclusive (Fig. 15) is almost the same

²¹ Orlandos, *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 175-178; Tschira, "Keildübel," *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pp. 166-169.

as the length and width of the paving blocks of the cella. A natural order for laying the blocks is given in Figure 15—every block is doweled to the course below except blocks 15 and 18, which, to keep them from moving, were probably clamped on their tops to their neighboring blocks (18 to 10 and 17, 15 to 9 and 14). The angle blocks 13 and 16, toward the east, probably had T dowels beneath and double T clamps on top

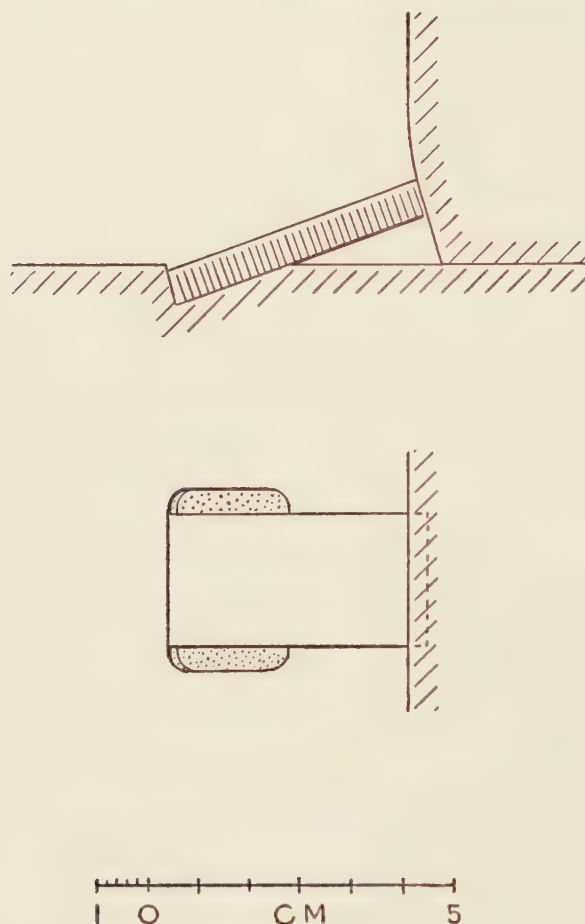


FIG. 14. The special dowel used beneath the northwest interior block of the middle course of the pedestal of the Parthenos.

to hold these blocks securely in place (Fig. 15). Clamps in the upper surface of our top course would show, but in such cases the clamps were either concealed by pieces of marble, or the lead which was poured about the clamps was made flush with the top surface of the block so that only the lead remained visible.²²

²² The Erechtheum has two clamps still partially hidden by pieces of marble (cf. Paton and Stevens, pl. XVII, 4).

At the southeast corner of the pronaos of the Parthenon, in the bottom step, is a cutting, 0.485 m.

5. ADDITIONAL REMARKS

Is the pedestal of the Parthenos too wide (Fig. 7)? The generous width makes one feel that the colossal statue is securely poised upon its pedestal. In addition, there is very desirable space upon the top of the pedestal for votive offerings.

Scholars have raised the question that the column which very evidently supports the victory in the Varvakion statuette did not originally exist in the colossal statue. As we have seen, the socket for the "backbone" is on the axis of the nave. The "back-

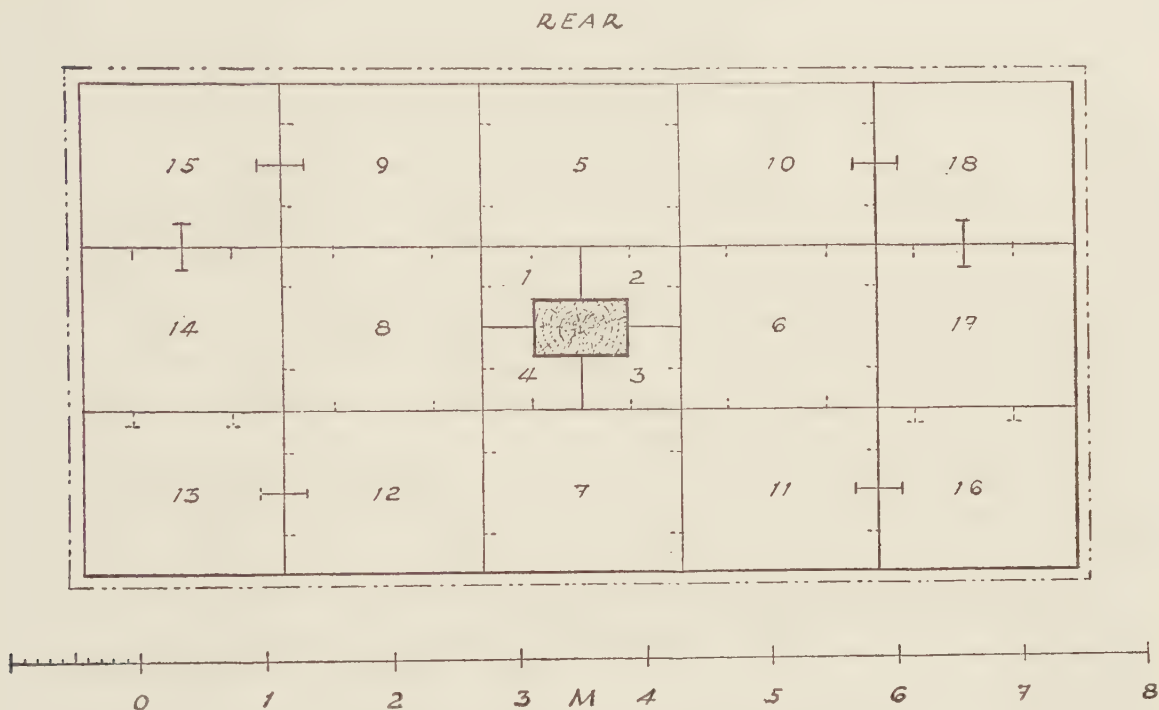


FIG. 15. Restoration of the top course of the pedestal.

bone" would naturally run into the head of the statue, thus bringing the head on the axis of the nave, where the head should be. Now please look at Figure 7. Some object is surely needed to the left of the statue (as one looks at it) to balance the mass of the shield and serpent on the right of the statue. The distance from the "backbone" to the outside of the column beneath the Nike equals the distance from the "backbone" to the outside of the shield, so that the statue as a whole, seen from the door—the most

long, for a clamp. The cutting is only 0.065 m. deep, which is not enough for the height of a clamp of this length plus the thickness of a marble covering. And when clamps are hidden by pieces of marble, the pieces are set in specially prepared beds; the clamp cutting at the southeast corner of the Pronaos has no traces of such prepared beds. As one half of both heads of the clamp cutting project beyond the riser of the step above, these portions of the head could have been hidden, and prevented from rusting, only by lead flush with the tread of the step.

important place from which to view the statue—is centered on the axis of the nave. This is a very important matter from an artistic point of view, especially for a colossal statue, *if the statue is to have dignity*. Here, then, is a good argument in favor of a support under the hand as part of the original statue.

As a further indication that the original statue had a columnar support, we may mention that some of the coins representing the Parthenos have such a support.²³ Unless the original statue had a support, why indicate one in the coin? But here there is a difficulty; the statue may have been set up without a support, and as the centuries passed a support may have become necessary. Did the early die cutters see the statue *without* a columnar support, while the late die cutters saw the statue *with* a columnar support? But the die cutters were not obliged for structural reasons to put a column in their coins. Is it not possible that some of the cutters thought their coins looked better without a column? By far the greater number of the published coins do not have the column.²⁴ If we could only point to a coin which has the column and is of early date, the argument in favor of a column in the original statue would be strengthened. Such evidence is at present lacking. The coins do not settle the question of a columnar support beneath the Nike. But there is a bas-relief, dated as early as the first half of the fourth century B.C., which represents the Parthenos with a column beneath the extended hand.²⁵ The early date of the bas-relief fairly convinces one that the statue had a column from the beginning.

Did the statue of the Parthenos require a column beneath the Nike for structural reasons? Figure 16 shows the sort of armature needed to support the extended arm and the victory in the hand of the Parthenos *provided there was no support under the victory*. In this case there would always be a considerable bending moment at "a," another one at "b," and a large amount of torsion in the horizontal portion of the wrought iron bar passing through the "backbone." By putting a column under the victory these strains, which might in time deform the statue, could be eliminated—a very desirable feature for a statue which was surely designed to last for many centuries. The column transmits directly downward to the pedestal the weight both of the extended arm and of the victory, without causing bending or torsion in the armature.

The column under the hand was of wood, judging from the slimness of the column in the Varvakion statuette and from the fact that the "backbone" was of wood. The column was very probably covered with thin gold plates to make it harmonize with the gold of the drapery of the statue. The column was 5 m. high and was an important element in the composition of the statue (Figs. 7, 16), for, as we have said, the column

²³ Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 448, fig. 48(b).

²⁴ Svoronos, *Trésor des Monnaies d'Athènes*, pls. 71, 82, 83, 87.

²⁵ *Katalog der sammlung antiker skulpturen, Berlin, Museen, III, Griechische skulpturen des 5 und 4 jahrh. v. Chr.*, pl. 83.

made the center of gravity of the statue as a whole, when seen from the main entrance, appear to be on the axis of the temple.

Calculations by Prof. A. A. Trypanis of the Polytechnic School in Athens indicate that without the columnar support the wrought iron for the extended arm and the victory required a cross section of *ca.* 0.08 m. x 0.08 m. and a length of between 4 m. and 5 m. (Fig. 16).²⁶ The forging by hand of such a wrought iron member would

²⁶ Again, the writer wishes to record his indebtedness to Prof. A. A. Trypanis. He found that the maximum stress in the wrought iron bar occurred at "a," Figure 16, and was due to a combination of bending and torsion, in which the torsion stress was a little more than three times the bending stress. The writer supplied Prof. Trypanis with estimates for the weight of the arm and the weight of the Nike. Two articles were a great help in making the estimates: that of Mrs. Homer A. Thompson, an excellent presentation of the golden Nikai of the Acropolis of Athens (*Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 173-209); and that of Mr. Pierre Amandry, a preliminary report upon the remarkable ivory and metal objects he found under the Sacred Way at Delphi (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 86-119). The Athenians of the time of Perikles did not allow the gold bullion of the state to remain in the unartistic form of ingots; it was made into gold plates and used to cover statues, but the plates were so attached to the statues that they could be removed if the state needed the gold in the form of money. The gold Nikai mentioned above are examples of such artistic use of gold bullion. After careful study of Mrs. Thompson's and Mr. Amandry's articles, the writer of the present article has come to the conclusion that the core of the Parthenos was constructed in the following way:—The outside portion of the core was built up of wooden blocks, each block *ca.* 0.50 m. x 0.50 m. x 0.30 m. thick. The blocks were bonded together like the blocks of a marble wall and tied to the "backbone" with struts. Thus the core was really a statue in wood, which the sculptor could bring to the highest degree of finish. The wood for the outside portion of the core was linden (*φλαμουρί*), which is still used in Greece for life-sized statues. The gold plates, which were a respectable three quarters of a millimeter thick and extremely malleable, were then pressed into the irregularities of the wooden statue, and held in place by silver screws with gilt heads. In Mr. Amandry's article mention is made of the use of silver nails with gilt heads, and the nails attached gold plaques to wooden cores. A silver screw with a gilt head is a natural development of a silver nail with a gilt head—give the nail the thread which the ancient Greek augur had (cf. Paton and Stevens, *Erechtheum*, p. 197, fig. 126) and a slot on top of the head for the reception of a screw driver, and you have the screw. If the gold plates were removed, the statue would be revealed as a carefully finished wooden statue. This seems to account for the saying that, when the tyrant Lachares removed the gold plates of the Parthenos in *ca.* 300 B.C., "he left the statue nude."

The ivory portions of the statue could be glued or tenoned in place with little trouble.

Thus we may think of the Parthenos as a hollow wooden statue largely covered with detachable gold plates, and with the important portions of the statue, such as the face, hands and feet, emphasized with ivory.

The "backbone" was obviously the chief member of the armature within the statue. Like the beams across the nave, the "backbone" was probably of cypress—a tree which in antiquity produced big straight timbers suitable for beams. The height of the "backbone" (11.50 m., Fig. 16) was almost exactly the length of the beams across the nave (Figs. 6, 7). If the beams were obtainable, so likewise was the "backbone"; it was not an unreasonably large timber for the fifth century B.C.

Such a wooden statue was easily destroyed by a fire of any severity.

Granted a statue of the type we suggest and supposing that the extended hand had no supporting column beneath it, there is little difficulty in estimating, fairly accurately, both the weight of the arm and the weight of the Nike (Fig. 16):

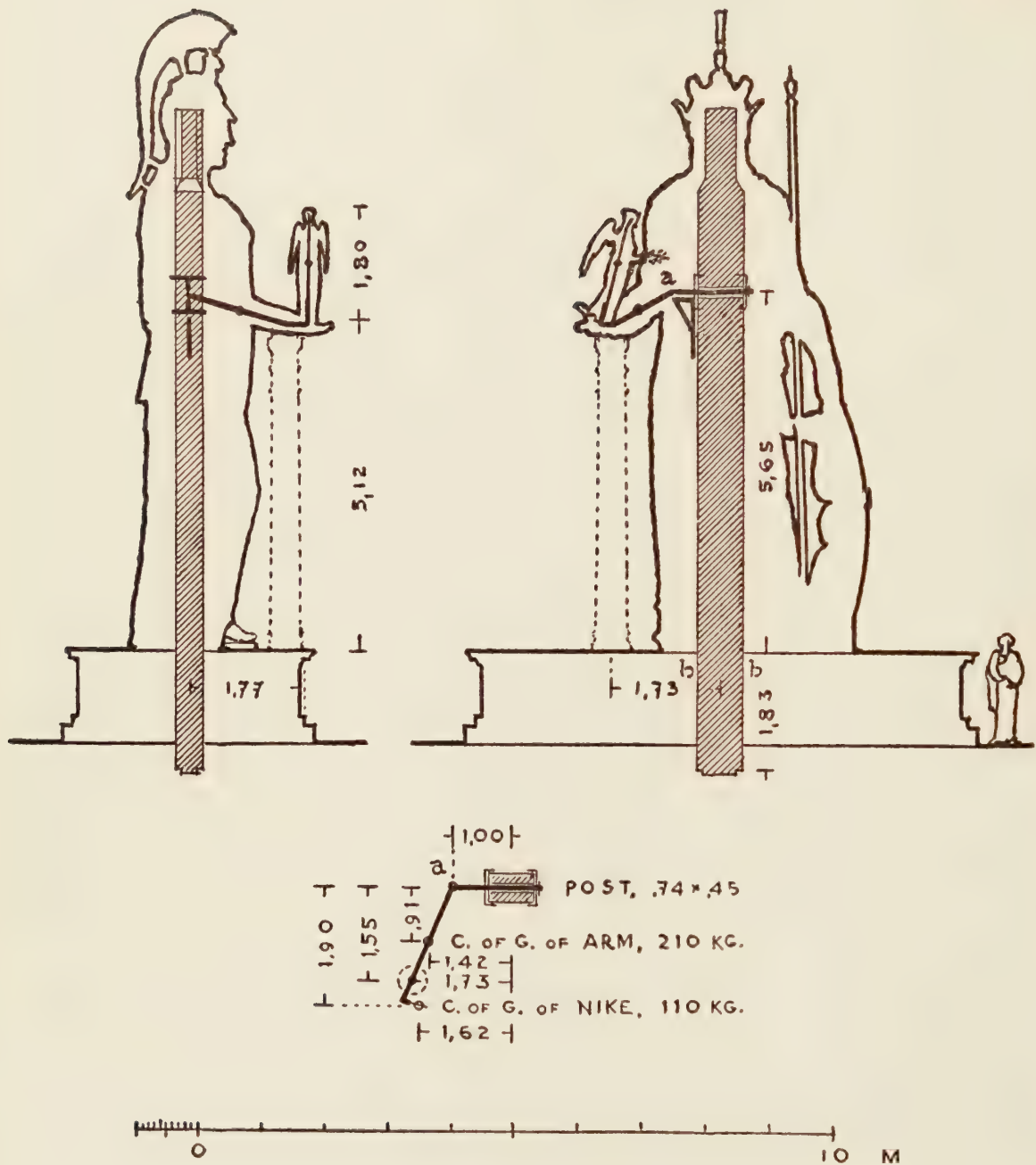


FIG. 16. Possible armature for the right arm of the Parthenos and its Nike, if there is no support beneath the arm.

certainly be difficult in the fifth century B.C. (The wrought iron bars in the architraves over the Ionic columns in the Propylaea of Athens had a section of 0.071 m. x 0.113 m. but were only 1.783 m. long.) Thus, from a structural point of view as well as from an artistic point of view we have an argument in favor of a support under the hand from the beginning. Everything considered, it seems likely that the idea of a support under the hand originated in the fertile mind of Pheidias.

III

WATER BASIN IN FRONT OF THE PARTHENOS

We have stated that the bands of dressing at B and C, Figures 1 and 2, run to the plinth of the pedestal of the Parthenos and there stop, thus giving the position of the north and south faces of the plinth; it is clear that the bands were cut after the bottom course of the pedestal was in place. The bands were sunk 0.0025 m. below the level of the pavement and then further dressed in a somewhat regular fashion with a pointed tool (not a tool with teeth)—we are here dealing with a special technique. There is an exactly similar dressing at A, Figure 1, running half way across the nave—this is as far as the pavement blocks are preserved; without doubt the dressing originally ran entirely across the nave. At A, Figures 1 and 17, is a wrought iron dowel the lower portion of which is still held in place with lead. The dowel is thicker and less wide than the dowels of the fifth century B.C.

How can dressings A, B and C and the dowel, mentioned in the last paragraph, be explained? The usual interpretation is that they give the position of a barrier which prevented people from approaching the cult statue too closely. But this theory would require similar dressings between the columns along the sides of the nave, where no such dressings exist, although the pavement in some of the intercolumnar spaces is well preserved. Pausanias, however, comes to our help. He says when visiting Olympia (V, 11, 5, J. G. Frazer's translation) :

<i>Arm</i>	W. I. bar	121 kg.
	Wooden core	66
	Gold plates	23
	Total	210 kg.
<i>Nike</i>	W. I. connections	20 kg.
	Wood statue.....	38
	Gold plates	52
	Total	110 kg.

These estimated weights together with the distances indicated in the plan in Figure 16 give the means of calculating the size of the wrought iron bar needed for the extended arm

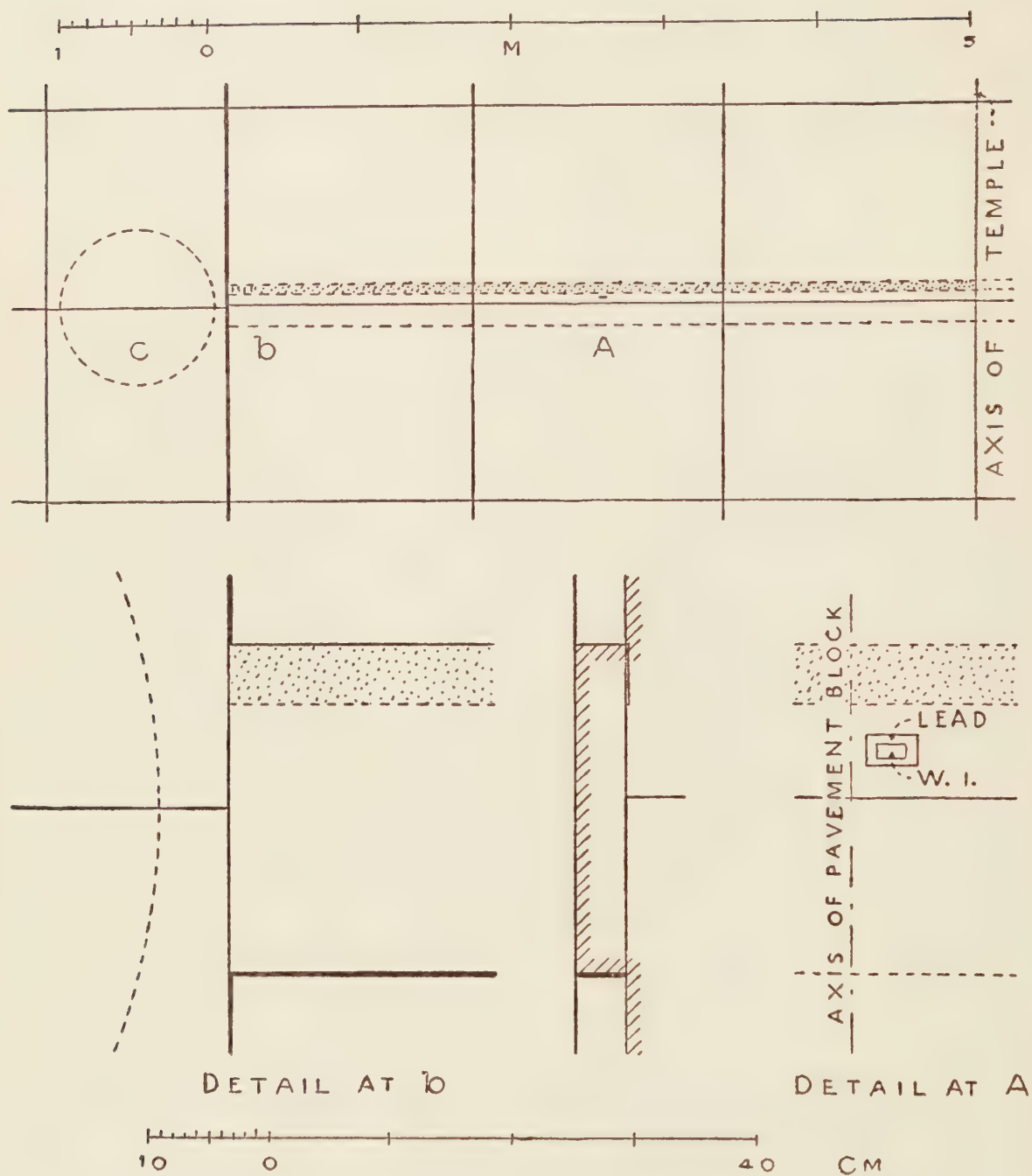


FIG. 17. Details for the rim of the water basin at A, Figure 1.

The ground in front of the image (of Zeus) is flagged, not with white, but with black stone. Round about the black pavement runs a raised edge of Parian marble to keep in the olive oil which is poured out. For oil is good for the image at Olympia, and it is this that keeps the ivory from suffering through the marshy situation of the Altis. But on the Acropolis at Athens it is not oil, but water, that is good for the ivory in the image of the Virgin. For the Acropolis being dry by reason of its great height, the ivory of the image needs water and moisture. At Epidaurus, when I asked why they poured neither water nor oil on the image of Aesculapius, the attendants of the sanctuary told me that the image and throne of the god were erected over a well.

Pausanias, who was in Athens about A.D. 150, either saw a water basin in front of the Parthenos, or was told about one which existed probably not more than a generation or two before his day. How can we interpret the quotation from Pausanias to mean anything but that, like the Zeus at Olympia with its basin for oil, which travellers see to this day, just so the Parthenos had its basin not for oil but for water? The basin did not need to be used in winter, for rain falls abundantly in Athens in that season; in winter there is no complaint of a lack of humidity in the air. But the summers are exceedingly dry, and a means of controlling the humidity in the cella of the Parthenos was evidently found necessary. It seems clear that a water basin was installed at some time between the dedication of the Parthenos and the visit of Pausanias.

We shall see a little later on that the basin continued to be used after the restoration of the pedestal.

As the pavement of the nave was on one level, the rim of the basin must have risen above the pavement. What was the rim like? Its position and shape can be defined. The fact that the west edges of dressings B and C are in line with the face of the east plinth of the pedestal indicates where the east faces of the rims over B and C were, for the rim would not project beyond the plinth (Figs. 2, 7). Just as the west edges of dressings B and C give the east edges of the rims above B and C, so likewise the west edge of dressing A gives the west face of the rim above A. Figure 17 shows how the width of the rim is found, namely, by centering the rim on the axis of column "C." Note that the dowel at A, Figure 17, is almost in the middle of the rim—the dowel could not be placed exactly in the middle on account of the jointing of the paving blocks below.

The height of the rim? The columns on either side of the nave rest on a course which is raised 0.041 m. (2 dactyls) above the pavement of the cella. The rim would undoubtedly be this same height, a height which Iktinos himself thought would not seriously interfere with circulation between the nave and the aisles.

We can make a good guess as to the meaning of the peculiar dressings at A, B, and C. As the rim of the basin rested on the pavement of the nave, water from the basin might work its way under the rim and then spread over the pavement outside the rim. To avoid this danger it would only be necessary to smear a waterproofing

over A, B, and C, possibly the pitch used for the seams of ships. To make such waterproofing effective, it should be placed on the side of the rim toward the water danger and in actual contact with the water. These are features displayed by A, B, and C in our restoration of the rim (cf. Figs. 2, 17).

If the basin and the pedestal were designed at the same time, we should find a dressing similar to A, B, and C under the east edge of the pedestal. There are no traces of such a dressing. It appears that the basin was an afterthought, found necessary because, as time went on, the ivory of the statue began to crack from lack of humidity. If Iktinos had been called upon to design both pedestal and water basin, the result would have been happier.²⁷

The water for the basin came undoubtedly from the five great rock-cut wells just north of the Parthenon, wells which in the rainy season collected water from the roof of the Parthenon in sufficient quantity to last through the summer. We may imagine temple attendants on hot summer days bringing water from the wells and pouring it into the basin. The water, spreading itself thinly over the large area of the basin, rapidly evaporated, giving humidity to the air of the cella and thus helping to preserve the ivory of the statue. The whole operation could be done overnight, without interfering either with religious services or with everyday circulation in the cella. The basin served a practical purpose and was made as inconspicuous as possible.

IV

RESTORED PEDESTAL FOR THE PARTHENOS

There are evident indications that the outside blocks of the bottom course of the pedestal were replaced along the north and east sides of the pedestal at a time when dowels with pour-channels were in use (Fig. 18). The outside blocks along the south and west sides of the pedestal were also replaced, for, if these blocks had only been cut back, traces of the cutting chisel would have remained upon the marble pavement; there are no such traces. These blocks were very probably held in place by hook clamps in the tops of the blocks. On the other hand, the six remaining inside blocks of the pedestal show no signs of replacement. We may explain such a repair as necessitated by a fire which could not get at the inside blocks; these blocks were protected from the fire by the outside blocks of the pedestal. We may add that the whole pavement of the east cella, with the exception of the blocks beneath the pedestal, shows signs of fire damage—eloquent proof of the severity of the fire. The six blocks are original blocks from the interior of the pedestal.

If the outside blocks of the pedestal needed a thorough repair, the colossal statue,

²⁷ Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, pls. II, VIII, IX, XI, XII for the basin for oil in front of the colossal statue of Zeus at Olympia.

with a core which was largely made up of wood ("backbone," struts and background for the gold plates and ivory parts) probably entirely disappeared in the same fire.²⁸ The history of the pedestal and the history of the statue must be considered together.

Figure 18 gives the late dowel cuttings, pry holes and weather marks by means of which the silhouette of the restored pedestal upon the pavement of the nave is

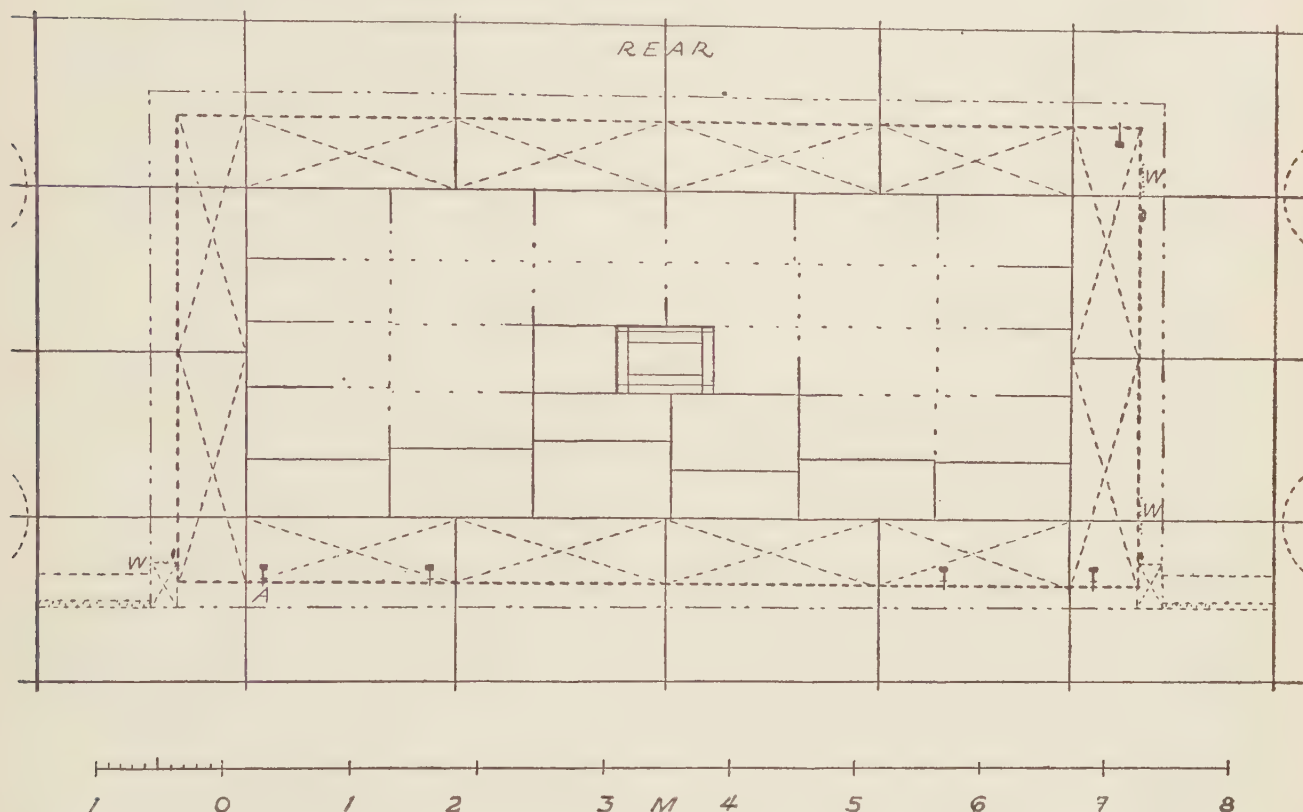


FIG. 18. Data for the restored pedestal of the Parthenos. The heavy dotted line indicates the outline of the pedestal.

determined. Note that the plinth of the new pedestal was set back 0.19 m. on all sides (Fig. 19).

Why was the plinth set back? The frieze of Pandora was certainly destroyed by the same fire that damaged the original plinth of the pedestal. And the destruction of the frieze would be all the more complete if the frieze figures were cut in the round, like the frieze figures of the big altar at Pergamon.²⁹ What more natural than to make

²⁸ Lucian, *Gallus*, 24 (Loeb ed., II, p. 224). In this dialogue the cock says to Mikyllos that inside the colossal statues of Pheidias and other famous sculptors, there were bars, props, beams, wedges and pitch, and that sometimes mice and rats lived within the statues (reference kindly supplied by Mr. B. H. Hill).

²⁹ *Altertümer von Pergamon*, III, 1, pl. XIII.

the restored frieze of not more relief, relatively speaking, than that of the Panathenaic Procession (Fig. 19)? There are many effective reliefs where the height of the figures is about that of the frieze of the Parthenos, and where the greatest projection of the carving is *ca.* 0.045 m. And to reduce the frieze figures in the round to figures in relief would decrease the chances of their destruction by future fires. Experience is a good teacher.

The plinth does not seem to have been *cut back* 0.19 m., for the four dowel holes with pour channels on the east side of the pedestal (Fig. 18) show that *new blocks*

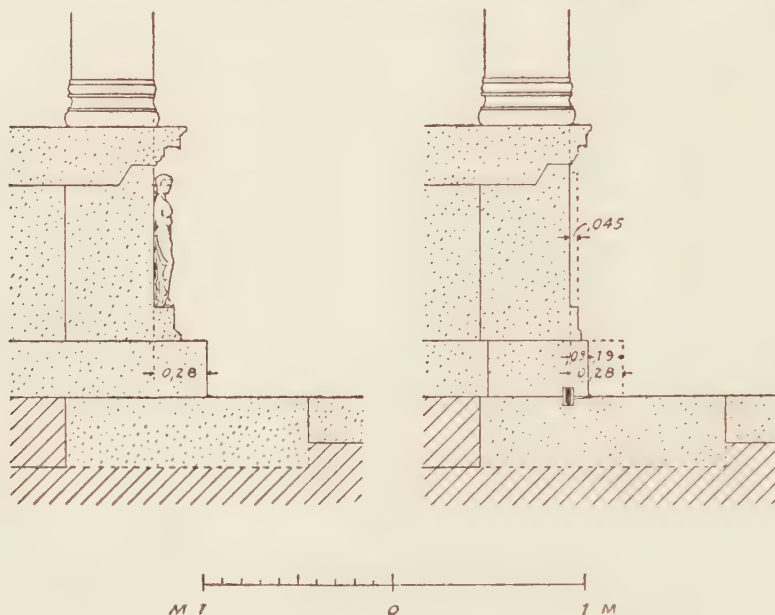


FIG. 19. The original and the repaired pedestal, showing the set-back of the plinth and the possible substitution of frieze figures in relief for the original frieze figures in the round.

were held by these dowels. And the use of new blocks is borne out by the fact that while the original pedestal had three blocks across the east, the joints of which did not line with the joints of the pavement, the restored pedestal had six blocks the joints of which did line with the joints of the pavement (Figs. 4 and 18).

In order to set new plinth blocks, the frieze blocks must have been removed (Fig. 19)—new frieze blocks were required.

It is likely that all the blocks of the top course of the pedestal had to be replaced, for the top of the pedestal was exposed to the full fury of the fire (Fig. 12).

To return to Figure 18 for a moment. Note that the plinth of the restored base is shown 0.19 m. back of the western rim of the water basin. This does not mean that the basin was no longer thought necessary, for, if moisture was needed for the

ivory of the statue before the restoration of the pedestal, moisture would likewise be needed for the ivory of the restored statue. Figure 20 shows how the rim used in connection with the first pedestal was adjusted to the restored pedestal. There is a weathering on the pavement to the west of the adjustment block A, Figure 20, which confirms the restoration shown in the figure.

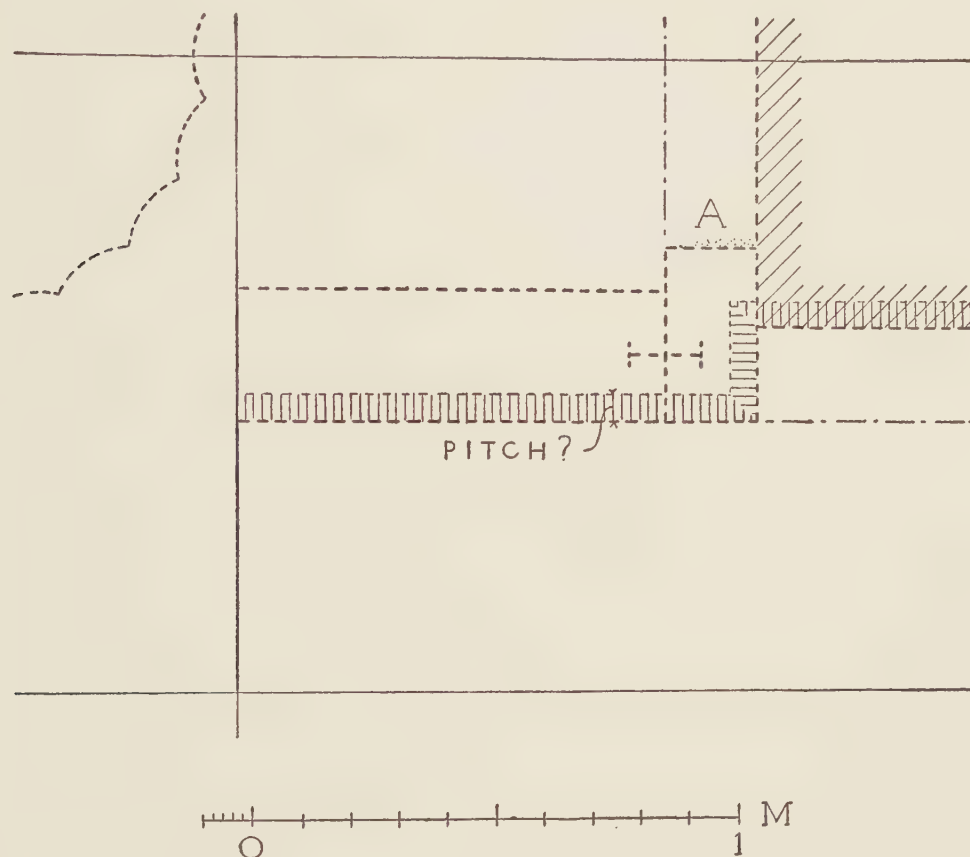


FIG. 20. Adjustment between the rim of the basin and the southeast corner of the restored pedestal.

The adjustment block A could have been held firmly in place by a clamp, as indicated in Figure 20.

How was the water of the basin prevented from finding its way not only under the block of adjustment between the rim and the pedestal, but also under the blocks of the restored pedestal (Figs. 18, 20)? It is highly probable that pitch or some other waterproofing material was smeared on the pavement, as shown in Figure 20, before block A and the restored blocks of the pedestal were laid. Such a method of waterproofing is borne out by the dowel cuttings with peculiar pour channels under the

east blocks of the restored pedestal (Figs. 18; 21). There are four dowel cuttings on the side of the pedestal toward the tank and all have the peculiar pour channels; there is only one dowel cutting on the west side of the pedestal, but its pour channel is of the usual type where there is only a pour channel running straight in from

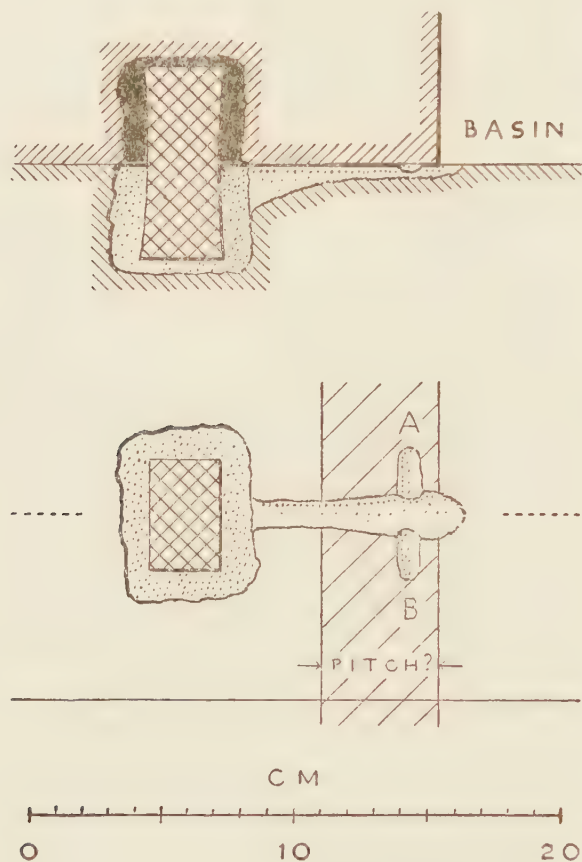


FIG. 21. Late dowel cutting and its peculiar pour channel: at A, Figure 18.

the outside of the block to be set. Blocks where late dowels and pour channels are used must be pried into place without having their under surfaces in contact with the blocks they are to rest on, because the blocks to be set have one or more dowels projecting from their under surfaces (Fig. 22), and because only until the dowels are directly over their respective holes in the courses below can the blocks be lowered into their final positions. It is evident that the blocks to be set cannot be pushed along the pavement, a movement which would displace ruinously any waterproofing beneath the blocks. On the other hand, the vertical lowering of the blocks upon a waterproofing

would make good watertight joints by squeezing the waterproofing material into the cracks and crannies.

Let us suppose that the waterproofing, suggested above, has been applied, care, however, having been taken not to smear the pitch over the pour channel, as that would clog the channel. Now the time has come to run the lead around the dowel in its cutting in the pavement (Fig. 21). Evidently there was fear that without the crossarm

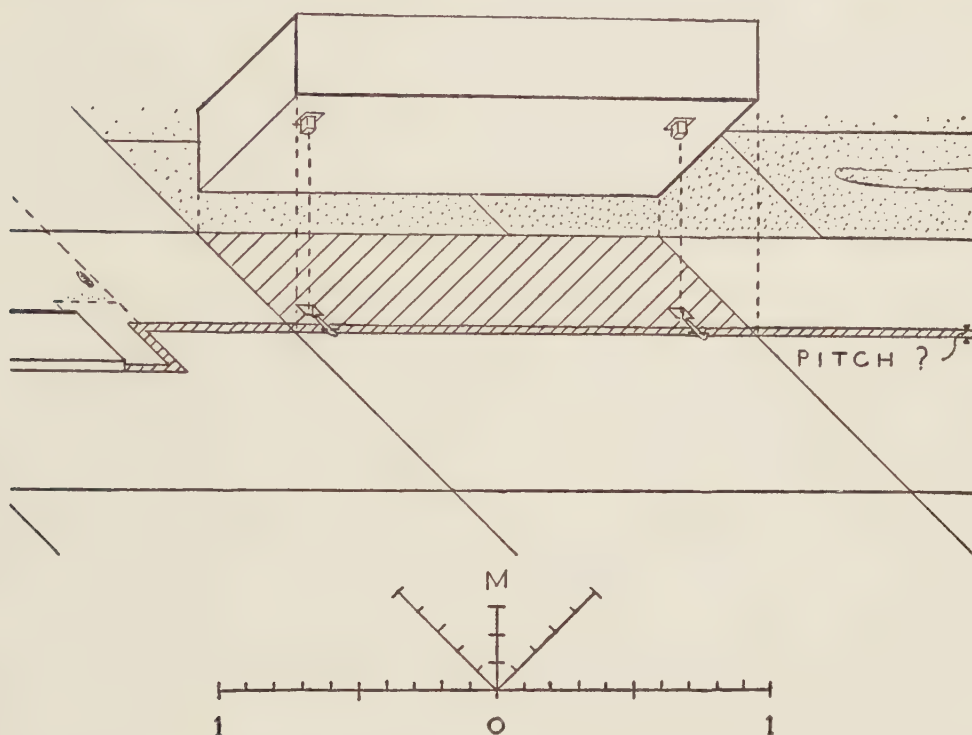


FIG. 22. A block with dowels protruding from its bottom needs to be lowered into place (the east plinth block of the restored pedestal next the southeast corner block).

A-B, Figure 21, the molten lead would destroy the pitch in contact with the sides of the pour channel and thus open passages through which the water from the basin would work its way under the block. The lead in the crossbars sealed these passages.⁸⁰

The date of the restoration of the pedestal, as given by the architectural evidence, is uncertain. About all that can be said is that the restoration took place after a major conflagration of late date. Once the ceiling caught fire, how could the conflagration be put out? The blazing ceiling would fall to the floor and there burn fiercely, sending great heat through the lofty east door. This is the reason why:

⁸⁰ For waterproofing by lead in the Erechtheum see Paton and Stevens, *Erechtheum*, pp. 114-115, pl. XXVII, 1 and 2.

- 1) The sill of the east door was restored (if the sill was damaged, the jambs and lintel were likewise damaged).
- 2) The columns of the pronaos were badly calcined from top to bottom, but only on the sides toward the door.

The crudeness of the restorations connected with the fire indicates a Roman date. And the peculiar dowel cuttings of the restored base go well with such a late date, for Hellenistic dowels with pour channels were smaller and better cut (Fig. 21). To the writer the repairs upon both the door and the pedestal seem to be of the Roman period, and the damage in each case to be caused by the same fire.

CONCLUSIONS

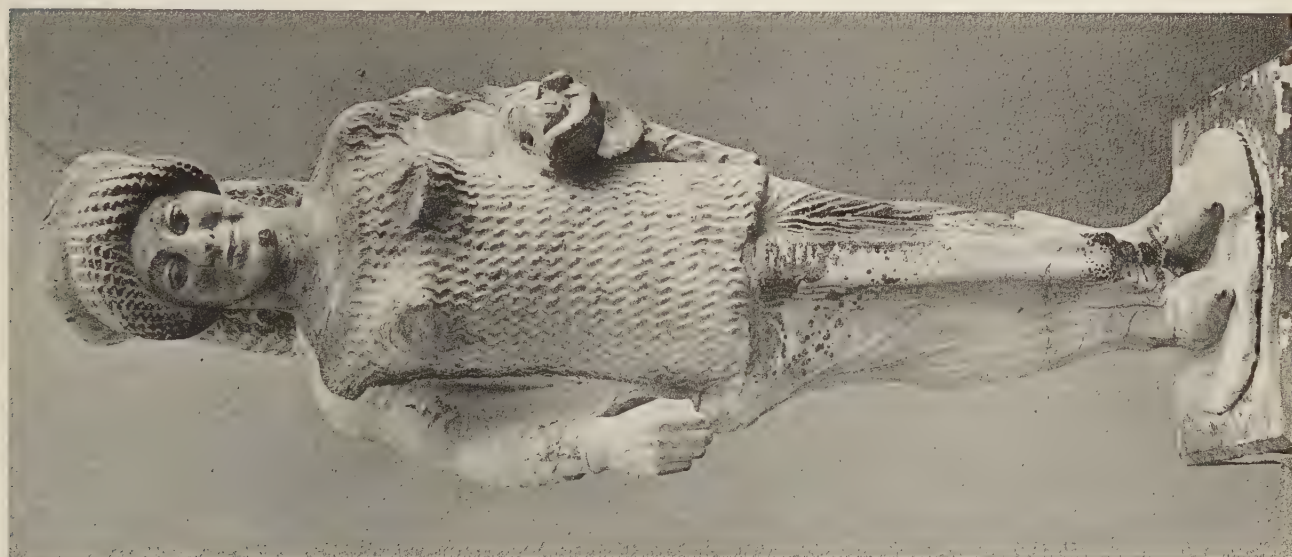
We present the following conclusions:

- 1) The Parthenos, on its original pedestal, of which six interior blocks of the plinth remain, appeared in 438 B.C.
- 2) A water basin was arranged in front of the pedestal at a subsequent date, but prior to Pausanias' visit in Athens (*ca.* A.D. 150).
- 3) As the pedestal shows signs of having been repaired but once, its restoration was with little doubt caused by the *greatest* fire that swept through the cella.
- 4) A great fire occurred in Roman times.⁸¹
- 5) A Parthenos, if not the original, was destroyed by the same fire which ruined the pedestal.
- 6) The water basin was adjusted to the restored pedestal. This indicates that the Parthenos was also restored, for moisture continued to be needed for the ivory of the statue.

GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

⁸¹ Was the statue, thus destroyed, the original statue, or was it already a replica of the original? Did the original statue have a treetrunk for a support under the hand as indicated on some of the coins (Jane Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 448, fig. 48 b), and did a column take the place of the treetrunk when the statue was restored (either a treetrunk or a column would make a good support)? Were the Varvakion and the Lenormant statuettes copies of the original, or copies of a replica? These are intriguing questions, but they are hard to answer.



EVELYN B. HARRISON: A NEW FRAGMENT OF AKROPOLIS 683



1a



1b



1c



2b



2a



3a



3b



3c



4b



4a



5a



6b



5b



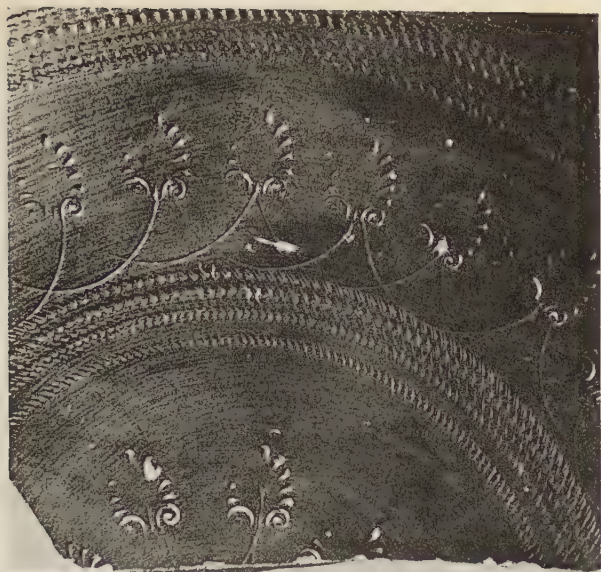
6d



6c



6a



7a



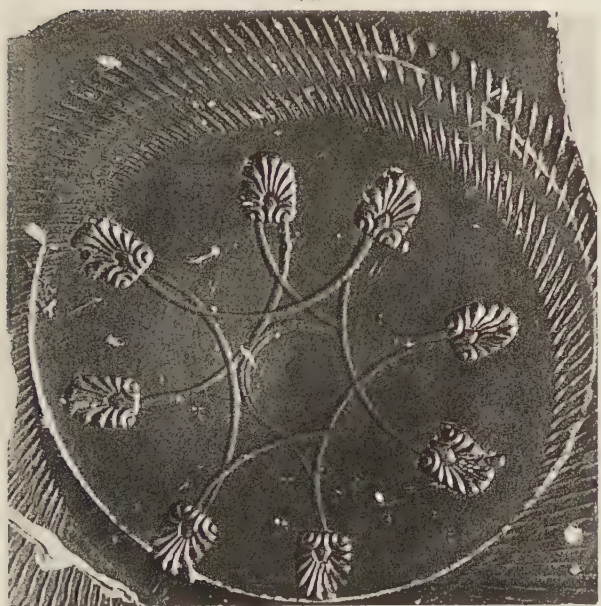
7b



8b



8a



10a



10b



9b



9a



11a



12b



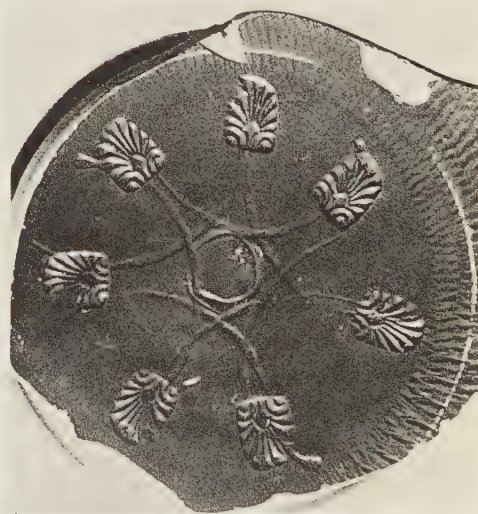
12c



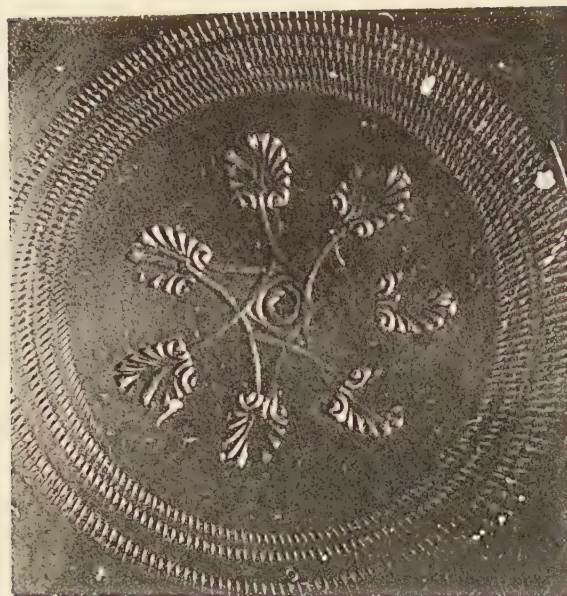
11b



11c



12a



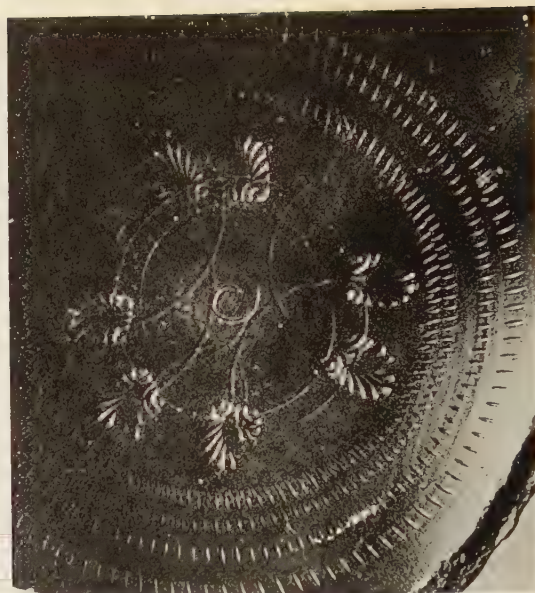
13a



13b



15b



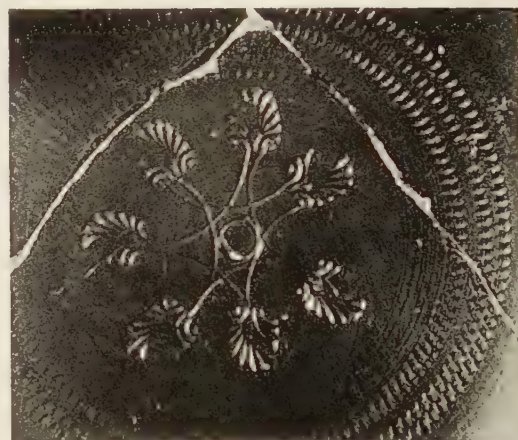
15a



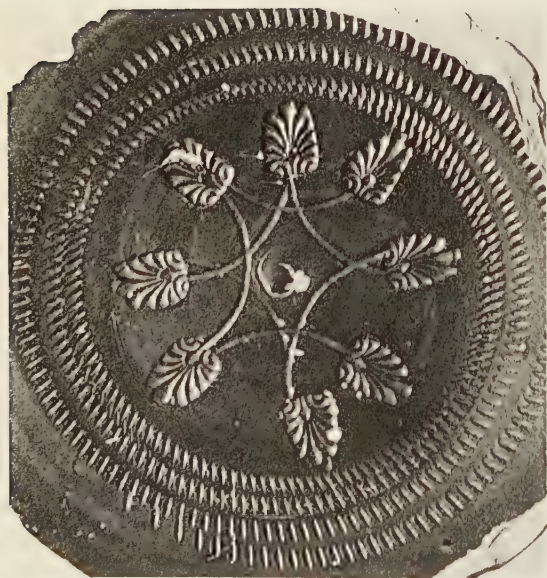
14c



14b



14a



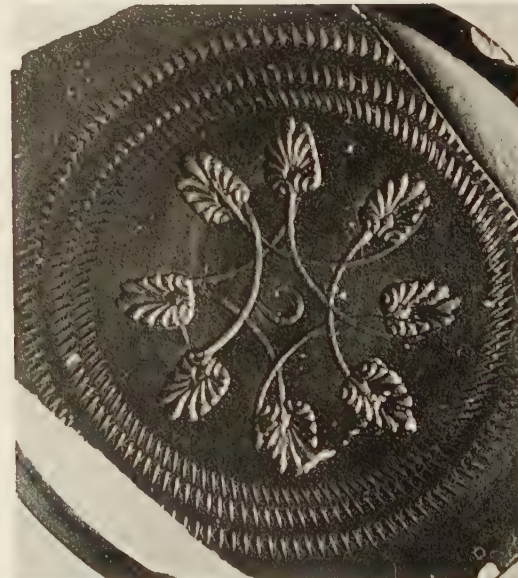
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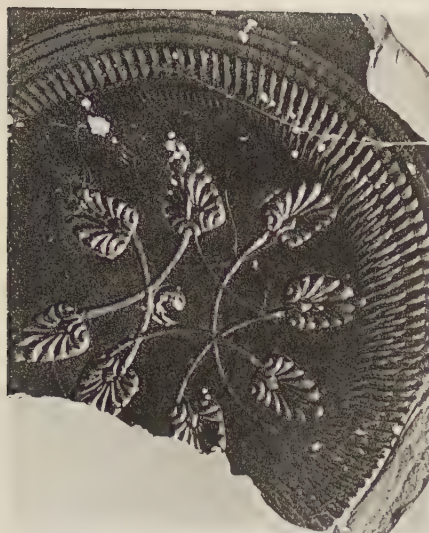
16b



17b



17a



18a



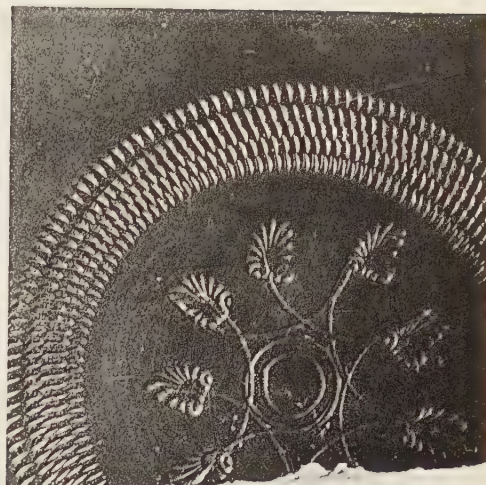
18b



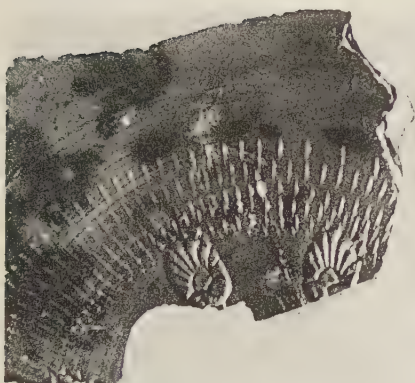
18c



19b



19a



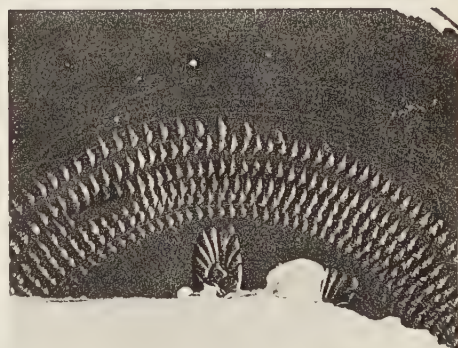
20a



20b



21b



21a



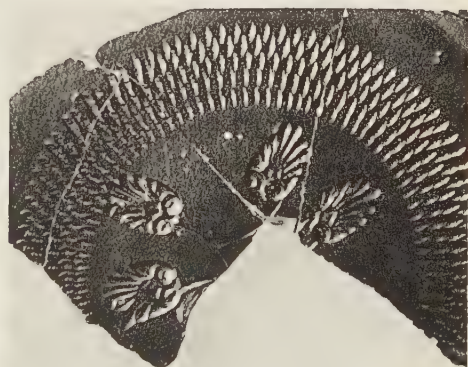
22a



22b



23b



23a



25c



25b



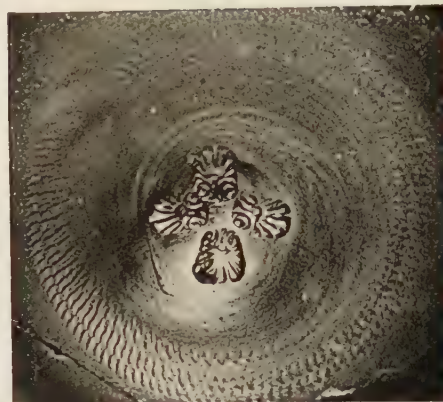
25a



26c



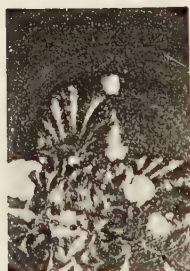
26b



26a



27c



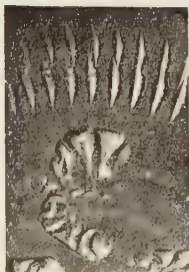
27b



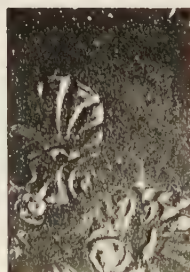
27a



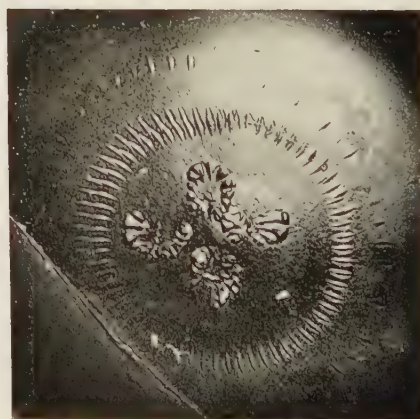
28d



28c



28b

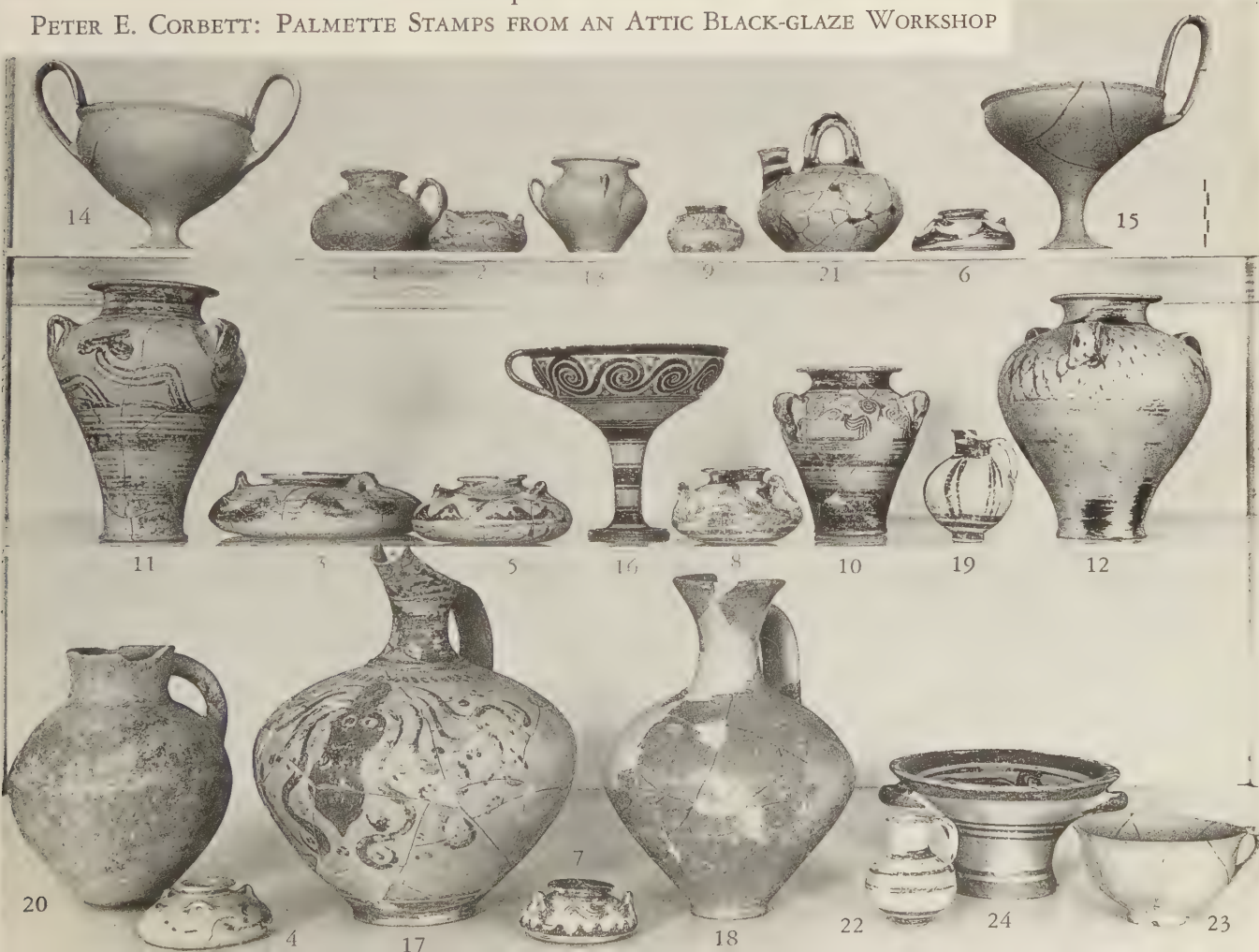


28a



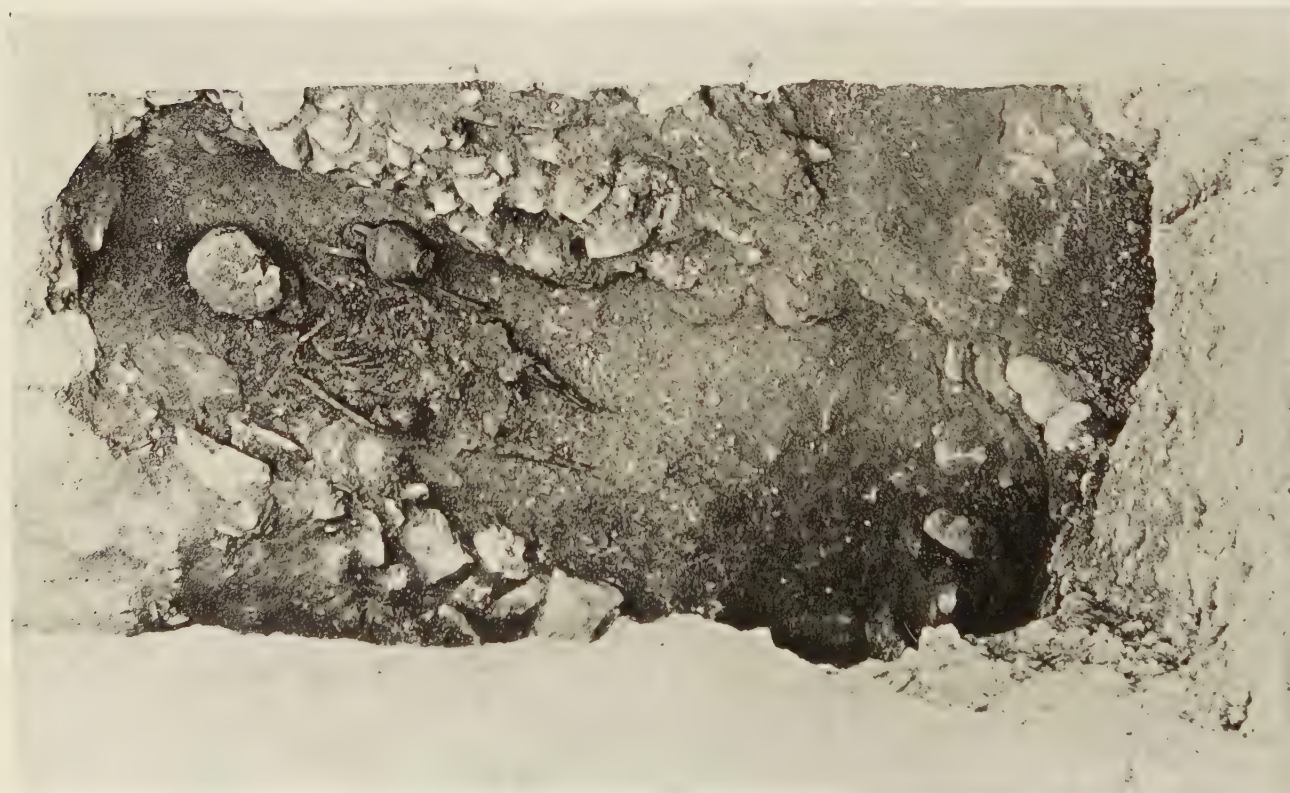
Modern Impressions i—xii

PETER E. CORBETT: PALMETTE STAMPS FROM AN ATTIC BLACK-GLAZE WORKSHOP





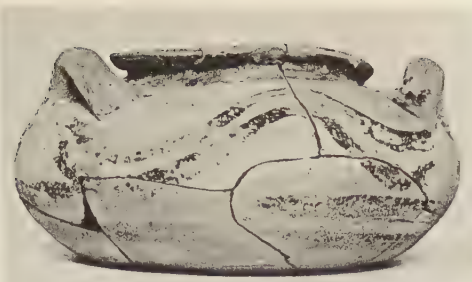
a. Chamber Tomb, Burials at Lower Level



b. Protoegeometric Grave in Dromos I



1



2



3



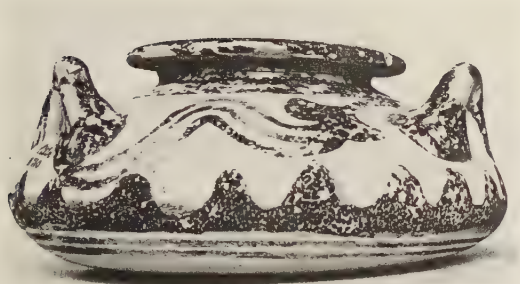
4



5



6



7



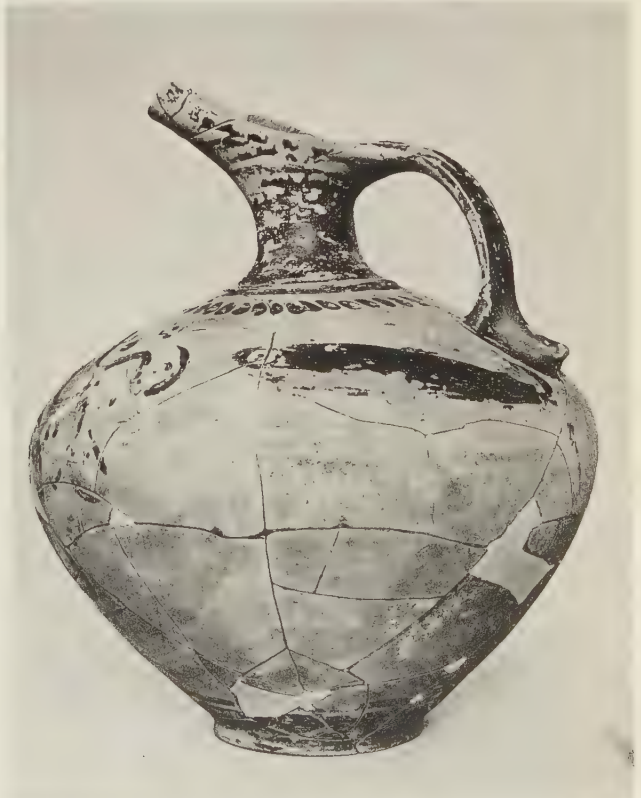
8



9



17





10



11



12



13



15



16



14

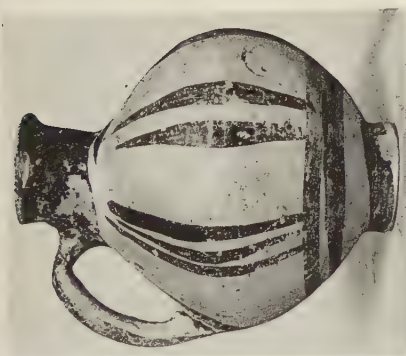
EMILY D. TOWNSEND: A MYCENAEAN CHAMBER TOMB UNDER THE TEMPLE OF ARES



18



22



19



23



24



20

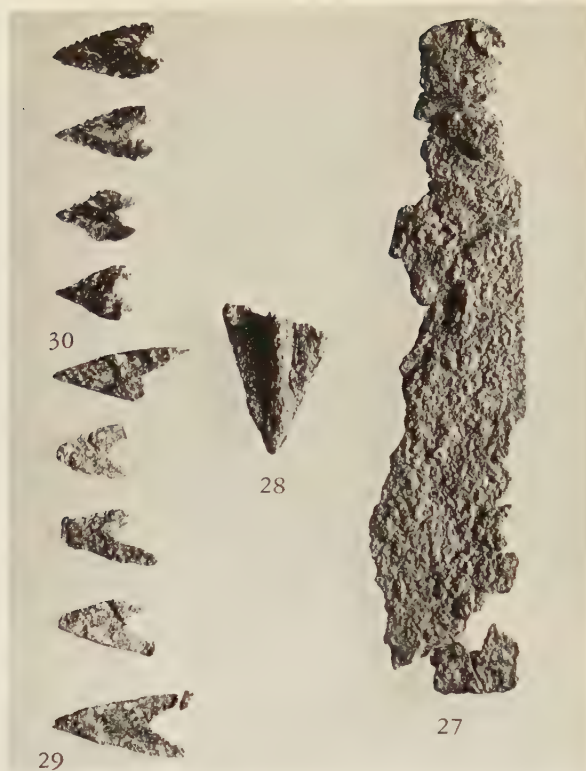


21

EMILY D. TOWNSEND: A MYCENAEAN CHAMBER TOMB UNDER THE TEMPLE OF ARES



Skull of Burial VIII





25



37

38



36



43

44

42

41

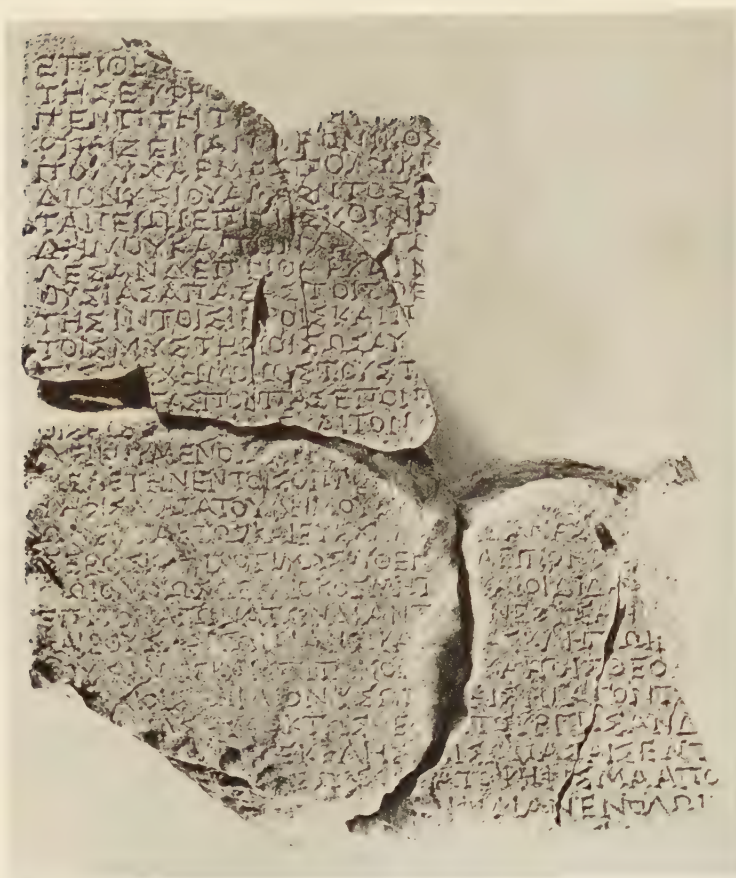
40

39

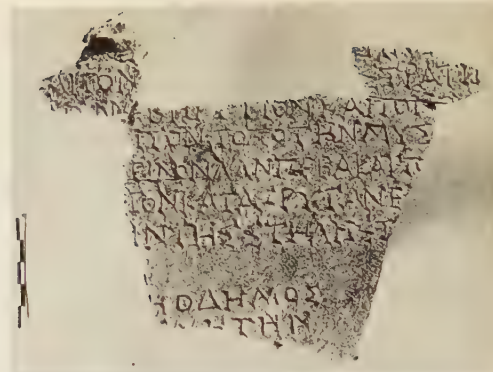
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46

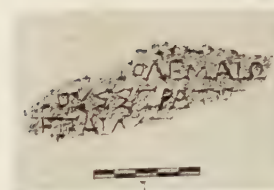
47



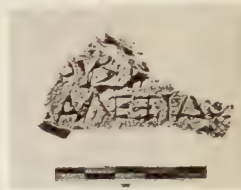
Fragments A + A² + Σ 1299 d and s



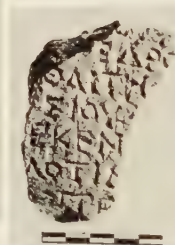
Fragment E² + g



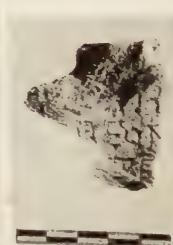
k



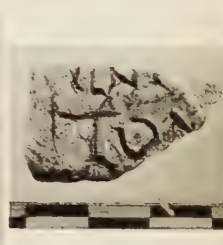
m



l



n



o



p



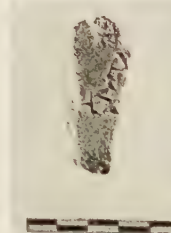
q



r



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u



v



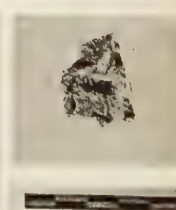
Fragment N: I.G., II², 1039, fr. v (E.M. 5259)



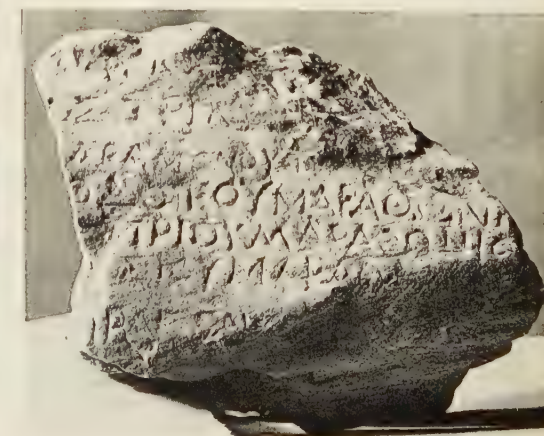
w



x



y



Fragment O: I.G., II², 1007 (E.M. 7604)

DATED JARS OF EARLY IMPERIAL TIMES

(PLATES 79-80)

ATHENIAN wells that were used or filled in the first and second centuries of our era invariably include both fragments and complete examples of an extremely uniform and recognizable type of micaceous jar. The frequency and uniformity of these jars combine with their evident foreignness to make them a peculiarly informative and rewarding object of study.¹

The uniformity of these jars may be seen and understood best against a background of their predecessors and contemporaries, where there is evidence of considerably more variety and development. Some sixteen of the predecessors come from contexts of the first century B.C. and the first century of our era.² Although they show uniformity with respect to their generally ovoid shape, comparatively small neck and foot, and single band handle, there is much variety in clay, relative proportions, size and stage of development. The general uniformity suggests that this type of jar was found convenient and practical; the variety suggests that the type was being made in many places and by many hands. The difference in shape may be seen in Plate 79, a-d;³ the clay of the various specimens ranges from pinkish buff through buff and red, both with and without mica, to a rather coarse brown.

This general 'predecessor' group continues into the first century after Christ and at the same time three different types develop within it or are specialized out of it. One of these types (1) uses a dark buff non-micaceous clay and adds to the general characteristics a high-collared ring foot (Pl. 79, e).⁴ In type 2 micaceous buff clay, with or without a buff slip, is used, but the differentiating feature is not the foot but the body, which is wheel-ridged throughout (Pl. 79, f-g).⁵ It is type 3 that has moved

¹ This study was undertaken during the tenure of a fellowship under the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, which made work in Athens possible. Thanks are due also to the American School of Classical Studies, and in particular to the field director and staff of the excavations of the Athenian Agora, both for publication permission and for assistance and facilities of all sorts.

² For the dates of well groups I am indebted not only to the excavation staff of the Agora but also and particularly to Henry S. Robinson, whose forthcoming study of the Roman pottery from the Athenian Agora I have been allowed to consult.

³ The context date appears in the parentheses following the number. a) P 11870 (late Hellenistic: Robinson F 66); b) P 16712 (first century A.D.); c) P 16709 (first century A.D.); d) P 11339 (first century A.D.).

⁴ e) P 14123 (first century A.D.).

⁵ f) P 3149 (first century A.D.); g) P 15309 (first century A.D.).

farthest from the predecessor group, since it uses the high-collared ring foot of type 1, the wheel-ridging of type 2 and clays that differ markedly from the buff of the other two types (Pl. 79, h-i).⁶ Type 3, the most numerous, is the one to which our large group of uniform jars with graffiti belongs. Its foreignness, from the Athenian point of view, is sufficiently demonstrated by its clay, either a dull red or brown micaceous which may be fired black, brown or red.

Before the close examination of our type 3, a look at the later development of all three types will clarify their interrelationships. Each of them in the later second and early third centuries has deteriorating descendants. They have in common one chief characteristic of deterioration: the slipping of the greatest diameter down from the shoulder. In type 1 the second century examples have steeply sloping shoulders and a wide belly (Pl. 79, j-l).⁷ The later examples of type 2 accentuate the broad shoulders of the original shape at first, but then become simply fusiform (Pl. 79, m-q);⁸ these jars all show traces of what seems to have been a thick red or black glaze-like wash, which may be local simulation of type 3. Type 3 shows deterioration from the ovoid to the fusiform, gaining roughly in height what it loses in girth (Pl. 79, r-t).⁹ That these deteriorated types are contemporary may be seen in the various well groups where examples of all three are found together. Further development and deterioration may be traced in later centuries, but we have already gone far enough afield from our restricted group.

Twenty-five jars or parts of jars (2-26) make up the group found in the Agora. All of these, insofar as they are complete, have closely similar proportions and dimensions, if we exclude the one specimen (3) which must have been intended as a *diplon*, since its capacity is double. The variation in four crucial dimensions (height, maximum diameter, mouth diameter and foot diameter) is little more than 10%, which must be allowed when we consider that pots could not be made to exact dimensions, but allowance had to be made for shrinkage.¹⁰ The clay is invariably a dull red or brown micaceous which is affected in different ways by different firings, so that the outer surface may be an almost polished black, a dull or clear red, or a rather dirty brown. The small, high-collared ring foot has the same diameter as the mouth, which has a collared rim flat on top. The ovoid body is wheel-ridged throughout. The broad concave band handle forms a ring from mid-neck to upper shoulder with both ends

⁶ h) P 11644 equals 8 below; i) P 17896 equals 20 below.

⁷ j) P 11201 (second and third centuries A.D.); k) P 11699 (second century A.D.); l) P 15683 (second and early third centuries A.D.).

⁸ m) P 17897 (second and early third centuries A.D.); n), o) P 18882-18883 (second century A.D.); p) P 14082 (early third century A.D.); q) 16697 (second and third centuries A.D.).

⁹ r) P 8337 (second century A.D.); s) P 8774 (third century A.D.); t) P 13052 (third century A.D.).

¹⁰ Richter, G. M. A., *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, New Haven, 1924, pp. 16 and 28; Stevens, G. P., "A Tile Standard in the Agora of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 178.

splayed in attachment. Beneath the lower handle attachment of twenty-four (2-25) out of our twenty-five examples is a graffito number. One further item of uniformity must be mentioned before we consider these numbers: the capacity of the measurable specimens averages about two choes (*ca.* 6.500 liters) with the same exception (3) as was noted above, i. e., the *diplon* which appears to have held four choes.

Of the twenty-four graffito numbers, seventeen range from 112 to 188 (ΠΒ-ΡΓΗ); of the other seven, the beginning is not preserved on three, and on four the complete numbers are 41, 42, 49 and 76 (ΜΑ, ΜΒ, ΜΘ, ΟΣ). Such widely variant numbers cannot refer to weight or capacity since the jars are so uniform in these respects. Nor is it at all probable that the numbers are price marks, since the great uniformity of the jars suggests uniform contents which should then have reasonably similar prices. Furthermore, it does not seem likely that the numbers belong to any system of classification, unless it was a very wide one, because the jars and fragments come from all parts of the Agora.

The only other obvious reason why numbers should so consistently appear in a particular place on a particular kind of jar is as dates. Dated jars are of course known to us from the Hellenistic period when the stamps appearing on amphora handles seem to date the jar by one or more magistrate's names. There are, at the other extreme, many late Roman jars in the Agora collections (as yet unpublished) which have indication dates painted on them. For the early Roman period, many pots dated by the consuls of the year were found at Pompeii¹¹ and a few such have been identified in the Athenian Agora. The existence of dated pots gives us the right and even perhaps the obligation to try to interpret these graffito numbers as dates. The inscriptions themselves provide some help toward such an interpretation. In front of the number on one of the pots (12) is a symbol (L) which is a recognized abbreviation for 'year';¹² on two others (13 and 14) the numbers are preceded by ΝΙ which might be the abbreviation for *νίκης* or *ἔτους νίκης*. 'The year of the victory' refers back to the victory at Actium and is regularly used in dates based on the Actian era.¹³ Since the range of graffito numbers is such that they give dates on the Actian era which compare favorably with the context dates of the jars, we are perhaps justified in exploring this interpretation in detail.

Of the twenty-one 'dates' where the number is preserved complete, seventeen range from 112 to 188 (ΠΒ-ΡΓΗ). Such a proportion makes it extremely likely that the three incomplete inscriptions (4, 24, 25) had the sign for 100 (Ρ) in front of the

¹¹ *C.I.L.*, IV, 2551-2561; IV Supplement II, 5510-5534.

¹² Gardthausen, V. *Griechische Palaeographie*, Leipzig, 1913, II, p. 341.

¹³ Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Aera 647-652 (Kubitschek); Ginzel, F. K., *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1914, III, pp. 8, 43; Head, B. V., *Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 242 ff., 779, 783, 791, 798; Tod, M. N., "The Macedonian Era Re-considered," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II, St. Louis, 1953, pp. 382-397.

two remaining numbers. Even the four examples (**6, 7, 10, 18**) in which the number is complete may simply be abbreviations. They read 41, 42, 49 and 76, but so similar are the jars to examples which read 142, 147 and 178 that the intervention of a hundred years must be thought impossible. Such abbreviation is usual not only in our own numbers (we write '53-'54 and we say 'fifty-five') but also in a period much closer to the Actian era: *e.g.* 964 A.D., which is 6472 from the beginning of the world, is written YOB instead of EYOB; and 1264 A.D. is written ΠC instead of EΨΠC.¹⁴

In this way our twenty-four jars of type 3 give us 'dates' ranging from 112 to 189; and as befits pots so similar, the longest and most exceptional gap in the sequence is of 17 years. There is one gap of ten years; the others are all less than six. Neither of the other types provides an example of a date, but one (**1**) of the general 'predecessor' group is incised in the same place and in the same way with a 'date' (80-Π) which sufficiently indicates the different stages in development between the predecessor group and type 3. That is, the gap of 32 years between the one dated predecessor jar and the first of the type 3 examples is what we should expect not only from the development of the vessel's form but also from the context of each.

The catalogue has been arranged in the chronological order provided by the Actian dates. The beginning of the Actian era may vary from place to place, depending on the local calendar and the relationship of the local year's opening with the date of the battle,¹⁵ but for our purposes it will be sufficient to use 31 B.C. as the point of departure and so subtract 30 from our graffito numbers to get A.D. dates. In the catalogue the context date is given wherever the context is datable. But a few words are necessary here to show generally the relationship between the 'Actian dates' and the context dates. The latter are necessarily defined by somewhat broad limits, often including both of the centuries to which our jars belong. It is all the more impressive therefore that the earliest Actian date (**1**) belongs to the earliest context (first century B.C. to first century A.D.), that of **2** to **14** all but **7** come from contexts of the first century A.D. or of the first and second centuries A.D., and that the later jars (wherever the context is datable) come with material of the second and third centuries A.D.

Where more than one 'dated' jar comes from the same context, there is a further check. From the stratified well (M 17:1) which was in use from the first through the sixth century come three (**8, 14, 17**): **8** and **14**, dated A.D. 112 and 131 are from Layer II, which is dated to the late first and early second century; **17** comes from Layer IV (dated to the second half of the second century), and if its inscription is correctly interpreted below, it must be A.D. 145. From another well (B 12:1) come five examples (**9, 12, 18, 24, 26**) ranging in date from A.D. 117 to 159. These jars belong to the upper or dumped fill, which is made up of material of the second and early third centuries A.D.

¹⁴ Gardthausen, V., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 370-371.

¹⁵ Tod, M. N., *op. cit.*, p. 394.

From the catalogue it will be seen that the jars of type 3 may be divided (in accordance with slight variations in form and in the color of the clay) into two groups: (A) the black or clear red examples with slightly more ovoid bodies, slightly larger feet and mouths, both very neatly turned, and a slightly larger capacity; (B) the dull dark red or brownish red clay with slightly less ovoid bodies, slightly smaller feet and mouths rather carelessly turned, and a slightly smaller capacity. If we had no other information we would suspect that (B) represented an imitation of (A) or a later development. But both context dates and Actian dates show that they are contemporary. The difference in clay perhaps explains why they are both contemporary and different in form; they must come from different sections or perhaps only from different potteries.

Where these jars were manufactured and what they contained when they were shipped to Athens must remain a question until more of this type of Roman material is excavated and published from various sites. The only exact parallels known to me are: a neck fragment from Tarsus,¹⁶ and a jar of type 3B found in early Roman levels at Curium, Cyprus; below its handle is the graffito $P\Delta$ (104 or A.D. 74).¹⁷ The use of the Actian era is too widespread, at least in the eastern Mediterranean, to help in narrowing down the provenience. One possible clue is suggested by the interpretation of MA (see 24 below) which occurs on two of the jars and may be an Egyptian measure of capacity.

Several examples of another type of jar show the same series of numbers, scratched not below the handle but on the neck between the upper and lower handle attachments. These jars, of which no complete example is known to me, must have been of very large size, to judge from the heavy construction and size of the preserved necks, mouths and the handles. Like the micaceous jars, they are made of a non-Athenian clay, a heavy brick red with dark gray core. Our most complete specimens (28, 29, 33) preserve a part of the shoulder, which is marked by shallow wheel-ridging. All nine examples have the same collar rim flat on top set off from the neck below by two very deep grooves (string grooves). The heavy handles, round in section and ridged on top, rise slightly from the neck before turning down to the shoulder.

There is considerable variation in the contexts from which these big red amphorae come. One (31) was found in connection with pottery of the later third and of the fourth century; three (28, 30, 34) appeared in destruction fills dated by the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, and four (29, 32, 33, 35) come from fills of the second or early third century. Although it might be possible for the same jars to be made without any

¹⁶ Goldman, H., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, Vol. I, Princeton, 1950, Pottery no. 797.

¹⁷ I wish to express my gratitude to the University of Pennsylvania Museum's Expedition to Curium for permission to mention this jar.

change or development for two hundred years, the general unlikelihood justifies us in examining the extent to which jars made in the second century might turn up in third and fourth century contexts. In the first place, the amphorae are very large and heavy so that they might be expected to have a sedentary and therefore prolonged life. Secondly, the extremely heavy construction of neck and handles at least makes them practically indestructible so that they might be kicked around for a long time. As a matter of fact, two of the examples (30 and 31) found in late contexts are simply sherds and say nothing about the date of the whole jar. And the relatively frequent occurrence of neck fragments of these jars, where all other parts are missing, might suggest that they were used for some purpose, serving perhaps as a large funnel.

Perhaps the strongest reason for dating these jars in the second century A.D. is the similarity of their graffito numbers to those on the micaceous jugs. Although it is within the bounds of possibility that at two different times the Athenians imported two different kinds of jars with the same sort of numbers on them, it is not only unlikely but also it is difficult to point to another era as widespread as the Actian era. In short, it is easier to believe that the large red amphorae, like the smaller micaceous jugs, were imported to Athens as containers of some commodity, and that in their place of origin a date (of contents ?) was scratched on either as they were filled or as they were shipped. The size and shape of the two kinds of jars suggest something about their possible contents: the small neck, small size, and large numbers of the micaceous jugs make it likely that their contents were (1) liquid, (2) fairly expensive, but (3) an almost necessary luxury. The large size and wide neck of the big red amphorae suggest a not too expensive commodity that could be bought in some bulk and possibly a dry one; so perhaps a cereal. More certainty in this matter must wait for further information on the provenience of the jars.

Whatever their contents may have been, these two groups of jars give us two bits of information about commercial practices in the early imperial period: that jars of standard capacity were used as shipping containers; and that for some reason the contents were dated; dating of the jar itself, as with amphora handles, would most probably be done before firing.

CATALOGUE

1. Upper part of micaceous jar.

P 7965. P. H. 0.198 m. Restored to lowest point preserved. Red micaceous clay. General predecessor type.

Incised below handle: Π (80), i. e., A.D. 50.

Context: R 13: 1, well. Dumped filling of first century B.C. to first century A.D.

2. Handle fragment. Pl. 80.

P 18244. Max. dim. 0.10 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: ΠΒ (112), i. e., A.D. 82.

Context: C 18. Early Roman fill, probably first century A.D.

3. Double-sized micaceous jar.

P 2945. H. 0.47 m.; diam. 0.27 m. Restored. Clear red micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Capacity: something over 12 liters.

Inscribed on shoulder by handle: P15 (116), i. e., A.D. 86.

The location of the graffito is unique among our examples, but cf. 17.

4. Sherd.

P 19485. Max. dim. 0.037. Red micaceous clay. Probably from below the handle of a jar of type 3 A.

Incised:]10 (119), i. e., A.D. 89.

Context: C 18. Early Roman fill, probably first century A.D.

5. Neck and shoulder fragment. Pl. 80.

P 17114. P. H. 0.111 m. Dark red micaceous clay. Type 3 B.

Incised below handle: PΛC (136), i. e., A.D. 106.

Context: B 20:1, well. Use fill is first and second centuries A.D.

6. Handle fragment.

P 12981. P. H. 0.085 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised: MΛ('41), i. e., A.D. 111.

Context: O 20: 1, cistern. Dumped fill of late first, early second centuries.

7. Handle fragment. Pl. 80.

P 22774. P. H. 0.09 m. Dark red micaceous clay. Type 3 B.

Incised: MΒ('42), i. e., A.D. 112.

Context: P 15. Fill of second and third centuries.

8. Micaceous jar. Pl. 79, h.

P 11644. P. H. 0.44 m.; diam. 0.22 m. Mouth missing, restored. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Capacity: 6.500 liters.

Incised below handle: PMB(142), i. e., A.D. 112.

Context: M 17: 1, well. Layer II fill of late first, early second century.

9. Upper part of micaceous jar.

P 8255. P. H. 0.241 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: PMZ (147), i. e., A.D. 117.

Context: B 12: 1, well. Dumped fill of second and early third centuries.

10. Micaceous jar.

P 11127. P. H. 0.44 m.; diam. 0.222 m. Clear red micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Capacity: 6.750 liters.

Incised below handle: MΘ('49), i. e., A.D. 119.

Context: B 14: 2, well. Use fill of late first century and second century A.D.

11. Upper part of micaceous jar. Pl. 80.

P 20058. P. H. 0.16 m. Clear red micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{MA} \\ \text{PN} \end{smallmatrix}$ (150), i. e., A.D. 120.

Context: D 17: 1, well. Late first and early second centuries A.D.

The graffiti are very faint, but the above reading is fairly sure. For the MA above the 'date,' see 24 below.

12. Fragmentary micaceous jar. Pl. 80.

P 8253. P. H. 0.425 m.; diam. 0.213 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: L PN[(year 150+), i. e., A.D. 120+.

Context: B 12: 1, well. Dumped fill of second and early third centuries A.D.

13. Fragment. Pl. 80.

P 17885. Max. dim. 0.055 m. Brownish black micaceous clay. Fabric of type 3 A.

Incised: N1 PN[(year of victory 150+), i. e., A.D. 120+.

Context: D 17. Early Roman fill at least as late as first century A.D.

For N1 abbreviation see 14 below.

14. Upper part of micaceous jar. Pl. 80.

P 11643. P. H. 0.17 m. Dark red micaceous clay. Type 3 B.

Incised below handle: ΝΙΡΞΑ (year of victory 161), i. e., A.D. 131.

Context: M 17: 1, well. Layer II fill of late first and early second centuries A.D.

The abbreviation here taken as νί(κης έτους) is not completely certain, because the two occurrences (13 and 14) both make the *iota* slant as if it might make a Μ out of the Ν, although it is not joined to the Ν at all. If it should be taken as a Μ, I would suggest that the interpretation given to the ΜΑ found on 11 and 24 (see 24) might also be applied here.

15. Fragment.

P 14858. Max. dim. 0.05 m. Dark red micaceous clay. Fabric of type 3 B.

Incised: ΡΟΑ (171), i. e., A.D. 141.

Context: D 17. Disturbed Roman fill.

16. Upper part of micaceous jar.

P 19824. P. H. 0.13 m. Reddish-brown micaceous clay. Type 3 B.

Incised below handle: ΡΟΕ (175), i. e., A.D. 145.

Context: E 17. Mixed Roman fill.

17. Micaceous jar.

P 11616. H. 0.49 m.; diam. 0.21 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Capacity: 6.600 liters.

Incised under handle: Ρ—, on shoulder ΟΕ (175), i. e., A.D. 145.

Context: M 17: 1, well. Layer IV fill of second half of second century A.D.

The writer seems to have started writing under the handle, been interrupted and returned to finish the date on the shoulder. Cf. 3.

18. Fragmentary micaceous jar.

P 8256. P. H. 0.375 m.; diam. 0.227 m. Restored. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: ΟΕ ('76), i. e., A.D. 146.

Context: B 12: 1, well. Dumped filling of second and early third centuries.

19. Handle fragment. Pl. 80.

P 17591. P. H. 0.095 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised: ΡΟΗ (178), i. e., A.D. 148.

Context: C 16. Disturbed Roman fill.

20. Micaceous jar. Pl. 79, i.

P 17896. H. 0.468 m.; diam. 0.192 m. Dark red micaceous clay. Type 3 B.

Capacity: 6.250 liters.

Incised under handle: ΡΟΘ (179), i. e., A.D. 149.

Context: C 20: 1, well. Use fill of second and early third centuries A.D.

21. Upper part of micaceous jar.

P 18432. P. H. 0.14 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: ΡΠ (180), i. e., A.D. 150.

Context: C 18: 2, well. Lower use fill of first to third centuries A.D.

22. Micaceous jar.

P 11080. H. 0.435 m.; diam. 0.21 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle: ΡΠΕ (185), i. e., A.D. 155.

Context: D 15: 1, well. Use fill of second century.

23. Handle fragment. Pl. 80.

P 10958. Max. dim. 0.115 m. Reddish brown micaceous clay. Type 3 B.

Incised below handle: ΡΠΗ (188), i. e., A.D. 158.

Context: C 14: 5, cistern. Turkish fill.

24. Upper part of micaceous jar. Pl. 80.

P 8254. P. H. 0.109 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised below handle:] ^{ΜΑ} _{ΠΘ} ('89), i. e., A.D. 159.

Context: B 12: 1, well. Dumped filling of second and early third centuries A.D.

The ΜΑ here and probably also in 11 may

with some conviction be interpreted as the abbreviation for *μάτιον*, an Egyptian measure.

25. Fragment. Pl. 80.

P 11754. P. H. 0.093 m. Black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Incised under handle:] $\begin{matrix} \text{ΤΕΠΑΓΩ} \\ \text{ΠΘ ΘΛΑΣΑΣ} \end{matrix}$ ('89),
i. e., A.D. 159.

Context: K 18: 3, cistern. Lower fill of mixed Roman.

26. Micaceous jar.

P 7671. H. 0.41 m.; diam. 0.22 m. Brownish black micaceous clay. Type 3 A.

Capacity: 6.500 liters.

No graffito.

Context: B 12: 1, well. Dumped filling of second and early third centuries A.D.

27. Neck fragment.

P 2414. P. H. 0.20 m. Lower part of neck preserved.

Incised: PKH (128), i. e., A.D. 98.

Context: J 13. No context.

Other graffiti are present but too fragmentary.

28. Upper part of amphora. Pl. 80.

P 18366. P. H. 0.28 m. Preserved down to shoulder.

Incised: PAE (135), i. e., A.D. 105.

Context: C 16. Herulian destruction fill.

29. Upper part of amphora. Pl. 80.

P 21330. P. H. 0.310 m. Preserved down to shoulder.

Incised: PAL (136), i. e., A.D. 106.

Context: I 12. Fill of early third century A.D.

This was found in the drain, wedged against two stones; it would be hard to say how many years it may have stayed there.

30. Sherd. Pl. 80.

P 17892. Max. dim. 0.155 m. Neck piece from under a handle.

Incised: PNA (151), i. e., A.D. 121.

Context: I 12. Herulian destruction fill.

31. Sherd.

P 3247. Max. dim. 0.126 m. Fragment of the neck.

Incised:]NE (155), i. e., A.D. 125.

Context: K 13. Late Roman fill.

The graffito interpreted as date is not, like the others, vertical to the jar.

32. Amphora neck. Pl. 80.

P 17880. P. H. 0.233 m. Mouth, neck and parts of handles preserved.

Incised: PΞZ (167), i. e., A.D. 137.

Context: D 18. Fill of second and early third centuries A.D.

33. Upper part of amphora.

P 18252. P. H. 0.36 m. Preserved, with gaps, down to shoulder.

Incised under rim: $\Upsilon \parallel \chi$ This is not the same as the other graffiti.

Context: D 18. Fill of second and early third centuries A.D.

34. Neck fragment.

P 18368. P. H. 0.14 m. Half of upper neck with part of a handle.

Incised under rim: ΠAY This is not a date graffito.

Context: C 16. Herulian destruction fill.

35. Neck fragment.

P 21636. P. H. 0.11 m. Part of upper neck and part of handle.

Not incised.

Context: U 22. Fill of the second century A.D.

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MENON, SON OF MENEKLEIDES

THE notice in Hesychius (*s.v.* Μενωνίδαι) that Menon was ostracized received full attention only recently¹ when a large number of ostraka with the name of Menon were discovered.² The following reading of the text has been kindly confirmed by K. Latte who is preparing a new edition of Hesychius, the first volume of which has already appeared.³

Hesychius, *s.v.* Μενωνίδαι· τῶν εὐφήμων ἐκ Μένων ἰδίων·

τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸν Μένωνα ἐξωστρακίσθη.

Meineke emended ἐκ Μένων ἰδίων to ἐκ Μενωνιδῶν, but this does not explain the crucial word Menonidai; moreover, the second sentence evidently refers to Menon who must have been mentioned before. Using an emendation which has already appeared in C. Schrevel's edition of 1668, the text may be restored as follows: Μενωνίδαι· <ὄνομα> τῶν εὐφήμων ἐκ Μένων<ος> ἰδίων· τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸν Μένωνα ἐξωστρακίσθ(αι). The insertion of a word such as ὄνομα is necessary and I think permitted. One may translate: Menonidai: (name) of the εὐφημοι belonging to Menon; some say that Menon has been ostracized.

While it does not seem possible to understand the meaning of εὐφημοι in this context, it is clear that the Menonidai were not the descendants but the ἱδιοι of Menon. This brings to mind the story told by Demosthenes (XXIII, 199) about Menon of Pharsalos (see Obst, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Menon, no. 3): ἐκεῖνοι Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ δώδεκα μὲν τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, τριακοσίοις δ' ἱππεῦσι πενέσταις ἰδίοις βοηθήσαντι, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντ', αὐτὸν ἄν τις ἀποκτείνει ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν καὶ ταύτην ἱκανὴν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν.⁴ Evidently, Menon of Pharsalos came to the aid of the Athenians who besieged Eion in 477 B.C.,⁵

¹ See, however, A. Meineke, *F.C.G.*, IV, p. 645, no. 161; Obst, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Menon, no. 5.

² See J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, nos. 28/29; *Imagines*², nos. 30/31; W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, pp. 75-76 (with notes 1 and 2 on p. 76); W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, pp. 161-162 (with note 347 on p. 161).

³ The text does not seem to have been examined since Meineke (*op. cit.*) suggested that the word Menonidai stood originally in an Old Comedy; Th. Bergk (*Op. Phil.*, II, pp. 289-290) and Th. Kock (*C.A.F.*, III, p. 413, no. 72) accepted Meineke's emendation and interpretation.

⁴ The same story is told in another speech attributed to Demosthenes (XIII, 23), where the variations (ἀτέλεια for πολιτεία and διακόσιοι for τριακόσιοι) do not seem to be historical corrections. It is just possible that the mention of Menon's *ateleia* (rather than citizenship) should be connected with the story of another Menon who did receive *ateleia* (see Plutarch, *Pericles*, XXXI, 5; W. Kroll, *s.v.* Menon, no. 7). See L. Volpis, *Demostene, L'orazione contro Aristocrate*, note on pp. 188-189 (with earlier bibliography); I have not seen F. Levy, *De Dem. περὶ συντάξεως oratione*, Diss. Berlin 1919.

⁵ See B. D. Meritt *et al.*, *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 158-159. A. G. Woodhead has shown (*Proc. Cambr.*

returned with them to Athens, and received there the Athenian citizenship.⁶ Some of his Penestai came with him, and the name Menonidai was applied to them, probably in a comedy. The link between the notice in Hesychius and the story told by Demosthenes consists in the mention in both passages of the *ἴδιοι* of Menon.⁷ Since we know that Didymos wrote a commentary on Demosthenes' speech against Aristokrates (XXIII), this may be the ultimate source of Hesychius' note on Menonidai.⁸

From the ostraka cast against Menon we learn that his father was Menekleides, and that he belonged to the Attic deme Gargettos. This association of the name Menon and the demotic Gargettios suggests a connection between Menon of Gargettos, who was a native of Pharsalos, and Thucydides, the son of Menon, an Athenian of Pharsalian origin, who may have belonged to the deme Gargettos. The two lists of the four Athenians who bore the name Thucydides (Marcellinus, *Life of Thucydides*, 28; Schol. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 947; see also Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnenses*, 703) have three names in common: Thucydides, the son of Oloros; Thucydides, the son of Melesias; Thucydides the Thessalian (Schol.) of whom Marcellinus says *τρίτος δὲ γένει Φαρσάλιος, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως, φάσκων αὐτὸν εἶναι πατρὸς Μένωνος*.⁹ The fourth in Marcellinus' list, the poet Thucydides, son of Ariston, from the deme Acherdous,¹⁰ cannot be identical with the fourth of the Scholiast's list,

Phil. Soc., I, 1950-51, pp. 9-12) that Kimon was in Byzantion during the winter of 478/7, and it was from there that he sailed to Eion, as Diodorus (XI, 60, 2), following Ephorus (*F.Gr.Hist.*, 70 F 191, fr. 6), reported. It is, therefore, not necessary to assume (as does A. W. Gomme, *A Hist. Comm. on Thucydides*, I, pp. 399-400) that Pausanias was expelled from Byzantion before the expedition against Eion got under way; on the contrary, Pausanias returned to Byzantion early in 477 B.C., after Kimon and the allies had left the city for Eion; see H. Schaefer, *R.E.*, s.v. Pausanias, cols. 2572-2573.

⁶ His coming to Athens and his staying there are assured by the grant of citizenship which is meaningful only for a resident alien.

⁷ Concerning the status of the Penestai, see F. Miltner, *R.E.*, s.v. Penesten, no. 1, to which should be added references to Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 1271, and to the Scholion on this line.

⁸ See H. Diels and W. Schubart, *Didymi de Dem. comm. cum anonymi in Aristocrateam lexico*. J. Th. M. F. Pieters, *Cratinus*, p. 6, note 14, called attention to the fact that a fragment from Kratinos' *Archilochoi* in which Menon may have been mentioned (*C.A.F.*, I, no. 13; see Th. Bergk's comments, *op. cit.*) can be attributed to Didymos (also *via* Hesychius).

⁹ There can be no doubt that this Thucydides was an Athenian. The Scholiast who called him simply the Thessalian introduced his list with the words *τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσι Θουκυδίδαι Ἀθηναῖοι*, while Marcellinus calls him significantly *γένει Φαρσάλιος*.

¹⁰ See Fiehn, *R.E.*, s.v. Thukydides, no. 3. The poet has been identified with Thucydides from Acherdous who was treasurer in 424/3 (*I.G.*, I², 242, line 112; 324, lines 25, 34, 35 = *S.E.G.*, X, 227), but this identification is doubtful since the poet's prime belongs to the end of the fifth century (see Marcellinus, *op. cit.*, 29-30; F. Jacoby, in the commentary on Androtion, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 324 F 57). It is better to assume that the treasurer was the grandfather of the poet, and that he was a man of advanced age when he held office in 424/3; he has been identified by A. B. West (*A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, p. 74; see also H. T. Wade-Gery, *H.S.C.P.*, *Suppl.* I, 1940, p. 130) with the proposer of an amendment to an honorary decree which was passed in the same year (*I.G.*, II², 9, line 8 = *S.E.G.*, X, 83). It may be assumed that he was also one of the generals in the war against Samos

Thucydides from Gargettos.¹¹ If the Acherdousian belonged to the original list of four, the Gargettian must be identical with one of the other three. Since the demotics of two of them are known (the son of Oloros was from Halimous, the son of Melesias from Alopeke), it may be assumed that Thucydides, the son of Menon, of Pharsalian ancestry, belonged as an Athenian citizen to the deme Gargettos. In this case he was the son of Menon from Gargettos whose name and demotic are known from the ostraka.¹²

The date of Menon's ostracism can be determined with precision.¹³ The text of one of the ostraka provides a clue to the circumstances of Menon's ostracism, for there he is called Μένον ἐκκ προ[δοτ]ῶ[ν] (Peek, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, no. 121; G. A. Stamires and E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 379, note 13). This means that at least one Athenian thought that Menon was a traitor. It so happens that the Thessalians

(Thucydides, I, 117; see G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, p. 442, note 1). His tribe, Hippothontis (VIII), is not represented among the other generals of this year (440/39); see V. Ehrenberg, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 133; *id.*, *Sophocles and Pericles*, pp. 80, 82, 117, note 1.

¹¹ This Thucydides from Gargettos has been identified by J. Kirchner (*P.A.*, no. 7272; see also Fiehn, *R.E.*, s.v. Thukydides, no. 4) with Thucydides the son of Pantainos of whom Theopompus says (Schol. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 947; F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 115 F 91 and in the commentary on 324 F 37 and 57, and on 328 F 120; see also V. Ehrenberg, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 119, note 21; D. Kienast, *Gymnasium*, LX, 1954, p. 219) that he was an opponent of Perikles. Jacoby pointed out that Theopompus was not likely to confuse the well known son of Melesias with the otherwise unknown son of Pantainos (for this name, see W. Wallace, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 144, note 91). He probably meant the son of Melesias but called him τὸν Πανταίνου; see V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles*, p. 82, note 2. This name may owe its existence to a corruption or to an emendation of the text of Theopompus who wrote τὸν παλαιστοῦ ('the son of the wrestler'), for Thucydides' father Melesias 'was in his day the greatest wrestling master in Greece' as H. T. Wade-Gery has shown, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 208-211.

¹² It is possible to understand why Thucydides the Thessalian and Thucydides the Gargettian appear as two different people in the lists given by the Scholiast (*Vespae*, 947; *Acharnenses*, 703). Knowledge of them came from two different sources which can still be identified; Thucydides the Thessalian, from Pharsalos, is mentioned by Thucydides (VIII, 92, 8) as an Athenian proxenos who happened to be in Athens during the revolution of the Four Hundred, while Thucydides, the son of Menon, of Pharsalian origin, is mentioned by Polemon in his book on the Akropolis (see K. Deichgräber, *R.E.*, s.v. Polemon, cols. 1293-1294; compare also my comments, *R.E.*, s.v. Oinobios). It may be presumed that Thucydides, the son of Menon, renewed his Athenian citizenship, which had been granted to his father Menon, and erected a monument on the Akropolis to which Polemon referred, giving Thucydides' name, father's name (Menon), and demotic (Gargettios), and mentioning his Pharsalian origin. It is not surprising that one and the same man should have been a proxenos and a citizen of Athens, for proxeny and citizenship could be granted simultaneously, though they could not be exercised at one and the same time; see Ad. Wilhelm, *Sb. Ak. Wien*, 220/5, 1942, pp. 45-50 (to the evidence assembled there may be added Harpokration, s.v. Ἀλκίμαχος = Hypereides, frag. 77).

¹³ Peek misunderstood K. Kübler when he dated (*op. cit.*, pp. 72 and 77, no. 125) the red-figured painting on one of the ostraka after 450 B.C. L. Talcott and E. Vanderpool suggest as date ca. 480 B.C., and Kübler, in a letter to Vanderpool, agrees with this date. The ostraka of Menon were found together with those of Kimon (Peek, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 76), and Peek dated them (*op. cit.*, pp. 76-77) on the basis of letter forms between 480 and 450 B.C. Menon's connection with

turned traitors on the Athenians during the battle of Tanagra (Thucydides, I, 107, 7; Diodorus, XI, 80; Pausanias, I, 29, 9), and the special hostility of the Pharsalians showed itself soon after (Diodorus, XI, 83, 3-4), when the Athenians were not admitted to the city (Thucydides, I, 111, 1). One can imagine that the anti-Athenian attitude of the Pharsalians was the result of Menon's ostracism; in any case, there is a connection between the two. Menon's ostracism can, therefore, be dated in the spring of 457 B.C., after the battle of Tanagra which is now dated in the summer of 458 B.C. (see *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 171-172; compare also *Historia*, III, 1955, pp. 379-380).

Menon must have returned to Pharsalos after he was ostracized, taking with him his young son Thucydides, but perhaps not the Penestai who had come with him to Athens almost twenty years earlier (see, above, note 7). He was at least forty but not more than fifty years of age when he left Athens, and this agrees well with the assumption that his son Thucydides was a mature man forty-five years later (see, above, note 12).¹⁴

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Kimon is indicated by his activity at Eion, and it is illustrated by the names which he and Kimon gave to their sons: Thucydides and Thessalos; see U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, p. 116, note 29.

¹⁴ It is, therefore, possible that Menon the Pharsalian who came to the aid of the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, II, 22, 3; see Obst, *R.E.*, s.v. Menon, no. 3) was the same man who had fought at Eion in 477/6 and who was ostracized in 458 B.C. Thucydides' silence on Menon's previous associations with Athens (if he had any) do not speak against the identification. Peek has called attention (*op. cit.*, p. 75, note 1) to Menon of Gargettos (*I.G.*, II², 2389, line 8); he may have been a son of Thucydides.

J. S. Morrison suggested persuasively (*Cl.Qu.*, XXXVI, 1942, pp. 62, note 5, and 75, note 1) that Menon the son of Alexidemos from Pharsalos after whom the Platonic Dialogue *Meno* is called (see *R.E.*, s.v. Menon, no. 4) was a descendant of the Menon discussed here, and (p. 74, note 3) that Thucydides the son of Menon belonged to the same family. Morrison's general account of the relations between Athens and Thessaly during the fifth century B.C. (pp. 57-58) is supported by the identification of Menon the Pharsalian with Menon son of Menekleides of Gargettos; I would be inclined to think, however, that Menon II (p. 75, note 1) is identical with Menon I, and that Alexidemos was a brother of Thucydides and a son of Menon I.

FRAGMENTS OF AN EARLY ATTIC KOUROS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA ¹

(PLATES 81-84)

THE splendid kouroi of the Sounion group,² the earliest big marble statues that have survived in Attica, enjoy a degree of general appreciation that is rare for ancient Greek sculpture in the present day. Before them as before nothing else the classicist and the lover of modern art are able to make joint obeisance. The result has been that analysis has been carried to a finer point than is perhaps justified by the extent of our knowledge. Any new addition in marble to the original body of evidence, however small or poorly preserved, would constitute a welcome counter-balance to the growing volume of speculation. When the addition comes in the form of fragments of absolutely first-class workmanship, found in the heart of ancient Athens, it is an event that deserves some attention.

Over a period of twenty-two years there have come to light in the area of the Agora Excavations six fragments of a large marble kouros of the Sounion group. Two pairs of fragments join, making a total of four separate pieces.

A. Pls. 81, a; 82, a, b. Inv. S 530. Part of left forearm and hand. Mended from

¹ The photographs of the Agora fragments are by Alison Frantz. Especial thanks are due her for the view of the assembled fragments, Pl. 81, a, which entailed special difficulties of arrangement and execution. I am much indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos for their kindness in making the Sounion and Kerameikos kouroi accessible for study and to Miss Christine Alexander and Dietrich von Bothmer for supplying photographs and measurements of the New York kouros.

² For the discussion of the group as a whole see G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, New York, 1942, pp. 47-95. There is a detailed discussion by Miss Richter of the relations between the Dipylon, New York and Sounion kouroi in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, pp. 20-50, of which the text is repeated in German in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 751-755, with the addition of excellent detailed photographs of the New York kouros. The individual members of the Sounion group which are relevant for the present discussion are: a) the Dipylon head and hand, Athens, National Museum, no. 3372, *Kouroi*, no. 6 (both pieces now in National Museum). Add to the bibliography in *Kouroi*: Buschor, *Frühgriechische Jünglinge*, Munich, 1950, pp. 14-17, figs. 11-14; Rodenwaldt, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 354-364, Beilagen 3-5 (good photographs and illuminating comments on the relation of photographs to the original); E. Homann-Wedeking, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Grossplastik*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 75-78; F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, Frankfurt am Main, 1950, pp. 186-189. b) the New York kouros, *Kouroi*, no. 1. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-22, figs. 15-21; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79; Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190. c) the Sounion statue, Athens, N. M., no. 2720, *Kouroi*, no. 2. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-26, figs. 23-27; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81; Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-192. d) the Sounion torso, Athens, N. M., no. 3645, *Kouroi*, no. 3. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, figs. 54-55; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82; Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193. e) the kouros from the Kerameikos, Athens, N. M., no. 71, *Kouroi*, no. 8. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, fig. 56. f) the hand in the collection of Mr. Marinos Kalligas, *Kouroi*, no. 7, Politis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 747-753.

two fragments: 1, Wrist. Found February 28, 1935 in a marble pile in the center of the square. 2, Clenched little and third fingers and adjacent part of hand with a little of the marble from the thigh adhering. Found January 1953 in the demolition of a modern house just south of the southwest corner of the square. Total length of the joined fragments 0.32 m. Greatest pres. width of arm 0.099 m.

B. Pls. 81, a; 83, b; 84, b, c. Inv. S 287. Part of back and advanced left leg. Mended from two fragments, both preserving surface from back and proper left side, but not extending to front or right side. 1, Small of back and part of left flank. Found February 24, 1933 in a modern wall in the central part of the square. 2, Part of left thigh and buttocks. Found July 30, 1951 in a marble pile in front of the Tholos. Length of the combined fragments 0.555 m. Pres. depth of torso fragment at small of back 0.20 m. Pres. width of torso fragment 0.29 m.

C. Pls. 81, a; 83, c, d. Inv. S 1739. Right knee and back of thigh. Found July 1953 in a marble pile in front of the Stoa of Zeus. Pres. height 0.35 m.; width 0.195 m.; depth 0.215 m.

D. Pls. 81, a; 82, d. Inv. S 1908. Fragment from back of left shoulder. Max. pres. dimension 0.244 m. Found April 1955 in the same marble pile east of the Tholos which earlier yielded the left hip B 2.

All the fragments are made of a coarse-grained island marble that probably comes from Naxos.³ Its basic color is white with gray streaks, but the surfaces of A, B and D have taken on a yellowish gray color, while C has the flaked, iron-gray surface of marble that has lain above ground for a long time without much sunlight. All the pieces have traces of mortar adhering to them, and it is likely that those found in the marble piles came, like the others, from modern houses demolished in the course of the excavations. The statue itself may have stood in the Kerameikos cemetery, from which vast numbers of sepulchral marbles have come into the Agora as building-stones.

The left hand, A, has all the characteristics of the Sounion group. The hand is clenched, with the ends of the fingers resting flat against the thigh. The inner outline of the little finger is carved with the flat chisel into the flat side of the fist, and a polygon with bevelled edges is left in the center. The little finger appears to have four joints, two against the thigh⁴ and two cut free. Above the end of the finger a narrow strip of marble joins hand and wrist to the thigh for a distance of about 0.11 m., above which the arm hangs free of the body. Above the connecting strip the front and back planes of the arm meet at an obtuse angle. The traces of the drill-holes by which the arm was separated from the body have not been entirely removed.

³ See below, p. 296.

⁴ Alternatively this is described as a single joint which is made too long (Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 65; Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi*, Würzburg, 1939, p. 34).

The lower end of the ulna is represented as a knob with a ridge around it on the side toward the thumb. All the foregoing features our hand shares with the Sounion, Dipylon (Pl. 82, c) and New York kouroi and with the hand in the Kalligas Collection. It is linked more closely to the New York and Dipylon kouroi by the sharp, straight ridge that defines the course of the ulna and by the absence of the lateral grooves that continue the ridge around the elbow in the Sounion kouroi.⁵ In scale it is extremely close to the hand from the Dipylon (see table of measurements, below, p. 294). The degree of weathering is about the same on the Agora and Dipylon hands but the one from the Agora is more battered. The sharp edge of the first knuckle of the little finger is gone and the junction between hand and wrist is obscured by a break. In both hands the divisions between the fingers were marked out with the pointed chisel and the fingers shaped with the flat chisel, and on both the point-marks remain visible in the valleys.⁶ On the Dipylon hand, however, the fingers were carefully smoothed with abrasive so that the flat facets left by the chisel have been mostly obliterated, whereas the Agora fingers have been less thoroughly finished. A last difference between the two is that the angle between the back and side planes of the little finger has been rounded over on the Agora hand while on the Dipylon hand it remains distinct.

The torso fragment B presents no direct join with the thin sliver of thigh adhering to the hand. The hand's approximate position, close to the broken edge, may be ascertained partly from comparison with other kouroi of the group and partly from the plane of a narrow dark streak in the marble that cuts through the thigh fragment near its front edge and reappears intersecting the flaring upper part of the wrist. The streak confirms the association of hand and torso that was already suggested by the identity of color, surface finish and weathering. In B the features common to all the Attic members of the group are: 1) the presence of a girdle-like ridge above the hips (Pl. 84, c); 2) a curved groove marking the depression over the great trochanter (Pl. 84, b); and 3) a long groove running down the outside of the thigh (Pls. 83, b; 84, b). In addition it shows details of modelling that are present in the Sounion kouroi but not in the smaller statue in New York. Two grooves flanking the spinal furrow indicate the erector spinae muscles (Pl. 84, c),⁷ and the remains of a diagonal groove at the upper right edge of the fragment show that this statue had also the schematic indication of the ribs that decorates the backs of the Sounion kouroi (Pl. 84, d).

The modelling of the details in our statue is more subtle than in either the New York or the Sounion kouroi. The girdle ridge is so much understated that it scarcely

⁵ Cf. Richter, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 26, 33, 36.

⁶ The remains of the fingers of the Sounion torso adhering to the thigh are similarly cut in facets with the flat chisel but do not show the point-marks between. The fingers of the Sounion statue are inaccessible at present.

⁷ Cf. *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 40, 4.

affects the line of the profile. It differs from those of all the other statues in cutting almost horizontally across the back instead of forming a deep V. The surfaces of the back round smoothly and delicately into the grooves that bound them. Clearly the sculptor took a special delight in the working of the back, and such evidences of neglect as were noted in the hand are not to be seen here. Nevertheless, these grooves and areas are treated essentially as patterns in a plane. There is no question here of "modelled shapes," and the junction of the back and side planes of the torso is uncompromisingly rectangular. On the buttocks and leg the transition is more rounded, but back and side planes are still quite flat in their central portions. The groove on the outside of the thigh is bolder and more definite than those in the back, V-shaped in section and running out to a sharp point at the top (Pl. 84, b). In technique it is precisely similar to the grooves on the side of the neck of the Dipylon head (Pl. 84, a).⁸

The knee fragment, C, has suffered more in modern times than the others, but those portions where the surface has not flaked away preserve the same texture as the other fragments, a careful finish grained all over with the fine parallel striations left by a coarse abrasive. Its scale is the same as that of A and B, between three-fourths and four-fifths that of the Sounion statue (see table of measurements). When the fragment is placed in approximately the correct position with relation to B, the alignment of the color banding in the marble appears to confirm the attribution.

The simple massive forms of the knee recall those of the Sounion statue (Pl. 83, f). The bulge of the vasti muscles over the kneecap is what Miss Richter calls "quasi-symmetrical."⁹ As in the Sounion statue the profile view shows a distinct bulging overhang of the vasti over the kneecap in the center; this is much less apparent in the New York kouros (Pl. 83, a, e). Above the bulges are curved depressions, less definite in outline than those of the New York kouros, but deeper than those of the Sounion statue (Pl. 83, f). The sharp division between the vasti was doubtless continued upward in a forked groove as in the two Sounion kouroi.¹⁰ Below the vasti are great flat facets cut back to either side of the kneecap. That toward the inside is flatter and intersects the adjacent planes more abruptly than does that on the outside. The patella tapers more from top to bottom than on the Sounion statue, less than on the kouros in New York. The back of the leg is rounded and perfectly plain. On the outside of the leg are three grooves, precisely as in the Sounion kouroi: a long one near the back that runs the length of the thigh, a shorter one that continues upward the angle between knee and vastus externus and a still shorter one between the two. The New York kouros has only the long groove.

The shoulder fragment, D, the last to be found, is identical in surface color and

⁸ Such grooves must have been first cut with the chisel and then smoothed with abrasive. The role of the flat chisel in these kouroi has generally been underrated.

⁹ *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 33.

¹⁰ *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, pls. 47, 55. *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 47, fig. 33.

weathering with A and B, and since its provenance is the same as that of B 2 there can be no doubt that it belongs. It shows the upper part of the hindmost of the three grooves which mark the divisions of the deltoid muscle in all the Attic kouroi of the Sounion group. The fragment preserves little in the way of fixed points useful for determining the scale of the figure to which it belonged. It should be noted, however, that no trace of the hair is preserved on the fragment and that a minimum of 0.058 m. intervenes between the end of the groove and the break on the right-hand side. On the Sounion statue the groove runs right up to the edge of the hair. On the New York kouros it ends only a little short of the hair. In proportion to the size of the statue there seems to be more of the shoulder uncovered by the hair on our kouros than on the New York and Sounion kouroi.

Taken together these six fragments represent an Attic kouros of the first quality, whose hand and forearm show the same conventions as those of the New York and Dipylon kouroi, while the leg and torso have the same details of modelling as the kouroi from Sounion. In size it stands between the New York and Sounion kouroi and is probably the same as the one from the Dipylon. The following table compares the measurements of the Agora fragments with those of the Dipylon and Sounion kouroi in so far as comparable parts are preserved.¹¹

	DIMENSIONS				PROPORTIONS		
	A (Agora)	D (Dipylon)	SS (Sounion Statue)	ST (Sounion Torso)	A/SS	D/SS	A/ST
<i>Hand</i>							
Width of wrist at narrowest point	0.084 m.	0.083 m.	0.105		0.80	0.79	
Width across last two fingers	0.045 m.	0.045 m.	0.06 m.		0.75	0.75	
Length of two joints of little finger against thigh	0.065 m.	0.07 m.	0.09 m.		0.72	0.78	
Length from high point of wrist-bone to first knuckle	0.095 m.	0.10 m.	restored wrist-bone				
Projection of first knuckle from plane of thigh	0.065 m.	0.065 m.	0.10 m.		0.65	0.65	
<i>Torso</i>							
Width of left half of back at hip-girdle	0.166 m.		0.21 m.	0.205 m.	0.79		0.81

¹¹ Not all parts of both Sounion kouroi are at present accessible for measuring. The torso is lying on its back; the statue is standing but surrounded by a wooden framework.

	DIMENSIONS				PROPORTIONS	
	A (Agora)	D (Dipylon)	SS (Sounion Statue)	ST (Sounion Torso)	A/SS	D/SS
Width across left buttock at point of greatest projection	0.18 m.		0.23 m.	0.215 m.	0.78	0.84
Length from below hip-girdle to center of incurve below buttocks	0.28 m.		0.32 m.	0.355 m.	0.875	0.79
<i>Knee</i>						
Depth at top of kneecap	0.195 m.		0.242 m.		0.84	
Width at top of kneecap	0.17 m.		0.227 m.		0.75	

So far I have spoken of the fragments as representing a separate statue, the Agora kouros. As one examines them more and more closely, however, becoming aware of all the details of color and texture, the feeling grows that we have to consider whether or not these battered remnants are actually parts of the Dipylon kouros. From the point of view of provenience it seems eminently possible. A similar degree of weathering on the Dipylon head and hand and on fragments A and B argues that they stood above ground for about the same length of time.¹² The assumption that the head, which was found in 1916 in the north tower of the Dipylon,¹³ was earlier used in the Themistoklean Wall¹⁴ still seems the most reasonable. Among the many sepulchral marbles recovered from modern houses in the Agora one at least, a part of an archaic grave stele with the relief carefully chopped away, looks very much as if it had come from the Themistoklean Wall.¹⁵ It would not be out of the way, then, to assume a similar history for our kouros fragments.

In marble and technique the Agora pieces and the Dipylon head are strikingly

¹² Actually the Agora fragments show in places a little more weathering due to having been out-of-doors in modern times, but the surface is everywhere well enough preserved to show the ancient tool-marks.

¹³ *Arch. Anz.*, 1916, col. 161.

¹⁴ Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 209. Miss Richter suggests (*Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 46, n. 74), probably on the analogy of the "Brother-and-Sister Stele" (*Archaic Attic Gravestones*, p. 72), that the Dipylon and New York kouros were broken up before the time of the Persian Wars in some of the feuds between the great families of Attica. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the weathering received in Athens in a little more than a hundred years would not be very great. For the difference between Athens and Sounion in this respect compare the present condition of the Parthenon and Propylaea with that of the temple at Sounion. The condition of the Dipylon fragments does seem to imply that they were built into *something* as soon as they were broken up and were not knocked around above ground for any great length of time. The Agora pieces, which have had a more varied career, have lost more of their edges.

¹⁵ Inv. S 1736.

alike. The marble has the same degree of coarseness and the same parallel gray streaks, some of which appear wide and blurry while others show as thin dotted lines of dark flecks, sloping only a little back from the vertical axis of the statue.¹⁶ The worked surfaces (on all but C) exhibit the same yellow-gray patina. (Similar brownish stains on the head and on A and B and similar scratches on our fragments and the Dipylon head probably go back to their use in walls and so would not be relevant to the original association of the pieces). More important is the texture of the sculptured surfaces, which is the same on all, a beautiful rough-silky finish that was obtained by careful working-over with rather coarse emery. Esthetically this is one of the most satisfying of all the kinds of surface produced by ancient sculptors. The fine parallel striations of the abrasive make clear to the eye the direction of the modelling of each form and transmit to the passive viewer something of the active pleasure of the craftsman at his work. One can see the symmetrical patterns of these striations in the view of the back (Pl. 84, c).

Since these similarities of marble and technique are obvious, it remains only to inquire how conclusive they are for linking all the pieces in a single statue. Are they duplicated in any other existing Attic kouros of the Sounion group? Even this question cannot be answered absolutely, since the kouroi from Sounion are so much weathered that the original working of the surface is visible in only a few small areas and so stained from the red earth in which they have lain that no color-banding can be seen. Some relatively fresh breaks on the torso and on the associated fragments of arms and legs show a basically white color and a grain-size like that of our fragments. Hence the marble may have been the same. The New York kouros and the little kouros from the Kerameikos,¹⁷ on the other hand, are made of a very large-grained marble in which the crystals present wide, flat surfaces to the eye. According to the Wentworth scale proposed by Herz and Pritchett,¹⁸ the marble of the Sounion, Dipylon and Agora pieces would be described as coarse—very coarse, that of New York and Kerameikos as very coarse—granular. It has been suggested that the marble for these earliest kouroi came from Naxos,¹⁹ and both these grain-sizes can be matched in hand-samples from the ancient quarries at Apollona.²⁰ The two kouroi made of the coarser

¹⁶ This color banding invariably disappears in black-and-white photographs. The variations in color that can be seen in photographs of the Dipylon head are due to the staining of the surface. Wide, blurry gray bands are typical of Naxian marble in general, but their combination with thin streaks of black flecks seems uncommon enough to be significant. The approximately vertical direction of the banding is to be expected and recurs in other statues.

¹⁷ See above, note 2, e.

¹⁸ *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, p. 78.

¹⁹ Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 13.

²⁰ For comparison I have used samples collected by Norman Herz and Virginia R. Grace. It is admittedly difficult to distinguish Naxian marble from some varieties of Parian (cf. Lepsius, *Marmorstudien*, p. 43) but the fact that all the varieties of color and grain-size found in these earliest Attic kouroi can be matched in Naxian marble and that we know the Naxian quarries were extensively used in archaic times makes this the most probable source. The statue of the Naxian Nikandre from Delos (Athens, N.M.1, *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pl. I) is made of the very coarse—

marble do not show the even-grained finish of our pieces and the Dipylon head and hand. On the Kerameikos statue the surface is almost slick but with occasional deep scratchy striations. The finish of the New York kouros seems to be between the Dipylon-Agora and the Kerameikos varieties.²¹ The other accredited member of the Sounion group, the Kalligas hand,²² seems closest to the New York kouros, but is of smaller-grained marble. So much variety in so small a group would seem to strengthen the case for associating pieces made of precisely similar stone and worked in the same way. This is about as far as we can go in the questions of marble and technique.

For scale the most tangible point of discussion is the comparison of the two hands, which show some measurements identical, others differing by as much as five millimeters but not more. One has merely to decide how different the two hands of one kouros can be, and for that we have hardly enough evidence to be conclusive.²³

For style as for scale the hand forms the closest link with the Dipylon kouros. There is no stylistic difference between the two in so far as the Agora hand is preserved. The less careful finish of the fingers, like the slight differences in some dimensions, is something that might very well happen without deliberate intention on the part of the sculptor. Yet if the hand had not been preserved the torso would almost certainly have been regarded by most as later than the Dipylon kouros. By their indubitable association the hand and torso bring together precisely those elements that the orthodox chronology prefers to separate. With one possible exception²⁴ all

granular marble, as are most of the early Kouroi in Delos. Perhaps the finer-grained stone represented a very limited vein that was soon exhausted.

²¹ The quality of the finish on the New York kouros and also the large size of the crystals, which may in part have caused this less uniform finish, can be seen in the details in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 751-755, figs. 2, 16 and 17.

²² See above, note 2, f. The hand is of island marble, not of Pentelic as stated by Politis. The original color and the quality of the finish have been somewhat obscured by much handling. In general the surface is smooth, and the grooves between the fingers do not show point-marks.

²³ Measurements of the two hands of the New York kouros, kindly furnished by Miss Christine Alexander, show more variation in the horizontal dimensions but less in the vertical than do the two hands in question:

	Left	Right
Width of wrist at narrowest point	0.073 m.	0.077 m.
Width across last two fingers	0.038 m.	0.0335 m.
Length of two joints of little finger against thigh	0.078 m.	0.076 m.
Distance from high-point of wrist-bone to first knuckle of little finger	0.081 m.	0.0785 m.
Projection of first knuckle from plane of thigh	0.084 m.	0.092 m.

Later, more casual kouroi vary still more. On the Melos kouros the distance from wrist-bone to first knuckle of little finger is 0.087 m. on the left hand and 0.102 m. on the right.

²⁴ Beazley in Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 20, speaks of the Sounion statue as "the first masterpiece of Attic sculpture" and places the New York kouros next. He does not place the Dipylon kouros with respect to these, perhaps because it is not a complete statue.

those who have committed themselves on the relative dates of these kouroi have agreed in making the Dipylon head earlier than any of the others, and the majority of these have placed the Sounion torso near the end of the list. But of all the kouroi that preserve comparable portions it is the Sounion torso that shows the closest affinity to our fragment B. Though both the kouroi from Sounion have the same patterns of grooves and ridges, in the torso as in B the artist shows a preference for supple curves and rounded surfaces, in contrast to the square bulk of the statue. The proportions of our piece seem to have been somewhere between those of the two Sounion kouroi. The height of the first rib above the hip-girdle is no greater in proportion to the width of the back than on the statue. This may mean that the trunk was not so attenuated as that of the Sounion torso. The height of the buttocks in proportion to the width of the back is more than in the statue and less than in the torso. These relationships do not really fit into any of the genealogies that have been drawn up for the Dipylon kouros and his family. The following table gives some idea of current opinions on that subject. Grouping under one number indicates contemporaneity, a higher number a later date.

Richter ²⁵	Buschor ²⁶	Rodenwaldt ²⁷	Budde ²⁸	Homann-Wedeking ²⁹	Matz ³⁰
1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon, not before 620
2. New York, same workshop or artist	2. New York, "might even be called" a later work of the same master	2. New York and Sounion kouroi, different masters using Dipylon as model	2. New York and Sounion kouroi, different masters, the Sounion torso by the most progressive master, the Sounion statue by the most old-fashioned	2. New York same master, contemporary with Kleobis and Biton	2. New York, same master as Dipylon. Sounion statue by a different master.
3. Sounion kouroi, same workshop or artist	3. Sounion statue, last of "early archaic"			3. Sounion torso, by a pupil of the Dipylon Master	Around 610.
4. Kerameikos	4. Sounion torso, close to statue but counted as first of "high archaic"			4. Sounion statue, by a younger pupil of the Dipylon master with Argive training	3. Sounion torso, after 600
	5. Kerameikos, contemporary with Kleobis and Biton				

²⁵ *Kouroi*, pp. 47-48.

²⁶ *Frühgriechische Jünglinge*, pp. 14-26, 49-55.

In most of the above chronologies the New York kouros comes between the Dipylon and Sounion kouroi, and in some the Sounion statue is placed earlier than the torso, so that two stages intervene between the torso and the Dipylon head. It may be worthwhile to reexamine briefly the bases for these assumptions which our new evidence appears to contradict.

In Miss Richter's scheme, on which all the others are to some extent based, the New York kouros is taken as the middle member in a series of advancing naturalism. In the New York kouros the shape of the skull and the treatment of the ribbons around hair and neck are regarded as more naturalistic than those of the Dipylon head. On the other hand, the Sounion kouroi have details of anatomy that are lacking in the New York kouros and present a more naturalistic rendering of the hair, hence are thought to be a stage more advanced still. Finally the proportions of the New York kouros with its abnormally large head are called earlier than those of the Sounion statue, in which the relation of head to whole height is approximately one to seven.⁸¹

These arguments seem to have been generally accepted by other scholars. Clearly the placing of the New York kouros a little later than the Dipylon has agreed with people's intuitive feelings. The Sounion statue, on the other hand, has always been disturbing in this respect. There is something in its cubical solidity, its relative lack of sophistication and above all its sheer bulk that makes it feel early even when one has been convinced by arguments that it is late. This uneasiness is dispelled in various ways; the statue is called manneristic,⁸² old-fashioned,⁸³ provincial⁸⁴ or Argive-influenced.⁸⁵ Of all the members of the group this is the one about which there is the least unanimity of opinion. Even the estimates of its quality vary drastically.

No one of the arguments for a later date is conclusive in itself. The proportion of the head to the body seems to vary not only according to the date but according to the size of the statue. Thus the little kouros from the Kerameikos, which is placed later than the others by all who discuss it, has the same abnormally large head as the New

²⁷ *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 354-355.

²⁸ *Die attischen Kuroi*, pp. 34-37.

²⁹ *Die Anfänge der griechischen Grossplastik*, pp. 75-82.

³⁰ *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, pp. 185-194.

⁸¹ Ratios of head to whole height: New York kouros 1:6.25, Sounion statue as at present restored 1:6.90.

⁸² Pfeiff, *Apollon*, p. 153, n. 153; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

⁸³ Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸⁴ Langlotz, in Schrader and Langlotz, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke von der Akropolis*, Frankfurt am Main, 1939, p. 38. "Ähnlich schwierig ist die Datierung des besser erhaltenen aber recht provinziellen Apollon aus Sunion, der auch noch als dem 7. Jh. verbunden anmutet, aber sicher solonisch ist, auch wenn es bis jetzt nicht gelungen ist, seinen Kopf mit einem dieser Zeit in Parallele zu bringen."

⁸⁵ Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

York kouros,³⁶ while the colossus in Thasos has a small head even by classical proportions.³⁷ Buschor apparently does not consider the large head a necessity for the earliest kouroi, since he suggests that the Dipylon kouros was probably over two and a half meters tall,³⁸ i. e. that the height of the head was included about seven times in the height of the whole.

The presence or absence of details of modelling is equally unsatisfactory as a time-scale. Thus the Dipylon head has sharp grooves marking the back of the sternomastoids below the ears (Pl. 84, a). These are barely suggested in the Sounion statue and omitted altogether in the New York kouros. It is clear that, eager as these artists were to learn new details of anatomy, they were selective in the use of their knowledge and expressed details only where they would enhance the effectiveness of the whole. It is doubtless because of this, not because the conventions were unknown, that the smaller New York and Kerameikos kouroi omit the indications of ribs and erector spinae muscles that were used in the Sounion colossi and in the Agora fragments.³⁹ The same might apply to the rendering of the muscles in the thighs, where the great simple surfaces would have seemed dull and heavy without this added articulation.

The relative naturalism of the treatment of the hair is perhaps the trickiest of all the criteria. Unlike bones and muscles, hair has no essential universal plastic form that can be sought out and expressed by the sculptor. On the other hand, it offers a splendid variety of accidental impressions that suggest ornamental patterns capable of being elaborated for their own sake. Like its oriental prototypes, archaic Greek patternization of long hair regularly recognizes two elements, the vertical strands and the horizontal waves. Either may predominate over the other, but the richest patterns take account of both. Greek artists became aware very early of the great number of decorative possibilities offered by this simple framework, and it was a long time before they tired of any of them. Thus, of the formulae that are used in the kouroi of the Sounion group it is only the most "naturalistic," that of the Sounion torso, that does not reappear in much later kouroi.⁴⁰ In all the members of the group the vertical strand

³⁶ The legs of the Kerameikos kouros are not preserved but the head is larger in proportion to the height of the torso than that of the New York kouros. New York kouros: head height 0.308 m., distance from sternal notch to navel 0.31 m., ratio 1:1.305. Kerameikos kouros: head height 0.26 m., distance from sternal notch to navel 0.31 m., ratio 1:1.19. While the head of the Kerameikos kouros is about life size, the body is a little under. Like the heads of human beings, those of statues tend to stay closer to the norm than the bodies.

³⁷ Included a little more than seven times in the total height of the figure, Picard, *B.C.H.*, LXV, 1921, p. 125.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 16. Politis, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1937, p. 748, stretches it even further, to 2.67 m. The Dipylon head is 0.367 m. high (Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 74, n. 68).

³⁹ In the Kerameikos kouros the horizontal divisions of the rectus abdominis are retained, but pushed together into a pattern appropriate to the small space.

⁴⁰ The sharp clarity of beading seems to have appealed to Attic artists. The rendering by ridges and grooves had an especially long life in East Greece (cf. the beautiful kouros head in Istanbul, *Kouroi*, no. 111).

is the predominant division and is redivided horizontally into smaller elements: beads in the Dipylon and New York kouros, horizontal ridges and grooves in the Sounion statue and the Kerameikos kouros and diagonal ridges and grooves in the Sounion torso. In the New York kouros and the Sounion statue these smaller divisions are aligned as in a grid. In the Dipylon and Kerameikos kouros they are offset, emphasizing the predominance of the vertical division. The alternating slope of the ridges of the Sounion torso gives the effect of corkscrew curls.⁴¹

The pattern of the knotted hair-ribbon in back had to be superimposed on the ground-pattern of the hair without either impairing its effectiveness or being overshadowed by it. In each of the statues that preserves this part the problem is differently solved. Miss Richter sees in these different solutions varying degrees of naturalism according to how far the loose ends of the ribbon follow the encircling band before they turn down. Here again the measurable criteria do not accord with the subjective impression. Though the ends "turn down even sooner" on the Sounion statue than on the New York kouros, it is impossible to feel any increase of naturalism in the absolutely rectilinear, sharp-angled ribbon that follows the straight course of the lock all the way down. It is clear that the question of pattern is uppermost in the minds of all these sculptors and that the position of the ribbon was determined by the treatment of the hair underneath.⁴² The ribbed cylindrical locks of the Sounion statue were harder to cut across with a curved line than the round beads of the Dipylon and New York coiffures.⁴³ Of the two latter, the sculptor of the Dipylon head is more occupied with the beads *per se*, preferring to vary their size in order to fit them into the proper space rather than to cut across them. His love of decorative details for their own sake amounts almost to personification; the curved ribbon-tails are tense as if they were alive, insubordinate to the law of gravity. In the New York kouros the sculptor has become interested in the problem of cutting across the beads. It is easy to see in these two works successive attacks on a single problem;⁴⁴ the Sounion statue with its different base-pattern is not really comparable.

Probably the most convincing of Miss Richter's arguments for the series Dipylon—New York—Sounion are those concerning the outline of the skull in profile and whether or not the ribbon makes an impression on the hair, but even these may be

⁴¹ These three arrangements: horizontal, horizontal-offset, and diagonal are all common in Egyptian and Near Eastern sculpture and are used side by side for the sake of variety.

⁴² So far as I know, these bent-tailed ribbons are an Attic peculiarity. The kouros from Thera, which certainly have many earlier features than the Attic, whatever may be their actual date (cf. Kontoleon, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1941, pp. 8-12), have ribbons that fall naturally, and the same is true of the Thasos Kriophoros.

⁴³ The sculptor of the Kerameikos kouros attempts it, with not very happy results.

⁴⁴ In the Dipylon head the extra-large whole beads between the two ribbons in front probably represent the forehead curls that are normal in this position. This assimilation of the forehead hair to the rest is carried further in the New York kouros, where the truncated second row of beads appearing below the ribbon links the forehead beads with the long strands.

questioned to some extent. Undeniably the skull of the New York kouros is more arched in profile than that of the Dipylon kouros and the same might be said to some degree of the Sounion statue, though it is certainly flatter on top than the one in New York. On the other hand, the skull of the Dipylon head shows a fine high curve in the front view, while that of the Sounion statue with its broad horizontal band of curls cutting across the forehead shows an almost Daedalic flatness from the front. Once more, decorative and compositional considerations complicate the picture and we can not set up a simple scale of increasing naturalism. In the profile view of the Dipylon head, though the artist did not show any impression made on the hair by the fillet that encircles the head, the subtle curve of the heavy mass bulging over the lower ribbon attests to a fine awareness of the volume and compressibility of hair.

What seems to emerge from this examination is that while there is something to be said for making the New York kouros follow on the heels of the Dipylon kouros, none of these arguments really holds for making the Sounion statue later than either of them. Arguments of an equally inconclusive nature might be advanced for making it earlier than both. The huge eyes with strongly curved upper lids and almost straight lower lids recall those of people on seventh-century Attic and Cycladic pots.⁴⁵ The ears are larger and more prominent than in the other Attic kouroi. The neck is not a real column, but a set of juxtaposed triangles transitional from the shoulders to the face.

The composition of the face still seems under the influence of the Daedalic scheme, and even the waves at the temples below the fillet may be found in the Late Daedalic statue from Eleutherna in Crete.⁴⁶ I say "inconclusive" because any one of these points may likewise be paralleled in later works. They are worth mentioning, however, because they form a part of the general impression which is variously translated as "old-fashioned," "provincial" or "Argive," and which might equally well be rendered as "early."

The difficulty we have in deciding what is earlier and what is later results partly, of course, from our lack of knowledge of the antecedents of these Attic kouroi: from whom their sculptors learned and what they used as models.⁴⁷ But is not part of the

⁴⁵ Comparisons of vase-paintings and sculpture are difficult to use, being even more subjective than most of our criteria. Thus the face on a fragment of a late Proto-Attic amphora in the Agora (Inv. P 17393, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. 46, 3) which strikes me as a good parallel for the face of the Sounion statue is compared by Diepolder (*Festschrift für Carl Weickert*, p. 118) to the New York kouros, while the head of a woman on an amphora in Munich (*C.V.A.*, Munich, I pls. 1-2), which has the slanting ear, the ribboned neck and the elegant lines of the Dipylon head seems to him to show the cubical solidity of the Sounion statue.

⁴⁶ Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. VIII, 1a.

⁴⁷ The idea that monumental stone sculpture began in East Greece and the Cyclades (Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 44-46; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-98) has much to recommend it. Since the marble for the early Attic kouroi was imported from the Cyclades, it is hard not to imagine that some craftsmen were imported too in the beginning. Surely it would be cheaper and safer for the

trouble simply that all the statues in question are so close to one another that almost any of the differences we find between them could be due to the conscious desire of the sculptor for variety rather than to a differing stage of development? In any case, the bases of the accepted chronology are clearly too uncertain to prove that the maker of the Dipylon kouros could not have known and used the anatomical conventions that the Agora fragments share with the Sounion kouroi. Whether or not our pieces turn out to belong to the Dipylon kouros itself, they demonstrate one thing beyond dispute. There stood in the cemetery of Athens an elegant kouros, at once strong in design and subtle in execution, of the size of the Dipylon statue and made in the Dipylon master's shop out of the same kind of marble, which was at the same time blood-brother to the colossi from Sounion.

Thus the fine lines that we have tried to draw, between city and country, between shop and shop, master and master, decade and decade, are suddenly washed out and we are back where probably we should have been content to stay, with a single group of remarkably similar and at the same time remarkably inventive works, no one of which can be separated very far from the others.⁴⁸ Since in each new work the sculptor experimented with fundamental proportions as well as with details, any attempt to reconstruct our kouros on the basis of existing statues could be sure only of being wrong. We are probably safe in deducing that our kouros had slenderer proportions than the Sounion statue; the longer line of the buttocks, the fact that the width of the thigh is less in proportion to its depth, and the less chunky proportions of the hand suggest this. On the other hand, it was probably not so elongated as the Sounion torso nor so tall as Buschor's hypothetical two-and-a-half-meter Dipylon statue. The head cannot have differed much in size from the Dipylon head.

The extraordinary beauty of the Dipylon head has given it a special place in the minds of lovers of archaic sculpture. Having no body, it has acquired a sort of demonic soul that persists even after the finding of its hand has proved it human. It draws to itself all superlatives, and we feel that as it is first in quality so should it

Eupatrid who commissioned the first Attic kouros to order an experienced sculptor along with his block of marble, to pass on its suitability and supervise its preliminary trimming in the quarry before accompanying it to the place where it was to be finished and set up. Since the kouroi of the Sounion group already show a formulated local style that is different from anything we find in the Cyclades, one is tempted to suppose that the earliest kouroi from Attica have yet to be found.

⁴⁸ Our knowledge of the organization and workings of an Athenian sculptor's workshop in this early period is so nearly non-existent that the terms "shop" and "master" have less meaning than one might suppose. We tend to think that we are sticking our necks out less by assuming several different sculptors for a group of statues than by assigning them all to one, but it is difficult to see how very many sculptors could have supported themselves in Attica in this early period, however wealthy the Eupatrids may have been. I am inclined to go one step farther than Miss Richter and to group the Kerameikos kouros with the others. It does seem a little later than the rest—the raised planes for the shoulder-blades especially suggest this—but its marble and surface connect it with the New York kouros, its ears, neck and hair with the Sounion statue.

also be first in time. To attribute to it equals or even contemporaries seems a sort of impiety, much more so to suggest that a disjointed assemblage of battered chunks of anatomy may actually belong to it. Perhaps we ought to stop and remember that to the ancient Greek a broken head, however fine, was scarcely more precious than any other broken part. The whole was what counted, and a statue in pieces was no longer sculpture but building-stone. If we do not want to be stuck half-way on the road to understanding ancient sculpture, we must forego some of the romantic pleasure that we find so easily in beautiful fragments and persist in the sterner endeavor to comprehend the whole. Whether we can ever succeed is another question, but until we are ready to give up the attempt we cannot honestly reject any scrap that tells us more than we knew before about what we are trying to understand. Whether or not they belong to it, the Agora fragments are in many ways closer to the Dipylon kouros than anything that we have known hitherto. Like it they are the product of a hand that never drew an awkward line or left a surface without meaning, and even in so small a compass it is a pleasure to see that hand at work.

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HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH

(PLATES 85-88)

SOME years ago Miss Hazel Palmer kindly sent me photographs of certain Attic red-figured fragments found by the American School of Classical Studies in their excavations at Corinth. Among the fragments were three, from one vase, that seemed to me of exceptional interest. Mrs. Josephine Platner Harwood and Miss Palmer invited me to publish them, in advance of the official publication, and I am grateful to them for their generous action. A few months later Dr. J. L. Caskey, Director of the American School, sent me clearer photographs of the three pieces, and also photographs of two other small fragments from the same vase: to him also I feel much indebted (Pl. 85). In 1953 I was able to examine the originals at Corinth, though but hastily. They come from a hydria of exactly the same common type as those in Boston and London reproduced on Plate 86. In the Boston hydria (Pl. 86, b)¹ the base and foot are modern, so I give the picture only: the shape of the vase, and the position of the picture on it, will be plain from the London hydria (Pl. 86, a).²

In the first fragment (A) one sees the upper part of a man—from the waist or near it—, facing to the right, the body almost frontal, but turned slightly in the same direction as the head, both arms bent at the elbow and the forearms raised. The man wears Oriental costume:—first, a garment of thick material ornamented with a bold pattern of black circles, each having the centre marked in brown; secondly, on the head, a kidaris (bashlik), the long flaps of which are preserved, while the rest is missing; the kidaris too may have been ornamented, at least the black remains just before the fragment ends look like part of a spot; thirdly, worn shawl-wise over both shoulders, a dark wrap with a thin light border. The dot-and-circle pattern is seen to stop at the right armpit, where there is a thin edging-band. There is no pattern on the arms, and one cannot tell whether they were sleeved or bare: the fragment ceases before the wrists, where cuffs would have made a sleeve certain. In front of each arm one sees a pair of uprights, decorated with a row of round black spots. I take these uprights to be sceptres of the well-known Greek type—long staves with the same decoration, here summarily indicated, as a barber's pole.³ The curved appearance of the sceptres, especially of the one in the left hand, is due, I think, to the strong curvature of the vase. What one makes out in the triangle below the man's right arm, between his ribs and the sceptre in his right hand, is, on the right, the back part—the

¹ See below, p. 310.

² London E 167: *AJA.* 1917 pp. 39-40; *CV.* pl.73, 1 and pl.79, 1: *ARV.* p.376, Leningrad Painter no.63.

³ See *AJA.* 1939 p.629.

inside—of the dark wrap, then, to left of it, its light border, then a piece of the black background. A chip has removed the eye. The nose is large. The long light-coloured beard shows on each side of the forward flap of the headdress. It is contoured by a relief-line; another relief-line marks the moustache, a third the full nostril. This figure is on a somewhat larger scale than the others. The lower part of it is concealed by the upper part of a pyre, the left-hand corner of which is missing.⁴ One sees a thin upper edge or listel; below it, the hitherto of a course of logs laid lengthwise; below that, a course of logs laid end-on; below that, the top of a course like the first; then the fragment ceases. The pyre is alight: flames are shown in red.

To right of the man, and partly concealed by his arm, are the wrist and hand—ball of the thumb, 'mount of the moon'—of another Oriental, with the cuff of his sleeve. Above this is a pair of transverse lines, perhaps part of a staff or the like, held in the other hand, which would in that case be raised.

Fragment B does not join A, but it gives the lower right-hand corner of the pyre. Parts of the three lowermost courses are preserved, with more flames. They rest on a low base or *κρηπίς*, which we should have difficulty in recognizing if it were not figured on many other vases, where it is usually surmounted by a tumulus of half-oval form: so for example on the Vagnonville krater in Florence, on a cup by Makron in the Louvre, or on a white lekythos by the Bosanquet Painter in Athens.⁵ In these the *κρηπίς* is set with a row of dark rounds—holes—, from which, in the Vagnonville vase as in ours, flames are seen to rise.

The dark horizontal line below the *κρηπίς* marks the lower edge of the picture and the upper edge of the framing-line below it. To right of the pyre one sees first what appears to be the lower end of a sickle-like object, and then a small part of a person in Oriental costume. These remains are puzzling. One would expect them to belong to the same figure as the hand in fragment A, one of whose feet might come hereabouts: but what we see is not part of a foot. As to the sickle-like object, Andrew Gow suggests to me that it may be an implement for tidying and confining the fire and fuel: "under the eaves of English houses and churches you often see a horizontal row of rings to take a pole which was used for raking away the thatch if it had caught fire. The poles themselves are sometimes preserved, now usually inside the building. The pole has a metal sickle-like end."

⁴ Good examples of pyres on Myson's amphora in the Louvre (G 197; FR. pl.113; CV. pl.35: ARV. p.171 no.47); on a bell-krater in Villa Giulia (AJA. 1953 pll.45-6); on a pelike by the Kadmos Painter in Munich (2360; FR. pl.109, 2; ARV. p.805 no.1); on a bell-krater by the Painter of London F 64 in the Mustilli collection at S. Agata de' Goti (FR. ii p.257 fig.90); on another by Python in London (F 149: JHS. 11 pl.6; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* pl.15); on a volute-krater in Naples (FR. pl.89: A.P. style).

⁵ Florence: JOAI 8 p.145 and 10 p.118; Mon.Piot 29 pl.5; ARV. p.184, Flying-angel Painter no.28. Louvre: Bull.van de Vereniging 1954 pp.12-13. Athens 1935: JOAI 10 p.119; Riezler pl.23, whence Pfuhl fig.534; ARV. p.807 no.1. See Engelmann in JOAI 8 pp.145-55 and 10 pp.117-26 and Pottier in Mon.Piot 29 pp.151-5.

I imagine the implement on our vase as not unlike the *δορυδρέπανον* used, though for a different purpose, by the gallant Stesileos in Plato's anecdote.⁶ But who is holding it? If, as we guessed, the thing above the hand on fragment A is a staff or the like, held by the person to right of the pyre, he cannot also be holding the sickle-like object. It might be in the hand of another person to right of him; or it might be in the air, dropped and falling. Possibly, too, the person on B is not the same as the owner of the hand on A, but another, to right of him: squatting, perhaps, to right, the remains being part of buttock and shoe. All this is doubtful.

Fragment C has parts of two figures. An Oriental, with body frontal, moves to right, looking round to left, with pursed lips, leaning back and grasping his kidaris with his right hand in a gesture of astonishment and dismay. He wears the same kind of costume as the chief man in fragment A, with the same pattern, but he has no wrap, and his kidaris is a little simpler, has no border in front. The beard is shorter, with a rounded end, and the moustache is but lightly indicated. The cuff of the right sleeve is preserved; and the sleeve is proved by the drawing at the armpit to be part of an undergarment over which the patterned vest is placed. Of the kidaris only the top is wanting. The arc below the little finger is the lower edge of the loose top, flopping over in front. The mass of the headdress is pulled down tight over the forehead and is encircled by a thin band. To left of this man are the hands, outstretched to right, of another, who would seem to have been on a lower level, crouching for example.

The fourth fragment (D) has the shank and foot of an Oriental moving quickly to left. The trousers are patterned with rows of lozenges alternating with wavy lines. The contour of the foot is without relief.

The fifth and last fragment (E) has parts of two figures. On the right, an Oriental starts, or falls, back, facing to right, chin up; the left arm too was probably raised, the right is not. All that remains of the face is the rounded end of the beard. Much of the kidaris is preserved, and the upper part of it can be interpreted with the help of fragment C. The costume is the same as there. The vest is ornamented with the circle-and-dot pattern, the sleeve with a row of rays (or lozenges half seen), a wavy line, and perhaps a star. The figure looks like a pendant to the man on fragment C, and the raised hand probably grasped the bashlik in front as there. The sleeve on fragment E enables us to explain the scanty remains of pattern on the left sleeve in fragment C.

To left of this Oriental, at his back, and in profile to right, is an unexpected figure: a Greek youth playing the flute. His head is bent a little. The hair is short. He is dressed in a thick garment, one part of which is patterned with black circles (the centre marked in brown), light against a dark background, the other part with a large maeander, the left boundary of which is missing. The head is wreathed with red

⁶ *Laches* 183c-184a.

leaves (hardly visible in the photograph) and wears a chaplet which is probably of wool or linen, circular in section, and stuffed. The two tubes of which the flute consists are seen, and the phorbeia is carefully rendered—the oval mouthpiece (perforated); the broad band drawn tight round cheeks and nape, concealing the lobe of the ear; the thin strap attached to the band by eyelets and passing round the hair near the crown of the head. This flute-player is not an Oriental, but a Greek in the full-dress costume worn by ἀθληταί on the concert-platform, at athletic contests, or in the theatre, and familiar to us from countless representations beginning in the late archaic period.⁷ A good example is on the Boston hydria reproduced on Plate 86, b. The costume usually comprizes sleeves: in our fragment the arms are missing. Sleeves, whatever their origin, must have been welcome to the flute-player, with his raised arms, in cold weather, whether the performance was indoors or out of doors.

For the respective positions of the five fragments there is not much evidence apart from the subject matter. Fragments A and B go together, but do not join, and the exact distance between them is uncertain. The pyre was probably in the middle of the picture or near it. Fragment C must have been to right of A and B; fragment E to left of A and B. The flute-player on E must have been at the left edge of the picture or near it. Not clear whether fragment D was to left of the pyre or to right. The man whose hands are seen on the left of fragment C must have been placed lower than his companion, cowering, or scrambling away: he might perhaps be the person whose scanty remains on fragment B have given us so much trouble. Again, to left of the forehead on fragment C, and below the right forearm, there are a pair of lines that do not belong to the forearm and might conceivably be from the same object as that in the top right-hand corner of fragment A. We do not know how many figures there were in the picture. In hydriai of this type at this period, the picture often runs from the rear edge of one side-handle to the rear-edge of the other, with a rough average of six or seven figures; but sometimes it runs right round the vase.

Looking at the fragments themselves, I noted, from the curvature, that the middle of the pair of hands on fragment C was about level with the top of the pyre, and that the little finger of the man grasping his head on fragment C was about level with the second spot from the top on the sceptre in fragment A, and with the lower edge of the visible part of the flute-player's ear: but these are only approximations.

Oriental, one of them seen behind a pyre; he calm, the others agitated; and a Greek flute-player. In what circumstances can a Greek flute-player be seen in the

⁷ Early examples on a Nolan amphora by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy in London (E 288: *CV*. pl.47, 3: *ARV*. p.278 no.93) and on a cup by the Briseis Painter in New York (27.74: Richter and Hall pl.10: *ARV*. p.267 no.10). Costumes with fitted sleeves (the only sense in which the word 'sleeve' is used throughout this article) were of course worn by other persons: an early example is on a black-figured neck-amphora by the Camtar Painter, second quarter of the sixth century, in the Louvre (*Bull.MFA*. 47 p.88).

company of Orientals on a solemn occasion? Not in life, either in the Orient or in Greece. Nor, surely, in legend. The only place I can think of where the combination is possible is the theatre in Athens. A play about Orientals. Not, evidently, a comedy, or a satyr-play: a tragedy. Actor, and chorus; and the flute-player who provided the music of the drama, and who, as we shall see, is often represented on vases, wearing this costume, and in the company of chorus, or actors, or actors and chorus both. Is any other kind of performance possible? Not pantomime. Not nome. Dithyramb perhaps: in that case what would be represented would be not anything seen, but something narrated, the plot of a dithyramb. Surely a play is more likely; and the analogies to which we shall point presently speak for a play.

I will say at once that I do not think we can identify the play or the persons; at least I cannot myself; others may be more fortunate. We can describe the situation: Orientals gathered round the pyre of a great Oriental, we may call him a king. The pyre is lighted. Then, to the terror of the company, the dead king is seen to rise from the pyre, or behind it, supporting himself on two staves.

We have called them Orientals. They are probably Persians: but it is just possible, I suppose, that they might be another people of Asia Minor, for instance Phrygians, wearing the same costume (originally, it seems, Median) which was worn, except on the highest occasions, by the Persians.⁸

Let us now speak of style and date. Enough of the vase remains to show (as Miss Palmer had already observed) that it is a characteristic product of that great sub-archaic Mannerist Group of Attic vase-painters which began at the end of the archaic period and continued for two generations or even longer. A list of the vases composing the group—some hundreds of them—is given in *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, and some comment in *Potter and Painter*.⁹ One of the three or four favourite types of vase in this workshop was the hydria, and the hydria decorated in the same fashion as ours, with a picture, framed, on the shoulder. The painter of our vase is one of the early mannerists, those of the first generation: the Leningrad Painter. The London hydria reproduced on Plate 86, a is also his;¹⁰ and on a third hydria, his best piece, formerly in the Caputi collection, now in Rome in private hands, he has actually given us a glimpse of the workshop in which he painted.¹¹ The extremely conservative character of the drawing makes the Mannerist vases distinctly harder to date than the 'straight' work of the period, but within limits one can speak with confidence. The Corinth vase must have been painted between 480 and 450, and in all probability between 470 and 460 or 450.

We shall now examine the other vases on which a flute-player, wearing formal

⁸ On Persian costume, Gow in *JHS*. 48 pp.142-52.

⁹ *ARV*. pp.369-400 and 959; *PP*. p.13.

¹⁰ See above, footnote 2.

¹¹ *Annali* 1876 pl.D-E, whence *FR*.ii p.307, *Richter Craft* p.71; see *PP*. pp.11-13.

costume, is seen *in strange company*: that is to say, not on the concert-platform (alone, or with another flute-player or a singer); and not on the sports ground, accompanying athletic exercises or contests. We begin with the hydria in Boston (Pl. 86, b) which we have already quoted more than once.¹² It is of just the same type and period as ours, and the style of drawing is very like. It is by one of the early Mannerists: it is very close to the Leningrad Painter, and is probably from his hand. The picture, as Edward Robinson recognised, represents a scene from a satyr-play.¹³ Five satyrs are shown. In two of them the middle of the body is missing; the other three wear the distinctive drawers of the satyr-play:¹⁴ they are therefore not simply satyrs, but satyrs of drama. Facing them is the flute-player, bearded, but in other respects very like the musician of the fragments in Corinth. Short hair; long thick robe, sleeved, and ornamented with the same dot-and-circle pattern as in the Corinth vase—the circles black, the centres brown; spotted chaplet; shoes ornamented with dot-and-circle; phorbeia as in the Corinth fragments, except that there is no vertical strap passing over the crown of the head. He bends a little as he plays, and beats time with his right foot. Behind him, up against the side-border, stands an old man dressed in a himation, who is not characterized as an actor or other performer: we shall have other examples of 'the civilian' in such pictures, and shall often find him hard to name: our man might be the choregus.

The satyrs dance up in various attitudes. The leader has just set down one leg of a piece of furniture—probably a couch rather than a throne—on a low platform.^{14a} The other three legs are carried by the three satyrs who follow him. The couch is being put together for some kind of celebration. In the remaining satyr the back of the head is concealed by the side-border, and the face except the forehead is missing. He too brings a piece of furniture or part of one. In the play, other satyrs, the rest of the chorus, may have fetched other requisites, or may have been content to encourage the workers and get in their way. One may fancy that the job was not done without much jostling and confusion, and some knocks and tumbles, grunts, howls, and screams.

The rectangular legs fetched by the first four satyrs are of a familiar type which would suit either couch or throne, but a couch is perhaps the more likely. The thing held by the fifth satyr might be expected to be another part of the same piece of

¹² Boston 03.788; bought in Athens: Brommer *Satyroi* fig.18 and *Satyrspiele* p.14; [Frances F. Jones] *The Theater in Ancient Art* (Princeton, 1951-2) fig. 1: *ARV*. p.377 no.5. It will be republished in Caskey and Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in Boston* iii. The fractures are repointed; in the foremost satyr, parts of the thighs, of the knees, of the left forearm, are modern, also the right foot, and the right foot of the satyr behind him.

¹³ *BMFA.Report* 1903 p.71 no.57.

¹⁴ The earliest example is on a cup by Makron in Munich, about 480 (2657: Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.13: *ARV*. p.312 no.191). See also my article in the volume dedicated to Guido Libertini.

^{14a} On platforms under couches, Studniczka *Das Symposion Ptolemaios II* pp.148-50, and *CV*. Oxford p.110.

furniture; but it appears to be something else, a seat with stretchers and turned legs, held, of course, upside down, and the foot cut off by the upper border. I cannot quote an exact parallel to the shape, but for the leg compare the wooden one in Richter *Ancient Furniture* fig. 94, and for the stretchers *ibid.* figs. 8 and 38. If the two objects are couch and seat, one thinks of those many reliefs and pictures in which a god, a hero, or a man reclines on a couch, while a woman sits facing him on a chair or stool.

Here then we have, from the same period as our fragments, from the same workshop, and probably by the same painter, a scene from drama, with the chorus, and the flute-player.

Plate 88, b shows one of the four small pictures on the neck of an Attic volute-krater in the Museo di Spina at Ferrara.¹⁵ It is not a mannerist work: the artist is the Painter of Bologna 279—a follower of the Niobid Painter—and the date is about 450. The flute-player, bearded, wreathed, and wearing the phorbeia, stands near the left edge of the picture, dressed in the festal robe, which has sleeves and is ornamented with crosslets and with the dot-and-circle pattern. In the middle of the scene a goddess, crowned and sceptred, and wearing, over the chiton, a himation which veils the back of the head, rises out of the ground. Behind her stands a man who holds what seems to be a long torch in each hand. He is wreathed and wears a short chiton, visible only at the shoulders, and over it another chitoniskos which is of thicker material. To left and right of the pair are satyrs, each of whom has a large hammer or mallet. They greet the goddess excitedly: two of them drop their hammers and caper; a third, his tail cleaving to his buttocks, grasps his forehead as if dazzled or dumbfounded. The gesture recalls the Persian to the right of the pyre on the Corinth vase. A small boy joins in the excitement; and on the left another satyr, making six in all, is half seen bolting.¹⁶ On the right a man in ordinary dress, a simple himation, stands looking on. He is not wreathed (but neither is the satyr next him). He is perhaps the choregus. The satyrs are not distinguished as satyrs of drama, since they do not wear drawers: but this has always been taken to be an episode from a play, freely rendered. Idealistic art, when representing performers—actors or chorus-men—tends to substitute the character for the impersonator. It is not certain who the persons are. The goddess has been thought to be Pandora, and the man behind her Epimetheus: but Buschor is

¹⁵ *ML.* 33 pll.1-3 and p.6 (Guarducci), whence *RM.* 47 p.124: Aurigemma¹ pp.215-9 = ²pp. 257-61; Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.46: *ARV.* p.428, middle, no.1. Our illustration is taken from the reduced drawing in *ML.* 33 p.6: see also the photographs *ibid.* pll.1-3.

¹⁶ The uprights to left and right of the picture have been thought to represent the παρασκήνια of the theatre with the end-figures disappearing into them: but they are framing-bands only, not indicating any building or structure. They recur in the neck-picture on the other side of the vase, which figures Herakles and Busiris and has no connection with the theatre, and also to left and right of the floral bands on the upper section of the neck; on other volute-kraters too, for instance New York 07.286.84 (*FR.* pll.116-7; Richter and Hall pll.97-8 and pl.171, 98), which is by another follower of the Niobid Painter (*ARV.* p.427 no.1).

more probably right in calling her Persephone, and the man the high priest at Eleusis.¹⁷ The boy is not characterized as a satyr-boy. Whether satyr or not, if he took part in the play, he must have been, from the point of view of the choregus, a parachoregema, making use of a lad, or a midget, with a gift for drollery. The identification of the figures is not essential to our present investigation: enough that we have surely the central incident, freely rendered, of a satyr-play; in which a character rises out of the ground, as in the *Pcace* of Aristophanes or the *Persians* of Aeschylus.

We return to the Mannerist workshop with a pelike in Berlin (Pl. 87).¹⁸ Many years ago it was described, and one side of it reproduced, by Furtwängler. We figure the other side too, from a faded photograph. The artist is an early mannerist, and his work is contemporary with the hydria in Corinth. There are two figures in each picture, a maenad and a flute-player. The musician, a youth with short hair, stands on the right, bending a little as he plays. He wears the formal robe, which is sleeved, and ornamented with the usual dot-and-circle pattern; wreath and chaplet; phorbeia of the same sort as in the Corinth fragments; shoes (in one picture; bare feet in the other). On the obverse, the maenad dances to right, head frontal, hair loose, holding a sword in the right hand and in the left the severed hind-leg of a kid. Her only garment, which reaches to the knees and leaves the right shoulder and breast bare, as well as part of the left breast, may be defined as a himation of the old 'Ionic' mode: very like it, the himation of the Nereid behind Achilles on another mannerist pelike, close to ours in style, London E 363.¹⁹ On the other side of the vase the dress of the maenad and the position of her arms, with sword and leg of kid in the hands, are the same as before, but she strides to left, looking round, with the face in profile. The hair of both maenads is long and dank; in one, parted in the middle and drawn down so that it hides most of the forehead; in the other mounded high in front, with a long curl hanging down in front of the ear. Now 'real' maenads, if we may so call them,—maenads of myth—have nothing to do with flute-players in full dress. These are not maenads of myth, but maenads impersonated. Maenads of drama—that is, of tragedy? It will be objected that the artist has given them feminine breasts, and cannot therefore have meant them for chorus-men. The answer may be that, as in the Ferrara vase just described, the artist substitutes the character for the impersonator, or, to put it differently, as he gazes in his mind at the maenads of drama, they dissolve and the maenads of myth or 'reality' take their place. Obviously the maenads of tragedy did not flourish mangled animals or their property equivalents: these also are due to the painter's imagination, or to a shift in his vision.

Furtwängler noted the unusual rendering of the faces and especially of the wig-

¹⁷ Buschor *Feldmäuse* pp.19-20. He takes the man on the right to be another member of the royal house at Eleusis.

¹⁸ Berlin inv.3223: B, *Anz.* 1893 p.90, 43: *ARV.* p.397 no.39.

¹⁹ *Mon.* 11 pl.8: *ARV.* p.397 no.44. The two pelikai are not far from the Oinante Painter.

like hair, and one may really ask whether they do not show the influence of tragic masks.

One side of the Berlin pelike has recently been republished by Weinreich,²⁰ who believes the dancer to be not a chorus-man or an actor but a woman dancing solo in character, an ὀρχηστρίς, a pantomimus, as Wüst had already suggested: "the stimulus, however, came from a drama, for the flute-player wears theatrical costume." This is a possible alternative, which some may judge less far-fetched than the explanation just proposed.^{20a} Above the head of the maenad in one of the pictures there is an inscription. It is not ΚΑΙΕ but ΚΑΙΟΣ. I do not press this, but it is worth recording.

In the last two vases it was not easy to define what may be termed the bifocal standpoint of the artist with regard to his theme. There is no such difficulty with pictures which show the flute-player in full dress together with members of the dramatic chorus or even the whole cast of the drama, and in some of which the chorus-men rehearse their dance, or at least fetch a frisk or two, while there is no attempt to reproduce the plot of the drama or any episode in it, whether played or narrated. These pictures are nearly all well known and we can be brief. A fragmentary dinos of about 425 or 420 B.C. in Athens has the flute-player, four members of a satyr-chorus, wearing drawers, and four 'civilians,' one of whom should be the poet, another the choregus.²¹ Three fragments of a bell-krater by the same artist, in Bonn, have the flute-player and three members of the satyr-chorus, wearing drawers.²² The Pronomos vase in Naples,²³ a volute-krater painted at the end of the fifth century, has the whole cast of a satyr-play, chorus and actors, together with the famous flute-player Pronomos, a lyre-player, the poet Demetrios, and the lord of the festival, Dionysos, besides. The picture must be derived, as Bulle has established beyond cavil, from a votive picture dedicated to Dionysos by Pronomos himself.²⁴ Fragments of

²⁰ Weinreich *Epigramm und Pantomimus* pl.1, with pp.125-6.

^{20a} According to Weinreich the 'ὀρχηστρίς' is dancing the part of Agave; but there is no indication of this.

²¹ Athens 13027: *AM.* 36 pl.13, 1-2 and pl.14, 4-5, whence (part) Pickard-Cambridge *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* [*DFA.*] fig.30; Nicole pl.17; part, Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.10; *ARV.* p.796 no.1. The youth in *AM.* 36 pl.14, 4 is not a singleton but belongs to the group of flute-player and satyr. The frontal person *ibid.* pl.14, 5 must be a satyr.

²² Bonn inv.1216.116-119: *CV.* pl.30, 16; Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.11; Pickard-Cambridge *DFA.* fig.31: *ARV.* p.796 no.2.

²³ Naples 3240: *FR.* pl.143-5, whence Bieber *HT.* pp.14 and 34 and Pickard-Cambridge *DFA.* fig.28; Brommer *Satyrspiele* p.9: *ARV.* p.849, Pronomos Painter no.1.

²⁴ Bulle *Eine Skenographie* pp.27-9. One may surmise that, in the *Hesione* of Demetrios, Pronomos won special applause by his musical description of the sea-monster's approach: this would at least be consonant with the trend of music in his day; and not only in his day, seeing that the venerable πολυκέφαλος νόμος at Delphi was traditionally held to have been composed by Athena in imitation of the hissing of the snakes on Medusa's decapitated head (*Pind.P.* 12, with schol. on line 15).

another volute-krater, from the same period as the Pronomos vase and of kindred style, in Würzburg,²⁵ also figure the cast of a play, actors and chorus, this time not a satyr-drama but a tragedy, since the chorus are habited not as satyrs but as women; the poet and the flute-player are also there, and Dionysos. This picture, too, as Bulle showed, must be derived from a votive pinax, dedicated, however, not by the flute-player but probably by the poet.

To these vases we may add first, the mosaic, from the Casa del Poeta Tragico at Pompeii, in Naples,²⁶ which depicts preparations for a satyr-play, with the poet and, well to the fore, the flute-player, a laboured and debased copy of a much earlier painting; and secondly, two minor vases, both oinochoai of shape 3, choes. One of them, a small piece, a present for a child, of about 400 B.C., in Oxford, shows a flute-player, and two youths in long robes, actors, perhaps, rather than chorus-men.²⁷ The other, somewhat later, in Leningrad, has three actors of comedy besides the flute-player and another person: all five have an infantile look, and this vase, too, was probably a present for a child,²⁸ τοῖς παιδίοις ἔν' ἧ γέλως.

The pictures hitherto considered have either certainly referred to the drama, or could best be understood as referring to it: but the flute-player, in costume, was in place at other performances. In the dithyramb the auletes was so important that the official records of victories regularly contain his name as well as those of the tribe, the choregus, and the poet. It might be held that some of the pictures in which a flute-player appears in the company of legendary figures were inspired by dithyramb: but I do not know any in which this is at all probable. The bell-krater by Polion in New York,²⁹ of about 425 B.C., does not, of course, belong to this category, since the subject is not from legend. There are four figures. On the right stands a young flute-player in a long sleeved robe on which the dot-and-circle pattern alternates with groups of three dots. He wears a wreath but no phorbeia, and as in several of the vases just mentioned is not playing, but holding one aulos in each hand. Three old satyrs move towards him with citharae, singing. They have white hair and beards, and their bodies

²⁵ Bulle in *Corolla Curtius* pll.54-6, with pp.151-7, whence Pickard-Cambridge *DFA*. fig.40: *ARV*. p.965.

²⁶ Herrmann *Denkm. der Malerei* pl.14; Bieber *Denkm. des Theaterwesens* [*Theat*]. pll.49-50 and *H.T.* p.16.

²⁷ Oxford 1927.4468: *CV*. pl.63, 10-11.

²⁸ Leningrad: *Compte Rendu* 1870-1 pl.6, 1 and 8, whence *Jd I* 8 p.69, Bieber *Theat*. p.137 fig.124 and *H.T.* p.85, Pickard-Cambridge *DFA*. p.192 fig.80.

²⁹ 25.78.66: *RM*. 47 p.130 and p.146, b; Richter and Hall pl.155; A, Bieber *H.T.* p.6: *ARV*. p.797 no.7. No one seems to have discussed the grammar of the inscription, perhaps because it was thought obvious. Are the two words connected or not? If not, Παναθήναια would be the title of the picture, for which one might perhaps quote the Πατροκλέους ἄθλα which Sophilos wrote, long before, on his dinos from Pharsalos in Athens (15499: *Mon.Piot* 33 pp.44-7 and 49 and pl.6; *AM*. 62 pll.52-3): but such titles are very rare on vases. If the words are connected, what is the construction? (νικῶντες) Παναθήναια? Neither of these explanations seems to me likely.

(except face, hands, and feet) are covered with small white tufts. We could hardly have been quite sure whether they were meant for satyrs—Papposilenoi—or for men disguised as satyrs, were it not that the artist has added an inscription, $\psi\delta\omicron\iota\ \Pi\alpha\alpha\text{-}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\alpha$, from which we learn that they are singers at the Panathenaic festival. Dithyrambs were sometimes performed at the Panathenaia, and our picture has been thought to represent an extract from a dithyramb. This does not seem very likely; if it is accepted, the performance of the ‘singers’ must have been an interlude or inset—a trio if Polion’s number of satyrs is to be taken literally. The performance may also have been an independent item; and one would like to know if there is any connection with earlier, black-figure pictures of satyrs playing the cithara: the five old satyrs on a lekythos of the early fifth century in London;⁸⁰ the three satyrs on a neck-amphora of the end of the sixth century, now in Dr. Karl Peters’ possession in Berlin.⁸¹ Cithara-players do not dance, but a form of goose-step was admitted: it appears on Dr. Peters’ vase, and is lamely executed by the third of Polion’s Papposilenoi. The leader strikes an affected pose intended to suggest the rapt look of the inspired musician.⁸²

A volute-krater in Taranto,⁸³ by an Italiote artist of the late fifth century, represents the celebration of the festival of Apollo Karneios in a Dorian city of South-east Italy, for the word $\text{KAPNEIO}\Sigma$ is inscribed on a small pillar. A flute-player in full dress is seen not playing but holding his flute in one hand and his phorbeia in the other. Round him are kalathiskos-dancers, as we call them, naked youths, and a woman, wearing or holding two or three kinds of ritual headdress, one of which is huge and elaborate, a real trendle of a crown. Dancers and flute-player, with a ‘civilian,’ occupy the lower range of the picture; above them, in the upper range, Perseus holds out the gorgoneion amid a throng of terrified satyrs. Neither he nor they are characterized as creatures of drama, but the group is probably derived from a satyr-play: the artist has depicted the climax of the plot, or an impressive tableau, although not in theatrical terms. It is improbable, in a work of such magnificence, that there is no connection between the two ranges, and the whole picture must surely be based on a votive pinax dedicated to Apollo and commemorating a successful celebration of the Karneia. One may conjecture that the kalathiskos-dance was an original performance at the Karneia, and that dramatic performances were a later addition to the programme. The satyr-play figures on the vase, but it is likely enough that there were tragedies as well. At another Italiote festival—or indeed the same—, as is indicated by the phlyax vase in New York,⁸⁴ the programme included tragedy as well as

⁸⁰ London B 560: Class of Athens 581 (Haspels *ABL*. p.223 no.34).

⁸¹ Gerhard *AV*. pl.52.

⁸² Compare the hydria formerly in the Fauvel collection (Stackelberg pl.20).

⁸³ Taranto 4358: *Rev.arch.* 1933, ii, pp.4-21 (Wuilleumier); part, Trendall *Frühit.* pll.24-6; *CV*. IV d r pll.1-6. The inscription, *Rev.arch.* 1933, ii, p.12.

⁸⁴ New York 24.97.104: *Bull.Metr.* 22 p.56 and p.57 fig.3 (Richter); *RM.* 47 p.134 (Messer-

farce. Two other Italiote vases, besides the volute-krater in Taranto, show the flute-player in the company of kalathiskos-dancers: a bell-krater by the Sisyphos Painter in the Victoria and Albert Museum;³⁵ and a vase of the same shape in Berlin,³⁶ where Artemis is also present, doubtless as the deity at whose festival the dance is taking place. A third Italiote bell-krater, in the Louvre,³⁷ records another mixed programme. There are three figures. The flute-player stands in the middle and accompanies a young satyr who dances. Behind the musician stands a naked woman holding a helmet and a targe: her contribution will have been a variety of the pyrrhic. The other two figures are not so easily explained. One can understand that the dancer is not characterized as a human being in disguise; but it is odd that the flute-player should have the head of a satyr. Perhaps the painter has simply assimilated him to the dancer. This is preferable to supposing a masked flute-player, who would find a mask very uncomfortable. The small pillar in the picture may mark, as in the Karneios vase, the boundary of the sacred precinct, but it is uninscribed.

The last Italiote vase to mention is a bell-krater in Princeton, where the flute-player's companion is an actor in farce, a phlyax.³⁸

We have left a well known Attic vase to the last: the calyx-krater with two rows of pictures in the British Museum (Pl. 88, a).³⁹ The date is about 460-450, and the artist is the Niobid Painter. The decoration of the upper zone falls into two groups: an eight-figure representation of the creation of Pandora, Πανδώρας γένεσις, and an eight-figure representation of a χορός γυναικῶν, which in its turn is made up of two groups, a six-figure group of a flute-player in full dress accompanying five dancers who are female or in feminine costume, and a small group of two figures—another female dancer, just like the five, and facing her, a 'civilian,' a man in everyday attire.

Alexander Murray, who first published the vase, concluded that there were two different and unconnected subjects in the upper zone. This division has won general assent, and as friends of dissociation we might be ready to accept it, but for the fact that in vases of this type—calyx-kraters with two rows of pictures—, while in the lower row, where the handles produce a natural break, the picture on one side has often

schmidt); Trendall *Frühit.* pl.28,b; Bieber *H.T.* p.282 fig.381; *AJA.* 1932 pl.32. Attributed to the Tarporley Painter by Trendall. See *AJA.* 1952 pp.193-5.

³⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum: *BSR.* 11 pl.12: attributed to the Sisyphos Painter by Miss Moon (Mrs. W. F. Oakeshott).

³⁶ Berlin inv.4520; part, *RM.* 24 p.119: see Neugebauer *Führer* pp.139-40.

³⁷ Louvre: *El.* 4 pl.31. There is some repainting in the faces, but it does not affect the subject-matter.

³⁸ Princeton: [Frances F. Jones] *The Theater in Ancient Art, Dec.-Jan.* 1952 fig. 1; *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 1952 pp.30-3. Connected by Miss Jones with the A.V. Group and assigned by Trendall to the Foundling Painter.

³⁹ London E 467: *JHS.* 11 pll.11-12, whence our reproduction and (A) Bieber *Theat.* pl.101; A, *ibid.* pl.51; Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb* figs. 14-15; details, *Metz.St.* 5 p.138; Webster *Niobiden-Maler* pll.14-15: *ARV.* p.420 no.21. See Buschor *Feldmäuse* p.18.

nothing to do with the picture on the other; in the upper row, which is beyond the reach of the handles, there is always only one subject, running right round the vase.⁴⁰ We must ask whether the two groups of eight in the London krater may not be connected. The story of Pandora is not susceptible of tragic treatment, but is suitable matter for the satyric drama, and we actually know of a satyr-play on the subject by Sophocles. The chorus on our vase, however, consists not of satyrs but of women. It may be that the artist, perhaps taking his cue from a votive picture, has made a selection of the possible topics provided by a tetralogy: has chosen on the one hand the subject of the satyr-play Pandora, and on the other the female chorus from one of the tragedies. His *Πανδώρας γένεσις*, of course, does not give a view of anything that took place before the spectators in the theatre. He represents ' Pandora,' and not as a single figure, but in the midst of the gods who dower her with gifts. In any case the decoration of the upper zone falls into two groups, but there may be a connection between them.

The identification of the middle figure as Pandora has recently been challenged by Brommer,⁴¹ who pertinently observes that Ares, hastening towards her, is more appropriate to a ' Birth of Aphrodite ' than to a *Πανδώρας γένεσις*, and that a similar figure of Ares actually occurs in a picture of the Birth of Aphrodite.⁴² On the other hand, the figure in the middle is very like undoubted Pandoras,⁴³ and rigid as it is, doll-like, small, passive and humble, it is not at all like a great goddess, who from the beginning of her days would face the world with perfect assurance. Moreover the goddess beside her, who offers her a wreath, is surely Athena, and Athena has no special connection with Aphrodite, whereas with Pandora she has:

ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

As to Ares, the writer of a satyr-play, for all we can tell, may have freshened the oft-told tale by introducing Ares into the plot, borrowing the motive, it may be, from the story of the Birth of Aphrodite. Without claiming it as any proof, I recollect that Voltaire, in his poem *L'origine des métiers*, which is about Pandora, introduces Mars

⁴⁰ The only exception is the Circe krater in New York, a rough work by the Persephone Painter (41.83: Richter *Handbook of the Greek Collection* pl.82,a) and it is not quite a full exception. On the front of the vase, Odysseus pursues Circe; on the back, women flee for protection to a man. The artist has eked out the pursuit scene as if it were one of the many amorous pursuits in which the companions of the victim flee in terror to their father.

⁴¹ Brommer *Satyroi* p.14; see also Rumpf in *Jd I* 65 pp.168 and 171.

⁴² Hydria in Syracuse, 23912 (*CV*. pl.24, whence, (this picture), *Marb.Jb.* 15 p.26 fig.34, Brommer, and *Jd I* 65 p.167 (Rumpf): *ARV*. p.701, Group of Polygnotos, no.99).

⁴³ White-ground cup by the Tarquinia Painter in London, D 4 (Murray *WAV*. pl.19: *ARV*. p.570 no.33). Crocodile rhyton by the Sotades Painter in London, E 789 (*JHS*. 9 p.220 fig.1 and p.221; *CV*. pl.37, 4 and pl.39, 2: *ARV* p.451, no.7). Base of the Parthenos as rendered on the copy from Pergamon (Winter *Altertümer von Pergamon vii*, i Beiblatt 3; Becatti *Problemi fidiaci* pl.11, 32).

as her first lover.⁴⁴ I cannot find that Voltaire had any classical authority for this—one thinks of Phaedrus, but it is not there—, but a simple motive that occurred to a poet in one age might occur to a poet in another.

The lower register on the front of the London krater shows another flute-player accompanying a group of dancers in disguise. The flute-player, however, is not in full dress, wears an ordinary himation, and the dancers are not horse-men but goat-men, not satyrs but Pans. It has been conjectured that the satyrs of drama may on occasion have been replaced by Pans, for example if the subject was the Birth of Aphrodite. This is at any rate preferable to the notion that a comic chorus is represented. As the musician is not in formal costume, the painter may be thinking of an early exercise and not of the performance or even of a dress rehearsal: but it would be foolish to insist on this, and the informal costume may be due to a desire for variety.

In the last scene on the vase, in the lower register on the reverse, the painter leaves the world of the performer and leads us into the heart of satyr-land: a party of satyrs playing ball. It is like a family picnic: the father is there, the nymph his wife, the small son with his hoop, the grown-up brothers. A satyr-chorus may have played ball in the theatre: since there was ball-playing in the *Nausicaa* of Sophocles, in which the poet in person distinguished himself, there may have been ball-playing in a satyr-drama: but, if so, the tone of the episode would have been very different from this.

That exhausts, so far as I remember, the list of flute-players, fully dressed, *in strange company*. On the four Italiote vases, the flute-player was twice associated with a solemn ritual dance—with kalathiskos-dancers; once with a satyr, where the reference to a satyr-drama was uncertain; and once with an actor of farce, a phlyax. In one of the Attic vases his companions were *κθαρῶδοί* disguised as satyrs, for a performance of uncertain nature at the Panathenaia; in another he accompanied a dancing maenad, who might be either a chorus-man of tragedy, or possibly a female solo-dancer in a rôle imitated from tragedy; in a third, he accompanied a chorus of women who were not certainly a tragic chorus but from their context might well be one; in the remaining six, as well as in the mosaic, the connection with drama was certain. The closest analogy to the Corinth picture was furnished by a vase of the same shape, period, and style, the Boston hydria with which we began, one of the few vases that give a view of an actual scene in a drama.

If the subject of the Corinth vase is taken from a play, the play was not a satyr-drama but a tragedy. We know of five tragedies with Persian subjects. Two of them belong to the fourth century and therefore hardly concern us. The others are the *Capture of Miletos*, by Phrynichus, the *Phoenician Women*, by Phrynichus, and the *Persians* of Aeschylus. The *Capture of Miletos*, which must have been written shortly after the disaster of 492 B.C., scarcely comes into account: the chorus must surely have

⁴⁴ Voltaire *Oeuvres complètes* (ed. 1825) xiv p.70.

consisted of Milesian women. The *Phoinissai*, probably produced in 476, took its name from the chorus of Phoenician women, but Persian counsellors seem to have made their entry shortly after the prologue, and it is thought that they may have formed a second chorus. It is not known that Dareios appeared, but considering the resemblance the play is said to have borne to the *Persians* of Aeschylus we cannot exclude the possibility.⁴⁵ The *Persae* of Aeschylus, produced in 472, is preserved complete. When I knew only three of the five fragments from Corinth, and those in an imperfect photograph, I thought of the *Persae*, and in particular of the situation at line 680. At first it was not clear, on the evidence I had before me, that the structure in front of the chief figure was a pyre; when it became clear, there ceased to be any hope of referring the picture to the *Persae*: for if the word *πύρα* seems sometimes to be used as equivalent to *τάφος*,⁴⁶ that does not help us in this case.

The pyre makes one think of Croesus; and it will be remembered that Croesus on the pyre is the subject of a picture by Myson on his amphora of about 490-480 B.C. in the Louvre;⁴⁷ and that Myson was the 'father' of the early Mannerists. His Croesus, however, wears pure Greek dress; and if the chief figure on the Corinth vase had been Croesus, he would surely have been well distinguished in costume from the Persians about him.

There were tragedies the scene of which was laid in other parts of the East besides Persia. The *Carians* of Aeschylus is an example.

New finds may one day solve the problem: for the present we must resign ourselves. A lost tragedy, surely, with an Oriental, probably a Persian, subject.

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⁴⁵ Γλαῦκος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δισχύλου μύθων ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιῆσθαι (Arg.Aesch.Pers.)

On the Persian plays of Phrynichus, Anti in *Arch.class.* 4 pp.23-45.

⁴⁶ Soph. *El.* 900-1.

⁴⁷ See footnote 4.

MINUTES OF AN ACT OF THE ROMAN SENATE

(PLATE 89)

Very rewarding studies of the bronze inscription from Italica by Alvaro d'Ors in *Emerita*, XVIII, 1950 (published in 1952) and in his book, *Epigrafía jurídica de la España Romana*, Madrid, 1953, have revived interest in the so-called *Senatus consultum de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis*. Other suggestions for the difficult text were made by J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXVI, 1955, pp. 189-192. Through the kindness of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional at Madrid the Johns Hopkins University has now received a magnificent photograph (Plate 89) which Oliver did not have at the time he composed his review of the *Epigrafía jurídica*. Robert E. A. Palmer, a graduate student at The Johns Hopkins University, who had already prepared a new text of the marble inscription from Sardis to bring it up to date after the advances made by Professor d'Ors, examined the photograph carefully, and he too succeeded in making further readings. New texts of both inscriptions to provide the full dossier are called for, especially since Professor d'Ors did not have as careful a printer as J. H. Furst and Co. Of the present study Parts I (Diplomatics and History) and III (the Translation) are entirely by Oliver, the Index entirely by Palmer, but II, the main part, consisting of the texts and notes, was prepared in close collaboration. Professor d'Ors, who read our text of the Italicense, generously helped in the elimination of errors.*

I

The *acta urbis*, reports of important events in the capital, were prepared by the Roman government and regularly dispatched to the provinces. In this way the *acta senatus* might be communicated in extracts, or even the complete *commentarii* of an interesting meeting could be included. Before the time of Marcus Aurelius it was not customary to publish on permanent material the full record of the minutes pertinent to an important piece of legislation¹ or clarification of policy, though the speech of the emperor in which such legislation or policy was proposed might very well be engraved for posterity. Though the Roman government communicated the *acta* and though the *acta* may have been by official order exposed to a provincial public in some temporary manner, the decision to engrave an imperial oration permanently in any one locality need not, indeed as a rule probably did not, originate with the Roman authorities. The expense of engraving such a record was presumably undertaken by the city or by the provincial assembly or by a private individual because the city or the provincial assembly had some reason of its own for perpetuating the memory of that particular

* In completing this study James H. Oliver enjoyed financial assistance provided by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, to which grateful acknowledgment is here made.

¹ Much fuller accounts of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* were published from A.D. 81 on, but even these are not comparable until the third century after Christ. On the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* and the new fragments Attilio Degraffi, *Doxa*, II, 1949, pp. 94 f. will orient the reader. Also Elio Pasoli's edition of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (= Studi e ricerche, VII, Bologna, 1950) may be mentioned.

oration. In early cases where the Roman government itself desired the engraving of an act of the Senate, the *senatus consultum* alone was engraved with or without a covering letter or edict of the emperor but never, so far as I know, with the minutes of the meeting.

Accordingly, how the meeting at which Emperors and Senate co-operated to reduce for the upper class the burdens imposed by spectacles in the amphitheatres was publicized throughout the empire in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (A.D. 177-180) arrests the attention of an historian, because fragments of the minutes of the meeting were engraved in provinces as distant from each other as Baetica and Asia. The subject had no peculiar connection with these provinces or with the cities of these provinces. The extant inscriptions show that this *senatus consultum* had both a general interest for the entire Roman world and a special interest for the Three Gauls. Since our fragments do not come from Gaul, the minutes do not owe their engraving to this special interest. Rather they appear to have been published on stone or bronze in various parts of the empire by official order, because it would be too much of a coincidence for so unusual a method of publication on permanent material to make its appearance both at Sardis in Asia and at Italica in Baetica in connection with exactly the same session of the Roman Senate.

The manner of its promulgation is not the only arresting element in the case. The minutes, as far as they are preserved, reveal that after the oration of the emperors had been read, the senator who delivered the first *sententia* did not just accept and praise the proposals of the emperors but criticized and amended them. This fact did not escape André Piganiol, and though his arguments would have to be adjusted to subsequent revisions of the text, they have not lost their cogency. But now what needs to be cited most of all is the papyrus *B.G.U.* 611 (= Riccobono, *F.I.R.A.*², 44) containing a fragment from a speech of Claudius which reflects a tradition of imperial encouragement of the Senate, going back to Augustus and Tiberius. In Charlesworth's translation (*C.A.H.*, X, pp. 697-698) Column III reads as follows:

If these proposals are approved by you, show your assent at once plainly and sincerely. If, however, you do not approve them, then find some other remedies, but here in this temple now, or if you wish to take a longer time for consideration, take it, so long as you recollect that wherever you meet you should produce an opinion of your own. For it is extremely unfitting, Conscript Fathers, to the high dignity of this order that at this meeting one man only, the consul designate, should make a speech (and that copied exactly from the proposal of the consuls), while the rest utter one word only, "Agreed," and then after leaving the house remark "There, we've given our opinion."

The most interesting words of Claudius are those of lines 16-21 which in Latin read: *mini[me] enim dec[o]rum est, p(atres) c(onscripti), ma[i]estati] huius or[di]nis hic un[um] ta]ntummodo consule[m] designatum [de]scriptam [ex] relatio[n]e consulum a[d] ver]bum dic[ere] senten[tia]m.* These words are particularly inter-

esting in view of the Aes Italicense, line 27, where the unknown senator who speaks the first opinion refuses to speak an opinion, as it were, *descriptam ex relatione principum ad verbum*.

The question naturally arises why the minutes were engraved. Under the Principate so much legislation was introduced as a bill before the Senate by the Emperor himself that it became, as we have noted, a common practice to publish, not the formal *Senatus Consultum* itself, but the *Oratio* of the Emperor on which the *Senatus Consultum* was based. This procedure emphasized the rôle of the Emperor in a case where the *Senatus Consultum* constituted a striking benefaction. Our dossier, however, is unique in that it emphasizes not only the initiative of the two Emperors but also the rôle of the senator who expressed, in a prepared statement, the first opinion in the Senate on the proposals of the Emperors. It is extremely interesting that he treats the proposals as indeed excellent but as mere leads, which he proceeds to interpret and expand. Marcus Aurelius has continued the policy of co-operation with the Senate, and this record, which would not have been published without the consent of the senior Emperor, publicizes the freedom of the Senate and the legislative function of the Senate in the government of the empire. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius was still encouraging the Senate, as Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius had, to co-operate genuinely. The proposals were not settled once and for all in the *Consilium Principis* but were submitted to the Senate for a final examination which was no mere formality.

One can say that this co-operation is a far cry from opposition, but it does not follow that the Emperor would have refused to brook true opposition. The ground had been prepared in consultation with leading senators. Naturally a rejection of imperial proposals would not under these conditions have taken place in the Senate and would not at any time have been publicized on bronze, but freedom to interpret and expand approaches freedom to amend and reject. The attitude of Marcus Aurelius, in brief, established a condition out of which something other than despotism and servility might have developed. In other words, Antoninus Pius reversed a trend toward despotism and servility, and Marcus Aurelius followed him in his attempt to restore the balance of the idealized Augustan constitution, a balance which never really existed but which belonged to that traditional ideal, the Mixed Constitution.

Moreover, the Emperor wished to consolidate the support of all elements of the population. Among these elements were of course the non-senatorial landowners of the provinces. The engraved minutes of the session at which our *senatus consultum* was passed advertise not only the justice and beneficence of the Emperor and the freedom of the Senate but also the relief of the non-senatorial landowners and even the part played by provincials in the formulation of policy, because the very senator who delivered the first *sententia* appears to have been a man from Gaul himself, friend, relative or patron of the priest mentioned in Italicense 16-18. It might be added that a limitation upon expenses of gladiatorial games was in the tradition of Augustus

(Dio, LIV, 2, 4) and of Tiberius: *ludorum et munerum impensas corripuit* (Suetonius, *Tib.*, 34).

However, our account of the peculiarity of the case has not yet ended. It was, before Marcus Aurelius, nowhere customary to engrave the full minutes of a session, but, from now on, a marked interest, not only in what was decided and in who proposed it, but in the attendant circumstances, makes itself felt to such an extent that the minutes are sometimes actually engraved on permanent materials. The speech of Claudius in *C.I.L.*, XIII, 1668 is no true parallel, though the interruption of the emperor recorded in Col. II, line 20 certainly crept in from the minutes. Now, however, the whole record was sometimes reproduced, it would seem, and when publication of records unconnected with the city of Rome or with the empire is found, it is natural to infer an influence from the practice of the Roman government. Among extant inscriptions the first such case of imitation, if I am not mistaken, occurs in the Iobacchoi inscription of Athens, *I.G.*, II², 1368 = *S.I.G.*³, 1109.

The Iobacchoi inscription is dated by Kirchner, Tod² and others shortly before A.D. 178, i. e. before the death of Herodes Atticus, whose appointment as priest of Dionysus is mentioned therein. Graindor once dated the inscription between A.D. 162/3 and 175/6,³ but he later came to believe that the inscription belonged around A.D. 162/3 because he thought⁴ that in another inscription, *I.G.*, II², 3606, in which Herodes Atticus already appears as priest of Dionysus, the priesthood had to be dated before the trial at Sirmium in A.D. 174. Notopoulos for a surely erroneous reason⁵ has chosen A.D. 175/6 as the exact year of Epaphroditus, the archon mentioned in the Iobacchoi inscription.

If the Iobacchoi inscription reflects, as I suspect, an imitation of an example set by the imperial government of Marcus Aurelius, the case preserved in the inscriptions of Sardis and Italica may not have been the first, because this case postdates the association of Commodus early in A.D. 177.

Not only do minutes occur, from now on, more extensively in inscriptions⁶ but a more lively

² M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History*, Oxford, 1932, p. 86.

³ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens*, p. 179 (= Mémoires publiés par la Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie royale de Belgique: Collection in 4°, Deuxième série, VIII, 1921).

⁴ *Un milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, p. 70 (Université Égyptienne, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres, V, Cairo, 1931).

⁵ J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 29: "Graindor has shown that 175/6 is the most appropriate year for this archon" (namely Epaphroditus mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1368).

⁶ Two inscriptions from the third century deserve special mention. Interesting for its references to *acclamationes* the first, the record of the Arval Brothers, is familiar, but fewer scholars know the extensive minutes of a trial before Caracalla at Antioch which are engraved on an inscription first published by P. Roussel and F. De Visscher, *Syria*, XXIII, 1942-3, pp. 194-200, later, with new restorations, by Wolfgang Kunkel, "Der Process der Gohariener vor Caracalla," *Festschrift Hans Lewald*, Basel, 1953, pp. 81-91. When I speak of engraved minutes, I mean more extensive records than a notation such as "seventy votes cast including four negative" or such as accompany the decrees in honor of Ulpius Eubiotus, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 350. See, however, *S.I.G.*³, 898. Leopold Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Denkschriften der Gesamten Akademie*, II, 1953), pp. 388-395, "Akten des römischen Senats und anderer Körperschaften," does not even mention these last two and especially the Iobacchoi inscription and does not distinguish between a true protocol and a mere abstract, but the reader may well be interested in the many references which he does give to the minutes of councils, colleges, synods, etc., and which are not repeated here. The Aes Italicense and the Marmor Sardonum are mentioned by him on pp. 386-387, but their diplomatic interest is surprisingly neglected.

interest in the minutes manifests itself in literature and papyri. So it is not disturbing that historians today are more inclined to attribute chapters 18 and 19 of the *Vita Commodi* to a documentary source of Marius Maximus and to accept the material as genuine.⁷

The meeting at which Emperors and Senate, early in the year when the proconsuls had just gone out, co-operated to reduce for the upper class the burdens imposed by spectacles in the amphitheatres is traditionally dated by scholars about the year A.D. 177, because the Emperors are addressed as if present, and because Marcus Aurelius left Rome for the last time on August 3, 178. For us the main interest of the record is twofold. It gives us an invaluable glimpse of the Senate itself at work, and it shows us that whatever importance the problems here attacked had or did not have for the rest of the empire, the effect on Gaul, or specifically on the amphitheatre at Lyons, was of the greatest importance. The joy of the *principales viri* throughout the Three Gauls at the prospect of a supply of cheap victims for spectacles which they as priests of the *concilium Galliarum* had to give at Lyons and, on the other hand, the need that the Emperors felt to explain away an obvious objection to what they were about to do in the Three Gauls suggest to the writer a connection with the martyrdom of the Christians at Lyons in A.D. 177. Why this official persecution or prosecution of the Christians should have broken out under the mild but tired Marcus Aurelius precisely in A.D. 177 and why it occurred precisely at Lyons have never been satisfactorily explained by others.⁸ The sacrifice of the Christians is vividly recorded in one of the great documents of Early Christianity, a letter from the Christian communities of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul to Christian communities of Asia and Phrygia. Copious extracts are cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 1, whose terrible account is too long to be reproduced here. In support of the theory here advanced it suffices to emphasize:

⁷ Felix Staehelin, "Felicior Augusto, melior Traiano," *Museum Helveticum*, I, 1944, pp. 179-180, with good bibliography. See further Th. Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I, Stuttgart, 1950, coll. 216-233, s.v. "Akklamation," to which L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts*, p. 379, note 95 brings *addenda*.

⁸ E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, London, 1894, ch. viii, thought that this persecution was just another popular outbreak. Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, Paris, 1913, begins on p. 489 with the remark, "Historiens et philosophes se sont efforcés de justifier Marc Aurèle: aucun n'a encore trouvé la raison décisive qui l'a fait agir," and finishes in an unsatisfactory way by suggesting on p. 498 that the Roman government wished to give the Christians a lesson. André Chagny, *Les martyrs de Lyon de 177: étude historique*, Lyons and Paris, 1936, analyzes the letter in 105 pages; on pp. 20-25 he stresses the interesting fact that the reasons for the outbreak are not given and that none are mentioned as authors of the persecution except the Evil One (Satan). P. Wuilleumier, *Lyon, métropole des Gaules*, Lyons, 1953, p. 22 and especially ch. ix, "Le christianisme," maintains that at Lyons Christianity came into conflict with both the imperial cult and the cult of the Magna Mater (this is true but inadequate as an explanation even of the place). Among other works I have consulted are those of Henri Grégoire, *Les persécutions dans l'empire romain* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, *Mémoires*, Collection in 8°, XLVI, 1951, 1); J. Vogt, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II, 1954, coll. 1159-1208, s.v. "Christenverfolgung I (historisch)," and Hugh Last, *ibid.*, coll. 1208-1228, s.v. "Christenverfolgung II (juristisch)."

(1) That the Christian martyrs of Lyons in 177 were killed at a festival of the Three Gauls like the *trinquī* of our dossier and with imperial permission. Eusebius, V, 1, 47: ἐπιστείλαντος γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος . . . τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως.

(2) That the Christians were a substitute for gladiators just as the *trinquī* were. Eusebius, V, 1, 40: Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, δι' ἀγῶνος μεγάλου ἐπὶ πολὺν παραμενούσης αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν τοῖς μονομαχίαις ποικιλίας αὐτοὶ θέαμα γενόμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ. In the Loeb edition Kirsopp Lake translates, "Thus after a long time, when their life remained in them through the great contest, they were at last sacrificed, having been made a spectacle to the world throughout that day as a substitute for all the variations of gladiatorial contests." Also Eusebius, V, 1, 53: τῇ ἐσχάτῃ λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μονομαχιῶν.

(3) That the Christians were murdered like the *trinquī* in what passed for a sacrificial rite. Eusebius, V, 1, 40, ἐτύθησαν, and 56, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτὴ (Blandina).

If this theory is correct, the Letter of the Christian communities of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul shows that the *trinquī* fought with beasts, because among other things Eusebius, V, 1, 37 says: ἐπίτηδες τῆς τῶν θηριομαχιῶν ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης. The pretence of a combat suggests this inference even though laceration by beasts was an occasional Roman punishment for criminals.

Also if this theory is correct, one of the great documents of Early Christianity receives a welcome clarification from an official source. The outbreak against the Christians centered in the amphitheatre at Lyons and culminated in the Festival⁹ of the Three Gauls in A.D. 177, because the imperial government had just created for the Three Gauls a special privilege which enabled the priests of the imperial cult to acquire cheaply and use instead of gladiators prisoners condemned to death. This suggestion had come to Marcus Aurelius as a concession to ancient religious customs of the Gauls, a concession demanded for economic reasons by the big landowners of Gaul, perhaps also by less articulate circles for other reasons, and supported by an influential spokesman (from Gaul) in the Roman Senate, and even by some advisor(s) in the imperial *consilium*, for the news reached Gaul well in advance of the meeting of the

⁹ The Festival was celebrated annually around August 1, but some of the deaths occurred before the festival at an unknown date. Later, all the martyrdoms, which clearly extended over several days, came to be celebrated on a single day, June 2, but not in the oldest martyrologies. A christian festival may have been deliberately organized to replace a pagan festival on June 2 or on June 24. Readers interested in the problem are referred to H. J. Lawler and J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius* . . . , II, London, 1928, p. 157; also to A. Audin, "Les rites solsticiaux et la légende de Saint Pothin," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XCVI, 1927, pp. 147-174. In view of Sardianum 14 it is possible too that shortly before the familiar Festival of the Three Gauls an old Gallic festival, which had been curtailed by the Romans and deliberately replaced by less barbaric festivities around August 1, was in this year celebrated with archaic rites, reactivated in some form with imperial permission.

Senate. Marcus Aurelius had qualms about the would-be remedy, but the religious character of the *trinquī*, a (Gallic?) word occurring only in our dossier where it indicates human sacrificial victims, made the odious suggestion acceptable. In view of the barbarian invasions the loyalty of Gaul was critically necessary to him, and he doubtless never quite foresaw the excesses to which he was opening the way. This would not be the only time that a reform led to worse abuses than those it was meant to correct. The first year of the new system exposed terrible defects, which we hope the Roman government quickly rectified. But before the Roman government could correct the defects of the new ruling, the demand for victims had risen and powerful interests had been enlisted in a search for unpopular characters who could be condemned to death.

"The prime function of the three Imperial provinces" of Gaul, says Albertini in the *C.A.H.*, XII, p. 502, "was to maintain and support the German provinces, which protected the Empire against barbarism, whether from the threat of invasion or the tendency to encroach by infiltration." In A.D. 167 the invasions of the northern barbarians, which the historian Tacitus had foreseen, began again after two generations of peace. Not only did they quickly reach the Adriatic and lay siege to the great port of Aquileia, but in A.D. 170 the barbarians invaded Gallia Belgica. Raids by the Mauretani on Spain and by the Costobocci on Eleusis were far less important but added to the psychological shock. It took unusual energy, even heroic efforts and expense, to restore security on the northern frontiers, and Marcus Aurelius was still fighting when the disheartening news of the revolt of Syria, Egypt and most of Asia Minor under Avidius Cassius reached him in A.D. 175. For a moment he was desperate, but the Three Gauls with their wealth and manpower supported him faithfully in the new crisis too. The war with the barbarians was interrupted from 175 to 177, while Marcus Aurelius visited the Greek East and resumed contact with the chief centers and garrisons. He suffered a new blow when his wife Faustina, who had accompanied him to Asia, died on the journey. Marcus returned to Rome in November of 176. Operations against the barbarians were resumed in 177.

It was doubtless in 176 that in gratitude toward the Three Gauls and under the pressure of more serious problems the Emperor agreed to notify the Senate that he wished to instruct his procurator in the Three Gauls to hand over at a low price for use in archaic religious rites criminals condemned to death. The decision seems to have been made in the East. The news reached Gaul at a time when the *sacerdotes* were assembled together, an occasion which can hardly be any other than the Festival of the Three Gauls beginning on August 1, A.D. 176. The new officials were already arranging for the coming year and the next festival;¹⁰ the grateful priest was in a mood to promise a show that would surpass all those of previous years.

¹⁰ For the Festival of the Three Gauls see P. Willeumier, *Lyon métropole des Gaules*, Paris, 1953, chapter IV. Add the publication of a new document by A. Audin, J. Guey, and P. Willeu-

The plague which began at Seleuceia on the Tigris in the Fall of A.D. 165 and for ten years swept back and forth across the entire empire together with the cruel raids and miseries of war convinced many that the old gods had been alienated by neglect. Under the circumstances the attitude of the Christians became more noticeable and offensive.

II

TEXT OF THE RECORD

The complete bronze tablet from Italica in Baetica, clearly one of a series, preserves neither the beginning nor the end, but a central part, of the speech by the senator who delivered the *sententia prima* after the oration of the emperors had been read. The fragmentary marble from Sardis in Asia preserves part of the imperial *oratio* itself. Since the main fragment of the Marmor Sardonianum was discovered after the Aes Italicense and is restored on the basis of the Aes Italicense, the bibliography of the Italicense¹¹ properly precedes that of the Sardonianum,¹² but in the combined text the Sardonianum will precede the Italicense.

mier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans la Pont de la Guillotière," *R.E.A.*, LVI, 1954, pp. 297-335.

¹¹ Discovered in 1888 and copied by Hübner in 1889, the Aes Italicense was published in 1890 by Th. Mommsen, to whose article were prefixed Hübner's diplomatic transcript and a few words by Hübner concerning circumstances of discovery, preservation, etc., with corrections to the transcript after revision of the inscription by Berlanga. That is to say, the real *editio princeps* is by Theodor Mommsen on the basis of Hübner's copy as controlled by Berlanga and with suggestions from Hirschfeld and Bücheler. The abundantly commented edition by Berlanga brings no real change in the text. Some changes appear in the edition which Hübner published in the *C.I.L.*, and many in that of d'Ors. The most important discussion is the masterly commentary of Mommsen; important also are those of Berlanga, Piganiol (on the Marmor Sardonianum) and d'Ors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AES ITALICENSE:—E. Hübner, "Aes Italicense," *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VII, 1892 (published April, 1890), pp. 384-387; Th. Mommsen, "Observationes Epigraphicae XLI: Senatus consultum de sumptibus ludorum gladiatorum minuendis," *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VII, 1892 (published April, 1890), pp. 388-416 (= *Ges. Schriften*, VIII, pp. 499-531); P. Bonfante, "Sunto del commento di Teodoro Mommsen," *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano*, III, 1890, pp. 188-211; M. R. de Berlanga, *El nuevo bronce de Itálica*, Malaga, 1891, pp. 1-225 (with a Spanish translation and a poor photograph); E. Hübner, *C.I.L.*, II, Suppl., Berlin, 1892, no. 6278; [Mommsen *apud* Bruns, *Fontes iuris romani antiqui*, sixth ed. (1893) and seventh ed. (1919), pp. 207-211, no. 63; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin, 1906, no. 5163]; S. Riccobono, *Fontes iuris romani anteiustiniani*, first ed., 1909, p. 238, no. 45 and second ed., 1941, p. 294, no. 49; A. Piganiol (see note 12); F. Stella Maranca, "Di alcuni Senatoconsulti nelle iscrizioni latine," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Sixth Series, I, 1925, pp. 504-514; J. Stroux, "Eine Gerichtsreform des Kaisers Claudius," *Sitzungsb. München*, 1929, Nr. 8, p. 80; L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 278, 1940), pp. 274, 282, 284, 287 and 289; A. d'Ors, "Observaciones al texto de la Oratio de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis," *Emerita*, XVIII, 1950, pp. 311-339 (with two photographs, one of the upper half and one illegible of the entire bronze); *idem*, *Epigrafía jurídica de la España Romana*, Madrid, 1953, pp.

On the Sardinum the words are not divided by interpuncts, and paragraphs are separated by a blank of only one letter space. On the Italicense the first line of the tablet and the first line of each subsequent paragraph, with one or two exceptions, is extended for two or three letters into the left hand margin, and blank areas mark the end of a paragraph. On the Italicense, moreover, interpuncts separate most words; though in thirty-two cases a preposition and its object are treated as a unit and are not separated. On the other hand, an interpunct occurs between the preposition and its object in twenty-three cases, while in line 38 *trans·ferre* appears. The law of syllabic division is scrupulously respected in both versions. On Italicense, line 6, the words *et Luci Commodi* have been imperfectly erased.

TEXT OF THE MARMOR SARDIANUM

Fragment 1, first column (cf. Aes Italicense, lines 42-46)

- 1 [-----]
 1 [----- iis etiam] proc(uratoribus)
 qui provin-
 2 [ciis praesidebunt. Trans Padum autem perque omnes Italiae regio]nes,
 ut cuiusq(ue) of-
 3 [ficium erit, arbitrium habeant praef(ecti) alimentor(um) aut, nisi aderunt,
 tu]m viae curator aut,
 4 [si nec is praesens erit, tum iuridicus vel, si nec is praesens erit, tu]m
 classis praetori-
 5 [ae praefectus. De exceptis censemus ita observandum, ut praecipuu]m
 mercedis gladi-

Frag. 1, Col. I:—1-2 *K. et v. P.* 3 habeant *Palmer* (habebunt *K. et v. P.*); tum *Palmer* (item *K. et v. P.*); aut nisi *Oliver*; cetera *K. et v. P.* 4 si nec is praesens erit, tum iuridicus vel, si nec is praesens erit, tu]m *Palmer* (si nec is praesens erit, iuridicus vel, si non aderit, tu]m *K. et v. P.*). 5 censemus *Oliver*;

37-60 and 451-454, reviewed by J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXVI, 1955, pp. 189-194; J. Stroux, "Neues zur Geschäftsordnung des römischen Senates," *Philologus*, XCVIII, 1954, pp. 150-154.

¹² BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MARMOR SARDIANUM:—Th. Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, V, 1884, p. 57, no. 146, text of fragment 3 [= *C.I.L.*, III Suppl., Berlin, 1902, no. 7106]; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, "Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis," *Denkschriften Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., LII, Abhandl. 2, 1910, pp. 16-18 (fragments 1 and 3), the real *editio princeps*, in which also the connection with the Italicense was pointed out and used for the reconstruction; [R. Cagnat and M. Besnier, *Ann. épig.*, 1909, pp. 48-49, no. 184, text of fragment 1; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin, 1916, no. 9340, text of fragment 1]; A. Piganiol, "Les trinci gaulois, gladiateurs consacrés," *R.E.A.*, XXII, pp. 283-290, reprinted in the same author's *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 13, 1923), pp. 62-71; W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis*, VII, Part 1, Leyden, 1932, pp. 34-37, no. 16 (first complete text of all known fragments with photograph).

- 6 [ator sibi quisque paciscatur, exemplis consideratis eius pecu]niae quae ob
hanc
7 [causam excipiebatur, accipere liber quartam portionem, servus] autem
quintam
8 [accipiat — — — — —] ad
lanistam
[— — — — —]

Fragment 1, second column (cf. Aes Italicense, lines 53-58)

- 9 [— — — — —]
10 ser[— — — V(iri) c(larissimi) forum i]am agunt annuu[m. Cum sacerdotes
querantur lanistas nullo modo]
11 pretia cohibuisse, nos senos his ce[nsemus aureos solvendo pro damnato ad
gladi(um). Id]
12 genus digladiantium, trincos eos [appellant Galli, inhumanitatis cuiusdam
conde]—
13 mnatur, verum, uti aliut aput alios [veteri more et sacro ritu sancitur, in
Galliis liceat]
14 trincos dimicare. Is dies religioni [condonetur — — — ^{±20} — — — ut munus]
15 commit<t>atur. Pretia quantum volu[erint, qui hos trincos muneri praebere
solent, non]
16 facient. Nam procurator noster p[raebeat damnatum sex aureis ne pretium
amplius]
17 fiat. Lanista autem pro trinquo n[e plus quam duo milia accipiat, — — ^{±16} — —]
18 plus adque vi<t>ae. Nunc uti prin[cip — — — — —]
[— — — — —]

Porro de exceptis et cetera *K. et v. P.* 6 exemplis consideratis *Oliver* (liber vero *K. et v. P.*); cetera *K. et v. P.* 7 causam excipiebatur quartam portionem, servus *K. et v. P.*; accipere liber *Oliver*. 8 accipiat *K. et v. P.*; ad lanistam legit *Palmer* (a)dimi istam *K. et v. P.*, *Buckler*).

Col. II:—10 V(iri) c(larissimi), Cum sacerdotes *Palmer*; forum, querantur lanistas nullo modo *Oliver*; annuu[m] *K. et v. P.*; quod munus i]am agunt annuu[m] m?..... Satis erit nobis cetera] *Piganiol*; ser[— — — — —]am agunt annuu[m] — — — ¹⁴ — — — cum placuerit per procuratores] *Buckler*. 11 ce[nsemus aureos solvendo pro damnato ad gladi(um). Id] *Oliver* (ce[nsemus aureos pro damnato solvendo. Certum] *Buckler*); ce[rnimus aureos fisco inferendo. Quod quidem] *Piganiol*. 12 appellant, conde] | mnatur *Piganiol*; Galli *Palmer*; inhumanitatis cuiusdam *Oliver*; [nuncupant iudicio nostro inhumanitatis *Buckler*. 13 [sacro ritu sancitur, aput Gallias liceat] *Piganiol*; veteri more et *Palmer*; in Galliis *Oliver*. 14 Is dies religioni [condonetur neque culpa nostra piaculum] committatur *Piganiol*; [condonetur dum ne quid contra rescripta nostra] *Buckler*; ut munus] commit<t>atur *Palmer*. 15 volu[erint] *K. et v. P.*; qui huius muneris ergo trincos praebere solent] *Piganiol* (qui trincos muneri praebituri sunt, non] *Buckler*); hos *Palmer*. 16 [raebeat damnatum sex aureis ne pretium amplius] fiat *Oliver*; p[lure] quam sex aureis noxium editori praebeat neque ullius nisi iuraverit erogandi auctor] *Piganiol* (p[plus sex aureis et nisi iuret praebendi auctor ne] *Buckler*). 17 n[e] *Piganiol*; accipiat plus ... milibus *Buckler*; quam duo milia *Palmer*. 18 prin[cipio] *Piganiol*.

Fragment 2

19 - - - - -]o[- - - - -
 ? fr]audis n(ec) vita neq(ue) materie [- - -
 - -]a nihil quod ad pretium at[tinet ?- - -
 - - - - -

Fragment 3

23 - - sace]rdos ipse posside[- - - -
 - - - -n]on adest, ipsi autem [- - -
 - - - -]ias domi suae qui[- - - -

Fragment 4

26 - -]a poscun[t - - -
 - -]rva et e[- - - -

Frag. 2 *Buckler.*

Frag. 3:—23 sace]rdos ipse posside[bat *Mommsen*, posside[bit *K. et v. P.* 24 n]on *Buckler.* 25 - - -

]tas *legit Buckler.*

Frag. 4 *Buckler.*

TEXT OF THE AES ITALICENSE

Tantam illam pestem nulla medicina sanari posse. Nec poterat; verum nostri principes,
 quibus omne studium est quantoli-

2 bet morbo salutem publicam mersam et enectam refovere et integrae valetudini
 reddere, in primis anima{a}dverterunt quae

3 causa illi morbo vires daret, unde foeda et inlicita vectigalia ius haberent: quis
 auctor et patronus esset usurpandis quasi

4 legitimis quae omnibus legibus et divinis et humanis prohibentur *vacat*

Fiscus dicebatur. Fiscus non sibi sed qui lanienae aliorum praetexeretur tertia vel
 quarta parte ad licentiam foedae rapinae invi-

6 tatus. Itaque fiscum removerunt a tota harena. Quid enim Marci Antonini

[et Luci Commodi] cavendum fisco cum hare-

7 na? Omnis pecunia horum principum <p>ura est, null[a] cruoris humani adsper-
 gine contaminata, nullis sordibus foedi quae{s}-

8 stus inquinata, et quae tam sanct{a}e paratur quam insumitur. Itaque facessat
 sive illut ducentiens annum seu trecenties

9 est. Satis amplum patr<imo>nium imperio parati<s> ex parsimonia vestra. Quin
 etiam, ex reliquis lanistarum quae HS quingenties su-

6 a *superscripta*. 7 <p>ura *Buecheler*, cura *aes*. 8 sanct{a}e *Berlanga*. 9 patr<imo>nium *Mommsen*
 et omnes *edd.*, patrocinium *aes*; parati<s> *Buecheler*, parat <l>ex *Mommsen*, parati·ex *aes*.

10 pra sunt, pars lanistis condonetur. Ob quae, oro vos, merita? Nulla sane, inqui-
unt, merita, s[e]t prohibiti talibus grassaturis sola-
11 cium ferant et in posterum tanto pretio invitentur ad opsequium humanitatis
vacat

O magni impp(eratores), qui scitis altius fundari remedia quae etiam malis consulunt
qui se etiam necessarios fecerint! Etiam fructus tan-

13 tae vestrae providentiae emerget. Legebatur etiam nunc apud nos oratio, sed ubi
rumore delatu[m] est qu[od] estus lanistarum recisos, fis-

14 cum omnem illam pecuniam quasi contaminatam reliquisse, statim sacerdotes
fidelissimarum Galliarum vestrarum

15 concursare, gaudere, inter se loqui *vacat*

Erat aliquis qui deploraverat fortunas suas creatus sacerdos, qui auxilium sibi in
provocatione ad principes facta constituerat. Sed

17 ibidem ipse primus et de consilio amicorum: " Quid mihi iam cum appellatione?
Omne onus quod patrimonium meum opprimebat sanc-

18 tissimi impp(eratores) remiserunt. Iam sacerdos esse et cupio et opto et editi-
onem muneris, quam olim detestabamur, amplector " *vacat*

Itaque gratiae appellationis, non solum ab illo verum et a ceteris petitae, et quanto
plures petentur! Iam hoc genus causarum diversam formam

20 habebit ut appelle[n]t qui non sunt creati sacerdotes, im[m]o populus *vacat*

Quae igitur tantis tam salutarium rerum consilis vestris alia prima esse sententia
potest quam ut quod singuli sentiunt, quod universi

22 de pectore intimo clamant[e] ego censeam? *vacat*

Censeo igitur in primis agendas maximis impp(eratoribus) gratias, qui salutaribus
remedis, fisci ratione post habita, labentem civitatum statum et prae-

24 cipitantes iam in ruinas principalium virorum fortuna[s] restituerunt, tanto
quidem magnificentius, quod, cum excusatum esset reti-

25 nerent quae ali instituissent et quae longa consuetudo confirmasset, tamen illi
peraeque nequaquam sectae suae congruere arbitra-

26 ti sunt male instituta servare et quae turpiter servanda esset instituere[t] *vacat*

Quamquam autem non nulli arbitrentur de omnibus quae ad nos maximi principes
rettulerunt una et succincta sententia censendum,

28 tamen, si vos probatis, singula specialiter persequar, verbis ipsis ex oratione
sanctissima ad lucem sententiae translatis, ne qua ex parte pravis in-

13 emerget *aes*, emergit *Hirschfeld*; delatu[m] est *d'Ors*, delatu[m] e]st *Mommsen*; qu[od] estus *Berlanga*.

18 sacerdos *aes*.

20 im[m]o *Berlanga*. 21 sententia *aes emendatum*. 22 clamant[e] *Buecheler*, clamante *Bonfante*,
clamant e[t] *d'Ors*.

24 fortuna[s] *Mommsen*. 26 instituere[t] *Mommsen*. 28 ad lucem *aes*, ad <vi>cem *Stroux* (*Sitzungsb.*

- 29 terpretationibus sit loc<u>s ^{vvvvvv} Itaque censeo uti munera quae assiforana appel-
 lantur in sua forma maneant nec egrediantur sump-
 30 tu ^v HS XXX. Qui autem supra ^v HS XXXI (*sic*) ad LX ^v usque munus edent,
 is gladiatores tripartito praebeantur numero pari. Summum pre-
 31 tium sit primae parti quinque milia, secundae quattuor milia, tertiae tria milia.
 A ^v HS LX ^v ad C ^v usque trifariam coetus gladiator(um) divisus
 32 sit: primi ordinis gladiatoris summum pretium sit ^v VIII, ^v mediae classis VI,
 deinde quinque. Porro a centum milibus ad CL quinque sint mani-
 33 puli, cuius primi pretium sit XII, ^v secundi X, terti ^v VIII, quarti VI, ^{vv} postremo
 quinque. Iam hinc porro a CL ad CC et quidquid supra susum vers[um]
 34 erit, infimi gladiatoris pretium sit VI, ^v super eum VII, terti retro ^v VIII, quarti
 XII adusque XV—et haec sit summo ac <p>o<strem>o gladiatori defi-
 35 nita quantitas. Utique in omnibus muneribus, quae generatim distincta sunt,
 lanista dimidiam copiam universi numeri promisqu<a>e multitu-
 36 dinis praebeat exque his, qui gregari appellantur, qui melior inter tales erit duobus
 mili[bu]s sub signo pugnet, nec quisquam ex eo numero
 37 mille nummum minore. Lanistas etiam promonendos vilij studio qu<a>estus nec
 e<a>m sibi copiam dimidiae partis praebendae esse ex nu-
 38 mero gregariorum, uti sciant inpositam sibi necessitatem de ceteris quos meliores
 opinabuntur transferre tantisper plendi nu-
 39 meri gregariorum gratia. Itaque is numerus universae familiae aequis par[t]ibus
 in singulos dies dispartiat, atque <n>ullo die minus quam
 40 dimidia pars gregariorum sit ibi qui eo die dimicabunt. Utque ea opservat<i>o a
 lanistis quam diligentissime exigatur, iniungendum
 41 his qui provinciae praesidebunt et legatis vel quaestoribus vel legatis legionum
 vel iis qui ius dicunt c(larissimis) v(iris), aut procurator<ibu>s maximorum
 42 principum quibus provinciae rector mandaverit, is etiam procurator(ibus) qui
 provinciis praesidebunt. Trans Padum autem perque omnes Italiae
 43 regiones arbitrium iniungendum praefectis alimentorum, dandis si aderunt, vel,
 <nisi aderunt>, viae curatori, aut, si nec is praesens erit, iuridico vel
 44 tum classis praetoriae praefecto *vacat*

Item censeo de exceptis ita opservandum ut praecipuum mercedis gladiator sibi quisque
 paciscatur eius pecuniae quae ob hanc causam excipi-

München, 1929, Nr. 8, p. 80). 29 loc<u>s Mommsen, locis *aes*. 34 <p>o<strem>o Oliver, formonso *aes*, famoso Hirschfeld. 37 promonendos *aes*, promovendos Hübner et Berlanga, praemonendos Hirschfeld; qu<a>estus Berlanga; nec em legimus, nec eam d'Ors, negem *cett. edd. et corr.* 39 atque <n>ullo Oliver, <ne>que ullo Mommsen, atque ullo *aes*. 40 opservat<i>o Mommsen, opservato *aes*; <arbitrium> iniungendum d'Ors, cf. vs. 43. 41 procurator<ibu>s Mommsen et *cett. edd. excepto* d'Ors, procuratores *aes*. 43 alimen-
 torum dandis *aes*, dandis *expunxit* Mommsen, aliment<is> dandis d'Ors, alimentorum dand<orum> Hirschfeld
 (Kais. Verwaltungsbeamten³, p. 215, n. 4); vel <nisi aderunt> viae Oliver.

- 46 ebatur quartam portionem liber, servs autem quintam accipiat. De pretis
autem gladiatorum opservari paulo ante censui secundum praescrip-
47 tum divinae orationis, sed ut ea pretia ad eas civitates pertineant in quibus
ampliora gladiatorum pretia flagrabant. Quod si quibus civitatibus
48 res publica tenuior est, non eadem servantur quae ap[ut] fortiores civitates
scripta sunt; nec supra modum virium onerent, sed hactenus in eundem;
49 ut quae in publicis privatisque rationib[u]s repperientur pretia summa ac media
ac postrema, si q[ui]dem provinciarum eae civitates sunt, ab eo
50 qui praesidebit provinciae opserventur, ceterarum autem iuridico vel curatore
viae vel classis praetoriae praefecto vel procuratori
51 maxumorum principum vel cuiusque civitatis potestas quae ibi prima erit.
Atque ita rati[o]nibus decem retroversum annorum inspectis, exemplis
52 munerum in quaque civitate editores erunt consideratis, consti[tua]ntur ab eo
cuius arbitratus erit de tribus pretis; vel, si melius ei videbitur,
53 ex eo modo quem peraequ[e] fi[er]i licebit trifariam pretia diducantur; eaque
forma etiam in posterum servetur; sciantque v(iri) c(larissimi) qui procon-
54 sules paulo ante profecti sunt intra suum quisque annum it negotium exsequi se
oportere, et ii etiam qui non sortito provincias
55 regunt [i]ntra annum *vacat*
Ad Gallias sed et trinquos qui in civitatibus splendidissimarum Galliarum veteri
more et sacro ritu expectantur ne ampliore pretio
57 lanistae praebeant quam binis milibus, cum maximi pr[in]cipes oratione sua
praedixerint fore ut damnatum ad gladium
58 procurator eorum non plure quam sex aureis lanistis pra[ebea]t *vacat*
Sacerdotes quoque provinciarum, quibus nullu[m] cum lanisti[s] nego[tium] e[ri]t,
gladiatores a priorib[us] sacerdotibus su[s]-
60 ceptos, vel si placet auctoratos, recipiunt, at post editi[o]n(em) pl[u]re ex
p[re]tio in succedentes tran[sf]erunt. Ne quis singulatim aliquem

45 quisque *aes*, quisquis *Buecheler*. 46 servs *Mommsen*, servs *aes*. 47 pertineant *Mommsen*, pertineat *aes*. 49 ut quae *Buecheler*, utque *aes*. 50 viae *Mommsen*, provinciae *aes*. 52 editores erunt *Palmer*, editorum consideratis *Mommsen*, edito·erunt *aes*. 53 licebit *Oliver*, legit et *d'Ors*, licit·et *aes*. 54 oportere et *d'Ors* (ut *Hübner* coniecerat), oporteret *aes*. 55 regunt legit *Oliver*.

56 ADGALLIAS·SEDET·PRINCEPS *aes*, Ad Gallias s*i* edet princeps qui *Buecheler*, Ad Galliam {s} ed*i*t*io*nes quae *Hirschfeld*, Ad Galliam sed et princeps ... *Mommsen* apud *Bruns*, Ad (= at) Galli assedent trinquos vel trincos *Piganiol*, Ad Gallias sedet princeps *d'Ors*, Ad Gallias se det princeps *Stroux* (*Philol.*, 1954, p. 152), Ad Gallias (quantum pertinet, non aliter), sed et trinquos *Oliver*. 57 ad *Hübner*, as *aes*. 58 lanistis prae[beat] *Stroux* (*Philol.*, 1954, p. 152), lanistis pra[ebea]t vel pra[ebe]r[e]t *Palmer*, lui sic servi[s] si[t] *d'Ors*, et nisi iuraverit *ceteri editores*.

59 nullu[m] *Mommsen*; cu[m] lanistis negot[ium] eri[t] *Berlanga* (nullu[m] cum) la[nist]is nego[tium] e[s]t *d'Ors*. 60 vel si placet *d'Ors* qui plaret vel blaret legit; editi[o]n(em) pl[u]re ex *d'Ors*, editionem

- 61 rei gladiatoriae causa vendat plure quam lanistis est pretium perscr[ip]tum *vacat*
 Is autem qui apud tribunum <p>lebei c(larissimum) v(irum) sponte ad dimicandum
 profitebitur, cum habeat ex lege pretium duo milia, s[i]l]iberatus discri-
 63 men instauraverit, aestimatio eius posthac HS ^v XII ^v non excedat. Is quoque qui
 senior atque inabilior operam suam denuo

sic ex pr[et]io *Berlanga et Hübner*, editi[o]ne[m eod]e[m] p[re]tio *Mommsen*; tran[sf]erunt *d'Ors*, tra[m]i]t]unt *Mommsen*. 61 perscr[ip]tum *Oliver*, pers[olu]tum *d'Ors* (persolutum *ceteri editores*).
 62 <p>lebei *d'Ors* (plebei *Mommsen*), dlebei *aes*; s[i]l]iberatus *d'Ors*. 63 in<h>abilior *Mommsen*.

TEXTUAL NOTES

S(ardianum) 1-5:—The restoration of this passage is based on I(talicense) 42-44, where, however, the words of S 2, *ut cuiusq(ue) of | [ficium erit]*, do not appear. The version of the Italicense emerges clearly as an abbreviated, slightly recast version.

S 5-7:—The restoration is based on the abbreviated version in the section concerning prize money in I 45-46, where the imperfect tense of *excipiebatur* is probably to be explained as follows. Local custom determines the amount to be set aside as prize money. The amount varies from place to place. The prize money, the amount of which is fixed by local precedent, presumably goes to the *lanista*, who turns over a share of it to the gladiator; or perhaps his share of it is paid directly to the approved gladiator. The imperfect tense, accordingly, reflects a reference to precedent, which would, we think, have been mentioned more explicitly in the imperial oration than in the senator's word-sparing recapitulation of a text which his audience had just heard. The senator omits words which were not strictly necessary for that particular audience; we, on the other hand, restore as the extra words in the Sardinian words which give greater clarity. For the phrase *exemplis consideratis* see I 51.

S 9-10:—Palmer at one time thought of restoring *eaque forma etiam in posterum* | *ser[vetur]* on the basis of I 53. But since in I 53, according to Piganiol's convincing interpretation, we have a passage in which the senator is proposing changes, and since the three extant letters at the beginning of S 10 do not need to be read as *ser[vetur]*, Palmer preferred to leave the clause of S 9-10 unrestored.

S 10-12:—The parallel passage of the I 56-58 concerns the removal of an excuse advanced by the *lanistae* for excessive charges; there the emperors are said to have announced that their procurator would let the *lanistae* have a condemned man for only six gold pieces. Accordingly, the restoration of Sardinian 11, *nos senos his ce[nsemus aureos solvendo pro damnato ad gladium]*, is practically imposed; and the word *his* must be interpreted as a reference to the *lanistae*. Hence the *lanistae* must have been mentioned immediately before, at the end of line 10. It is the relief of the *sacerdotes* which the speaker of the Italicense, especially in lines 14-20, particularly emphasizes. Hence the restoration *Cum sacerdotes querantur lanistas nullo modo* accords with the style of motivation and with the sense of our parallel. In line 11 the phrase *pro damnato* would not be explicit enough; it must be *pro damnato ad gladium*, because the type of prisoner has not been previously mentioned. This longer restoration leaves only two letter spaces for the beginning of the next sentence, but the word *Id*, which suits perfectly, requires only two spaces.

In line 12 the word *trincos* is obviously mentioned as the Gallic name for this type of fighters; if so, the word *Galli* must be restored with a verb meaning "call." This adversative *verum* of line 13 indicates that the emperors in line 12 refer to a disqualification of this type of fighters, but they cannot have expressed themselves so strongly as Buckler's restoration *iudicio nostro inhumanitatis*

conde] | *mnatur* would imply, or else they could not decently have condoned it. Still *inhumanitatis* points in the right direction; it merely needs to be softened with *cuiusdam*. The *dira immanitas* of the religion of the Gauls, with its rites of human sacrifice which Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius had curtailed and sublimated but, in our opinion, not obliterated, had always shocked the Romans (see discussion and literature *apud* Hugh Last, "Rome and the Druids: a Note," *J.R.S.*, XXXIX, 1949, pp. 1-5).

S 13:—The entire restoration is based on elements found in I 56.

S 14:—In support of his restoration *munus*] *commit<t>atur* Palmer presents the following parallels (from Mertel's article in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*): *haec scripsi a.d. VIII K. Novembr., quo die ludi committebantur* (Cic., *ad Quint.*, III, 4, 6); *ludis commisis* (Cic., *de fin.*, III, 28); *item ludos Latinos committem[us and ludique noctu sacrificio [co]nfecto sunt commisi in scaena* (Commentarium Ludorum Saecularium, *C.I.L.*, VI, 4, 2, no. 32323, lines 85 and 100); *priusquam committerentur ludi* (Livy, II, 37, 2); *circenses . . . commisit* (Suet., *Claud.*, 21, 2) and *naumachiam . . . commisit* (ibid., 21, 6); [*item*] *ad lud(os) vo[ti]vos committend(os) conven(erunt)* (Acta Fratrum Arvalium, anno 218, b34).

S 16:—The restoration *p[rae]bebit damnatum sex aureis* is based on the parallel *sex aureis* in I 58. The restoration *ne pretium amplius*] | *fiat* is based on the parallel I 56-57, *ne ampliore pretio | lanistae praebeant*. New readings of the Italicense have destroyed the base on which Buckler's restoration rested.

Palmer argues that the procurator mentioned here and in I 58 is not the fiscal procurator, for one thing because the fiscal affairs of the Three Gauls did not come under a single procurator. It is the procurator in charge of the recruitment of gladiators, the beginning of whose function in the Transpadane region H. G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain*, Paris, 1950, p. 73, dates in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Under Lucius Commodus similar procuratorships appear embracing greater parts of the Empire (Pflaum, pp. 76-77).

S 17:—The restoration *n[e plus quam duo milia accipiat* is based on the parallel in I 56-57, *ne ampliore pretio lanistae praebeant quam binis milibus*.

I 9:—In defense of Mommsen's emendation *patr<imo>nium* against the reading of the tablet *patrocinium*, which d'Ors too rejects on p. 454, Palmer cites the following parallels (from Gudeman's article in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. "amplus"): *satis amplum patrimonium* (Cic., *de domo*, 58, 147); *amplum et copiosum patrimonium* (Cic., *Ros. Am.*, 2, 6); *lauta et copiosa patrimonía* (Cic., *Rab. Post.*, 14, 38); *amplissimis patrimonii copiis* (Cic., *Flac.*, 36, 89); *patrimonium quamvis amplum* (Cic., *Phil.*, II, 27, 67); *ex admodum amplo patrimonio* (Val. Max., VII, 8, 2). The phrase *amplum patrocinium*, on the other hand, appears to be unparalleled. For *parsimonia*, d'Ors aptly cites Cicero, *Paradoxa*, 6, 3, 49, *magnum vectigal sit parsimonia*.

I 10, *inquiunt*:—This is said by the senator himself. This is not a notation by the scribe who wrote the *commentarii*. Notations by the scribe describing the speeches, acclamations, etc., were always given in the past tense.

I 12:—For the atmosphere of the word *remedia* Palmer points to two cases in the *oratio* of the emperor Claudius (*B.G.U.* 611 = Riccobono, *F.I.R.A.*², p. 285, no. 44): *nec defuturas ignoro fraudes monstrose agentibus multas, adversus quas excogitavimus, spero, remedia* (col. II, 6 foll.); and *haec, p(atres) c(onscripti), si vobis placen[t st]a[t]im signi[ficat]e simpl[i]citer et ex anim[i vestri] sententi[a: sin] displicent, alia[m] reper[it]e sed hic in[tra] templum remedia* (col. III, 10 foll.).

I 22:—Buecheler's assumption of dittography, *clamant{e} ego*, restores the passage with simple elegance, while d'Ors' assumption of a short omission, *clamant e<t> ego censeam*, produces a, to us, unsatisfactory sense.

I 29-39:—Lines 29-39 deal with two big types of gladiators: lines 29-34 concern gladiators who fight singly, while lines 35-39 concern gladiators who fight in teams *sub signo*. In lines 29-34, as Mommsen pointed out, four categories (*genera*) of spectacles are distinguished to correspond with four levels of total expenditure by the exhibitor. For each *genus* the gladiators are classified differently into three or five grades (*classes, ordines* or *manipuli*). In lines 35-39 the four categories are again mentioned, perhaps to include all games without ambiguity, and the gladiators are divided into two grades. The phrase of Suetonius, *Aug.*, 45, 2, *cateruarios . . . pugnantes temere ac sine arte*, does not concern gladiators but deserves to be mentioned.

I 34, *adusque*:—In the case of the most expensive games Mommsen assumed there were five grades of gladiators, who were rented out respectively for 6,000, 7,000, 9,000, 12,000 and 15,000 sesterces apiece. This seems to be true, but the ordinance calls for the same number of *meliores* from each grade on every day of the games, and for this purpose the best gladiator, who is rented out for 15,000 sesterces, is counted as in the same grade as those who are rented out for 12,000 sesterces. This interpretation of the word *adusque* occurred independently to Palmer and to H. G. Pflaum, *Le marbre de Thorigny* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, CCXCII, 1948), pp. 14-15, and seems to be supported by evidence on the marble of Thorigny.

I 34, *et haec sit summo ac formonso gladiatorum definita quantitas*:—The beauty of the gladiator can hardly have counted. Surely *formonso* is a mistake for *postremo*, which is the term used in line 33. Whereas the grades of the preceding category (line 33) are indicated with the words *primi, secundi, terti, quarti*, and *postremo*, the grades of this category are indicated with the words *infimi gladiatoris, super eum, terti retro, quarti* and *summo ac <p>o<strem>o gladiatorum*. Also in line 49 the prices of the last mentioned grade are called *postrema*.

I 37:—Where previous editors read *negem*, d'Ors recovered the true reading *nec e<a>m*. He thought he could actually discern the missing A in ligature with the following M, but we cannot discern it on the photograph.

I 43:—Line 43 contains some corruption, for it reads *arbitrium iniungendum praefectis alimentorum dandis si aderunt vel viae curatori aut, si nec is praesens erit, iuridico*, etc. The title of the prefect appears regularly as *praefectus alimentorum*, and so Mommsen deleted the word *dandis*. Since ancient titles were not as fixed as modern titles, Hirschfeld assumed a mere variation such as often turn up in inscriptions, and he emended to *praefectis alimentorum dand<orum>*. This explanation, unsupported by a parallel, may not be right, but it is better than Mommsen's solution which fails to show how the error arose. Buecheler (*C.I.L.*, II Suppl., p. 1036) wrote, "*dandis* futuros, non qui sunt, significat praefectos." Oliver suggests that the word *dandis* means, not "who are yet to be appointed," but "who must be assigned (to such cases) if they are in the neighborhood." A second difficulty lies in the absence of a conditional clause in the section *vel viae curatori*. We think that in the following section, *aut, si nec is praesens erit, iuridico*, the word *nec* points back to a negative conditional clause which has fallen out. Hence we emend to supply it.

I 49-50:—The grammar of lines 49-51 is of a colloquial laxity. The ablative construction *ab eo | qui praesidebit provinciae opserventur* seems to be continued in line 50 with *iuridico* and *CURATORF* (so read by d'Ors). Then comes *praefecto* and then an unmistakable dative *procuratori* (with a tall I, i. e. a real I, not an incompletely engraved E). Finally a nominative *potestas*. The senator (or scribe or engraver) thinks successively in terms of *observentur, observandum* and

observet, but the original of the emperors' oration, if this section does come from the imperial oration, need not have had so loose a construction.—In line 50 the word *provinciae* is a mistake, as Mommsen said, for *viae*. The title is *curator viae*; a title *curator provinciae* would be impossible. The error *provinciae* for *viae* is best explained as due to the influence of the preceding clause (in the same line), *ab eo qui praesidebit provinciae*.

I 52:—The words *exemplis munerum in quaque civitate edito erunt consideratis* call for emendation. Mommsen thought that *edito erunt* reflected a misreading *editorum*. This is paleographically unconvincing. Hübner suggested <quae> *in quaque civitate edit<a> erunt*. This emendation assumes two errors, the second of which is paleographically unlikely. Palmer suggests merely the common error of the short omission, *edito<res>* or *edito<r>(es)*. There is no need to assume a second omission, *qua<cum>que*, because *quaque* itself can stand for *quacumque*, so that the phrase may be translated: "when models of exhibitions have been evaluated in whatever community there will be exhibitors. . . ."

I 53:—The letters LICIT·ET or LECIT·ET do not give a satisfactory sense. Since a future is needed, we emend to *licebit*.

I 56:—Line 56, where the bronze reads *Ad Gallias sedet princeps qui . . . expectantur ne ampliore pretio | lanistae praebeant quam binis milibus*, seems to concern the *trinci*, as Piganiol pointed out by comparing lines 10-16 of the marble from Sardis. In fact Piganiol's emendation <t>rinc<o>s or <t>rin<quo>s for *princeps* clears up the main difficulty. But Piganiol's further emendations *Ad* (read *at*) *Galli assede<n>t* not only disregards a clearly visible point of separation after *Gallias* but gives a poor sense. Stroux, *Philologus*, 1954, p. 152 would interpret these words as an *acclamatio* and divide them *Ad Gallias se det princeps*, "es wende sich der Kaiser zu Gallien." This is in our opinion unacceptable, because these words form the beginning of a paragraph and extend out as such into the margin, and because there were two Emperors, and because the *trinqui* must be mentioned specifically as in the *oratio principum*. When he wrote his review of d'Ors, Oliver interpreted the sentence to mean "As for the Three Gauls, it is all settled that *lanistae* shall not charge for *trinqui* more than 2,000 sesterces apiece," *Ad Gallias* (sc. *quantum pertinet*) *sedet* <t>rin<quo>s, etc. So poetical a use of *sedet* cannot be justified by the frequency of poetical words in histories and other rhetorical prose, because the senator in this part of his speech has avoided rhetoric; but Oliver has given up this point of his interpretation chiefly because he is impressed by a similarity between the letters SEDET and the copula *sed et* which introduces Article 2 of the Table of Brigetio, *Année épigraphique* 1937, No. 252 (A.D. 311) and which is discussed by Denis van Berchem on p. 83 of *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, LVI, Paris, 1952). As on the Table of Brigetio, so also here a copula *sed et* could be said to introduce a special case not covered by the general rule. We believe, despite weighty opinions to the contrary, that apart from the error *princeps* for *trinquos* there is no garble but that something is implied or omitted after the phrase *Ad Gallias*, though whether this is ellipsis or scribal negligence we cannot say with confidence. The phrase *Ad Gallias*, coming as it does in first place, constitutes a kind of rubric, but since no article in this inscription is preceded by a separate rubric, and since this phrase is not separated by blank spaces from the rest of the paragraph, it seems hard to interpret the phrase *Ad Gallias* as a true rubric, i.e. one without syntactical connection. It seems better to reckon with an ellipsis, and therefore Oliver now proposes hypothetically *Ad Gallias* (*quantum pertinet, non aliter*), *sed et* <t>rin<quo>s *qui*, etc.

I 58:—Part of this line was recently worked out by d'Ors, and now Palmer, without knowing that Stroux had conjectured *lanistis prae[beat]*, has successfully read *lanistiſ pṛa[ebe]r[e]t*. Oliver

regards Palmer's reading of the first word *lanistis* as certain. The reading *pra[ebe]r[e]t* does not have the same degree of probability but seems possible. One should allow for the fact that in this inscription E and I are sometimes confused and so not demand a wide E. The form *praebeat* is spatially better.

I 60:—One of the most difficult areas of the inscription was read as *vel sibimet* by earlier editors, but as *vel siblaret* or *siplaret* by d'Ors, who emended to *vel si pla<c>et*. In Figure 1 Palmer presents a drawing of what he thinks he sees in the photograph.

CEPTOS VLSIBLARET.

I 61:—Where previous writers read *persolutum*, d'Ors indicated that this was a mere restoration, *pers[olu]tum*. Oliver proposed *pers[crip]tum*, and Palmer actually reads the bottom of the CR.

CONTENT

The *Content* of the Italicense falls entirely within the speech of the senator who gave the *sententia prima* after the reading of the imperial oration. Presumably the senator expressed the sense of the meeting. His words began on the lost tablet which preceded. The first and ornamental part of his oration, the part which extends through line 20, is characterized by a highly rhetorical style full of hyperbole, pathos, and indignation, and concluding with an extravagant pleasantry. A stylistic transition of some interest occurs in lines 21-29. In line 29, finally, the practical part of the oration begins. There is no rhetorical adornment here. The senator now follows the example of the Emperors and adheres to the severity of the juristic style.

The practical part of the oration reproduces proposals for legislation, as it were, and summarizes clarifications concerning administration. The *sententia prima* reflects the traditional rôle of the Senate which had authority to make the rules in certain areas and which in other areas formally gave mere advice to magistrates.

From the *sententia prima*, which in certain passages can actually be compared with the imperial proposals of the Sardinianum, the following articles to be enacted, clarifications from the Emperors, and pieces of advice from the Senate may be distinguished and listed.

Article 1 is introduced by *uti* in line 29 and runs into line 35. It might have had the rubric *De pretiis gladiatorum meliorum*. The senator apparently makes no change; in fact he implies as much in lines 45-46.

Article 2 is introduced by *Utique* in line 35 and runs into line 40. The rubric might have been *De pretiis gregariorum*. The senator probably makes no change. The sentence about warning the *lanistae* could conceivably be interpreted as an addition by the senator but is more easily interpreted as a comment by the Emperors on administrative plans. Indicatives of the imperial oration appear as infinitives of indirect discourse.

3. A statement of administrative policy begins in line 40 where *Utque* does not introduce a third article. This statement runs through line 44 and seems to have been taken from the Emperors' oration entirely. The senator makes no change, except that he paraphrases more freely than the words of line 28, *verbis ipsis*, might lead one to believe.

4. Another statement of administrative policy begins in line 45 and runs merely into line 46. It has the rubric *De exceptis*. The senator apparently makes no change.

5. Advice on administrative policy is offered by the senator in a paragraph which begins in line 46.¹³ It might have had the rubric *De pretiis gladiatorum apud tenuiores civitates*. The paragraph extends into line 55. The words *i]am agunt annu[m]* of Sardinum 10, which are not repeated in the Italicense, probably belong to a statement of administrative policy out of which the new section developed in part.

6. A paragraph concerning the special problem of the *trinqui* in Gaul fills lines 56-58. It seems to have the rubric *Ad Gallias*, to be introduced with the copula *sed et* and the conjunction *ne*, and to reflect faithfully the thought of the Emperors, though it certainly departs more boldly from the *verba ipsa* of the Emperors than line 28 would lead us to expect.

7. A paragraph concerning those other than *lanistae* who might be selling gladiators fills lines 59-61. There is a statement followed by advice which is not introduced in the form of an article with *Uti* or *Utique* and which looks like advice on administration from the senator rather than a proposal to the Senate from the Emperors.

8. Another paragraph concerning special cases begins in line 62 and continues on the lost tablet which follows. This too looks like advice on administration from the senator rather than a proposal to the Senate from the Emperors.

¹³ Piganiol thought that this was a change introduced by the senator, and if so, interpretation of the letters SER of Sardinum 10 as part of the formula *aeque forma in posterum servetur* is precluded. If the senator did not make changes, there would have been no reason to repeat every article, and certainly no reason to engrave the repetition. We think that Piganiol was right. We believe that this phrase may have been used also in the imperial oration but not as applying to the sections *de pretiis gladiatorum meliorum*, *de pretiis gregariorum* and *de exceptis*. In the senator's oration this phrase applies to only one section, the section *de pretiis gladiatorum apud tenuiores civitates*. Either the whole section already existed in the imperial oration, or the restoration *aeque forma in posterum] ser[vatur* is impossible. The letters SER are not enough to outweigh the probability that this section, which the senator contrasts with the section *secundum praescriptum divinae orationis*, is a new section.

III

TRANSLATION OF THE AES ITALICENSE

— — — that that pestilence so great could not be cured by any medicine. And it could not. But our imperial leaders, whose entire concern is to revive the public security from any disease by which it is overwhelmed and strangled and to restore it to complete health, turned their attention to the cause which gave strength to that disease whence the law permitted foul and morally offensive revenues to be derived. They asked what influence and protection made it possible to use, as it were, legitimate ways of doing things which are forbidden by all the laws of God and Man.

(I 5-11) “The Fiscus,” they were told, again and again. The Fiscus, not for itself but in order that it might serve as protection for the butchery in which others engaged, had been invited with an interest amounting to a third or fourth portion to make the filthy plundering legitimate. And so they took the Fiscus out of the arena completely. After all, why should the Fiscus of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus be supported by a connection with the arena? All the money of these emperors is clean, not stained with the splashing of human blood, not soiled with the filth of sordid gains, and it is as innocently produced as it is collected. So away with that revenue, whether twenty or even thirty million sesterces a year. Large enough for the empire is the fortune you accumulate by your thrift. “Let even a part be cut from the back debts owed by *lanistae*, which come to more than five million sesterces, as a free gift to the *lanistae*.” For what deserts, I respectfully ask you. “Of course,” the emperors say, “for no deserts, but since they have been forbidden to engage in the disorderly conduct of their old life, let them have this consolation, and in the future let them be invited to serve the public at a fixed rate.”

(I 12-15) Oh, great Emperors, who know that remedies which allow for the interests even of the wicked who have made themselves actually indispensable are set on deeper foundations, the harvest of your great foresight will indeed come forth. The official reading of the address in our assembly has barely finished, but when it was unofficially reported that the profits of the *lanistae* had been pruned back and that the fiscus had renounced all that money as contaminated, immediately the priests of your most loyal Gallic provinces rushed to see each other, were full of joy, and plied each other with questions and answers.

(I 16-18) There was one who upon being appointed priest had given up his fortune for lost, had named a council to help him in an appeal addressed to the Emperors. But in that very gathering, he himself, before and after consulting his friends, exclaimed, “What do I want with an appeal now? Their most sacred Majesties the Emperors have released the whole burden which crushed my patrimony. Now I desire

and look forward to being a priest, and as for the duty of putting on a spectacle, of which we once were solemnly asking to be relieved, I welcome it."

(I 19-20) And so permission to withdraw the appeal was sought not only by him but by all the others, and how much more numerous petitions to withdraw them will be! Now this class of cases will assume a new form in which those will appeal who have *not* been made priests, in fact even those who do not qualify as members of an order.

(I 21-22) Therefore, when your advice is so good and its objects so salutary, what other "first opinion" can there be for me to give than that which all individually feel and express in an acclamation of the whole group from the bottom of their hearts?

(I 23-26) I think, therefore, first that thanks should be offered to Their Majesties the Emperors, who with healthful remedies subordinating the interests of the *Fiscus* have stopped the decline of the states and the headlong rush of the leading men into ruin and restored the condition of the former and the fortunes of the latter. It was all the more magnificent of them, because, though the excuse was available that they were merely retaining what others had instituted and long custom had confirmed, nevertheless they thought that it was by no means consonant with their philosophical principles either to preserve bad institutions or themselves to institute what others must be dishonorable to preserve.

(I 27-29) Moreover, although many think that concerning what Their Majesties the Emperors have reported to us we should go on record with only one succinct opinion, nevertheless, with your permission, gentlemen, I shall take up each article separately, taking over from the most sacred oration the very same words to clarify the opinion, so that there be no room anywhere for misinterpretation.

(I 29-35) Accordingly, I support the proposals:—"That the spectacles which are called *munera assiforana* ¹⁴ remain within their old limit and not exceed 30,000 HS in expenditure. That to those, however, who produce spectacles at an expenditure between 30,000 and 60,000 HS, gladiators be furnished in equal number in three classes: maximum price for the first class be 5,000 HS, for the second class 4,000 HS, for the third class 3,000 HS. That when it is from 60,000 to 100,000 HS, the company of gladiators be divided into three classes: maximum price of a gladiator of the first class be 8,000 HS, middle class 6,000, lowest 5,000. Next, that when it is from 100,000 to 150,000 HS, there be five grades: for a man of the first grade the price be 12,000 HS, second 10,000, third 8,000, fourth 6,000, last 5,000. Next in order, finally, that when it is from 150,000 to 200,000 HS or any sum which may be over and above this, the price of the gladiator of the lowest grade be 6,000 HS, of the next higher

¹⁴ Non-gratuitous spectacles for the profit of the exhibitor.

7,000, of the third by backward count 9,000, fourth 12,000 up to 15,000 which is the amount fixed for the gladiator of the highest and <last> grade.

(I 35-40) "That at every spectacle of all the categories into which they have been classified the *lanista* provide as half of the whole group a number of men who are not expected to perform singly, and that of these, who are known as *gregarii*, one who may be rated 'superior among *gregarii*' fight in a team under a standard for 2,000 HS, and that no one from this group fight for less than 1,000." (They explain that) the *lanistae* should also be warned against a low desire to profiteer and be warned that they no longer have a free hand in supplying the half which the group of *gregarii* constitute, in order that they may realize that an obligation has been placed upon them to make from the others whom they may rate as superior temporary transfers to fill up their quota of *gregarii*. "Accordingly, that that group which the entire establishment constitutes be divided into equal parts for individual days and that on no day less than half of those who may fight on that day consist of *gregarii*."

(I 40-44) "In order that the *lanistae* may be compelled to observe this rule as carefully as possible, competence must be assigned to provincial governors and their legates, or to quaestors, or to legates in command of legions, or to senatorial *iuridici*, or to procurators of " Their Majesties "upon mandate of the provincial governor, also to praesidial procurators. Across the Po, however, and throughout all regions of Italy competence must be given to *praefecti alimentis*, who should be assigned if present, or, <if they are not present>, to a *curator viae*, or if not even he is present, to a *iuridicus*, or if he too is unavailable, then to a prefect of a praetorian fleet."

(I 45-46) Likewise I support the opinion "that in the matter of prize money care must be taken that as his own share of the reward each free gladiator contract to receive a quarter of that money, whatever used to be set aside for this purpose in the past, but each slave gladiator receive a fifth."

(I 46-55) Concerning the prices of gladiators, however, I expressed a little while ago an opinion in accord with the prescription of the divine oration, but I think the rule is formulated in such a way that those prices apply to those states in which prices of gladiators have been flagrantly high. In respect to states which have a rather weak commonwealth, on the other hand, (I suggest that) these rules which are prescribed in stronger communities be not so rigidly maintained and not place burdens upon them beyond the limit of their strength but keep within that limit, so that whatever prices in public and private accounts are found to be highest, mean and lowest may be observed for those states—, in the case of states within provinces by the governor of the province, in other cases, however, by the *iuridicus*, or by the *curator viae*, or by the prefect of a praetorian fleet, or by the procurator of Their Majesties the Emperors, or by whoever in each state will be its ranking magistrate—, and that

so, upon inspection of the accounts of the last ten years, upon consideration of the spectacles which have been precedents in whatever city there will be donors, a ruling be made by him whose competence it will be concerning the three price levels, or if it shall seem to him better, the prices be divided into three levels in whatever way it will be possible to do so fairly, and that this system be preserved also for the future. And (I suggest that) their Excellencies who went out as proconsuls a short while ago be informed that each of them is supposed to carry out this assignment within his year, and that also those who govern provinces where the lot is not used finish within the year.

(I 56-58) As for the Gallic provinces, (the same limits on prices for gladiators apply). But also for *trinqui*, who because of an ancient custom of sacred ritual are eagerly awaited in the states of the most glorious Gallic provinces, let the *lanistae* not charge a higher price than 2,000 sesterces apiece, since their Majesties the Emperors have announced in their oration that the policy will be for a procurator of theirs to hand over to the *lanistae* at a price of not more than six gold pieces a man who has been condemned to death.

(I 59-61) There will be provinces too where the provincial priests have no dealings with *lanistae*. They take over gladiators bought and trained by previous priests, or free fighters who had bound themselves with a contract, but after giving a spectacle they pass them on to successors at a higher price. Let no one sell anyone for gladiatorial service at a price per individual higher than that to which *lanistae* are limited.

(I 62-63) In the case of him, however, who voluntarily, in the presence of His Excellency the Tribune of the People, may announce his intention to fight at the legal price of 2,000 sesterces, (I suggest that) if this man, when he has obtained his release, will have reentered his dangerous occupation, his valuation thereafter not exceed 12,000 sesterces. In the case of him too who after growing older and less capable may again apply himself -- --

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229 40 correcting XV 207 (41 45); [N. Εὐ.],
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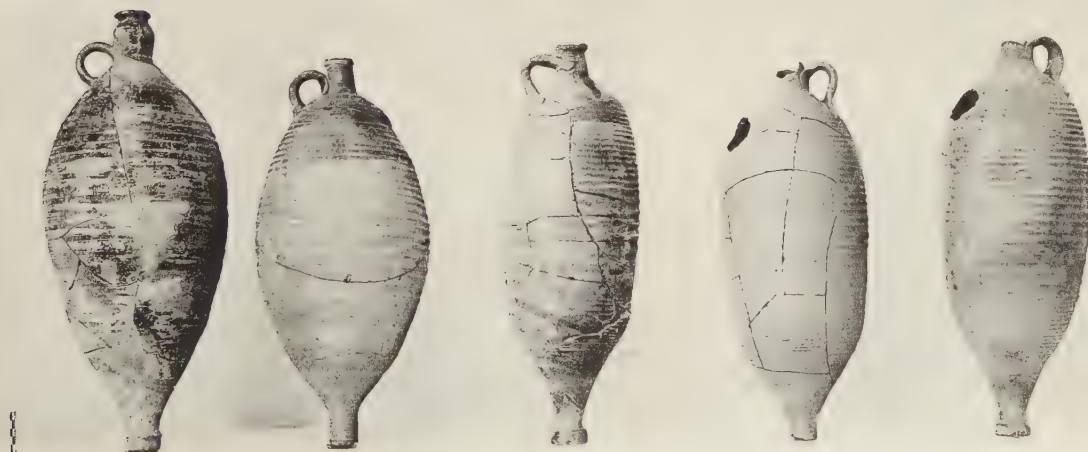
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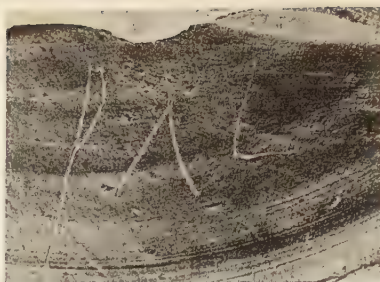
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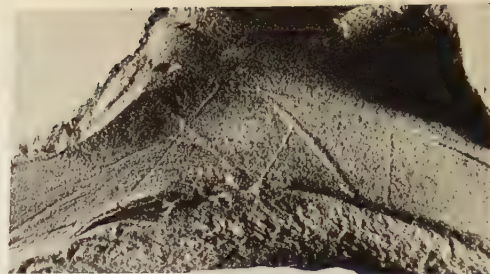
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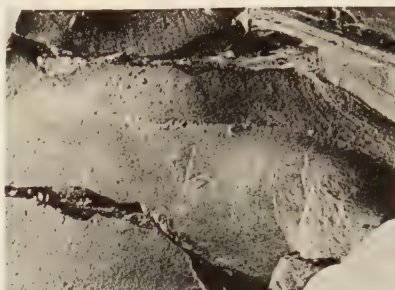
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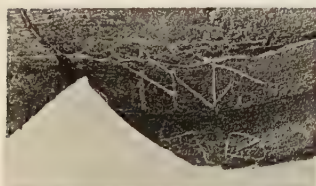
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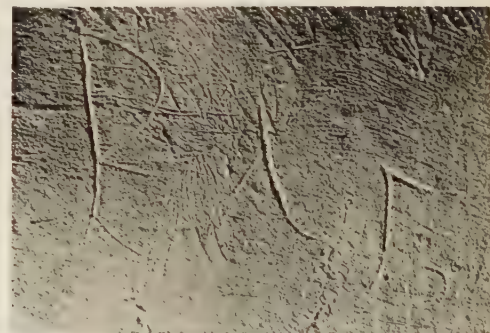
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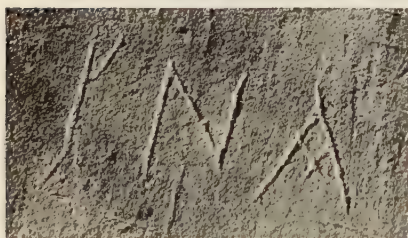
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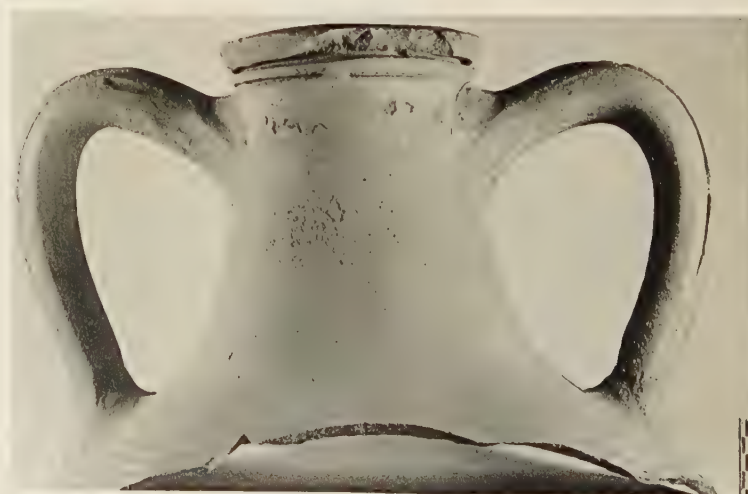
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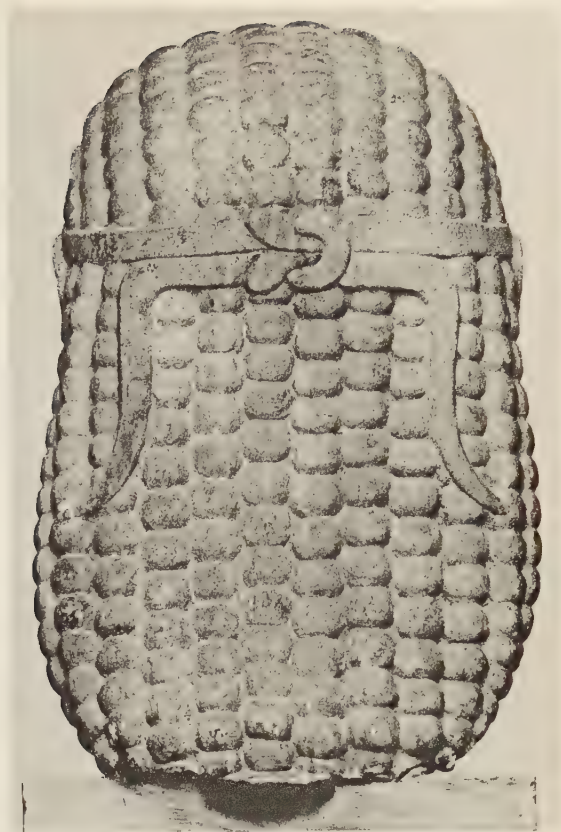
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a. Fragments of Kouros A - D



b. Head from the Dipylon (back).
Athens, National Museum



c. New York Kouros (back)



a - b. Left Hand A



c. Hand from the Dipylon.
Athens, National Museum



d. Right Shoulder D



e. Right Shoulder of New York Kouros
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



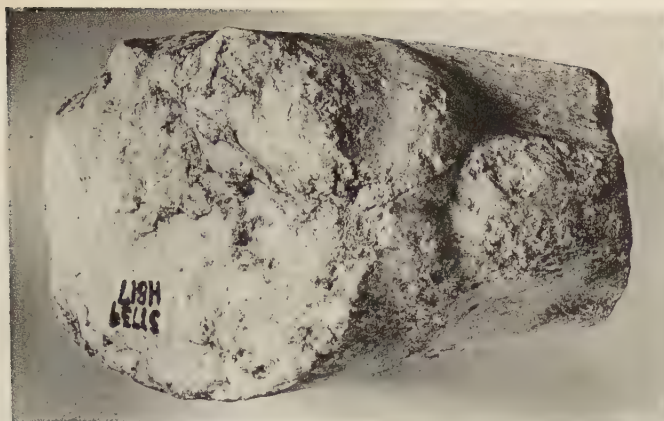
a. New York Kouros (side)
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



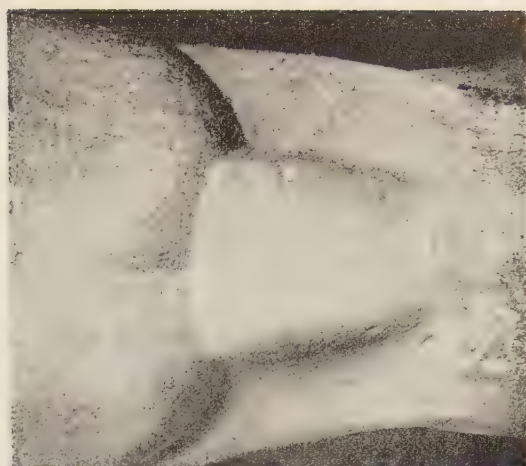
b. Left Hip and Back B (side)



c - d. Right Knee C



e. Knee of New York Kouros
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



f. Knee of Sounion Statue.
Athens, National Museum

EVELYN B. HARRISON: FRAGMENTS OF AN EARLY ATTIC KOUROS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. Detail of Dipylon Head



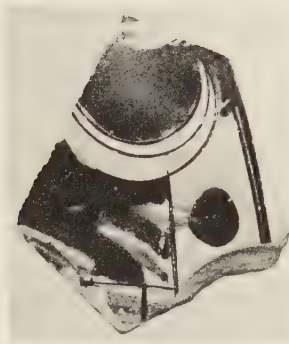
b. Detail of Left Hip B



c. Detail of Back B



d. Detail of Sounion Statue



Hydria-Fragments in Corinth, T 1144

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH



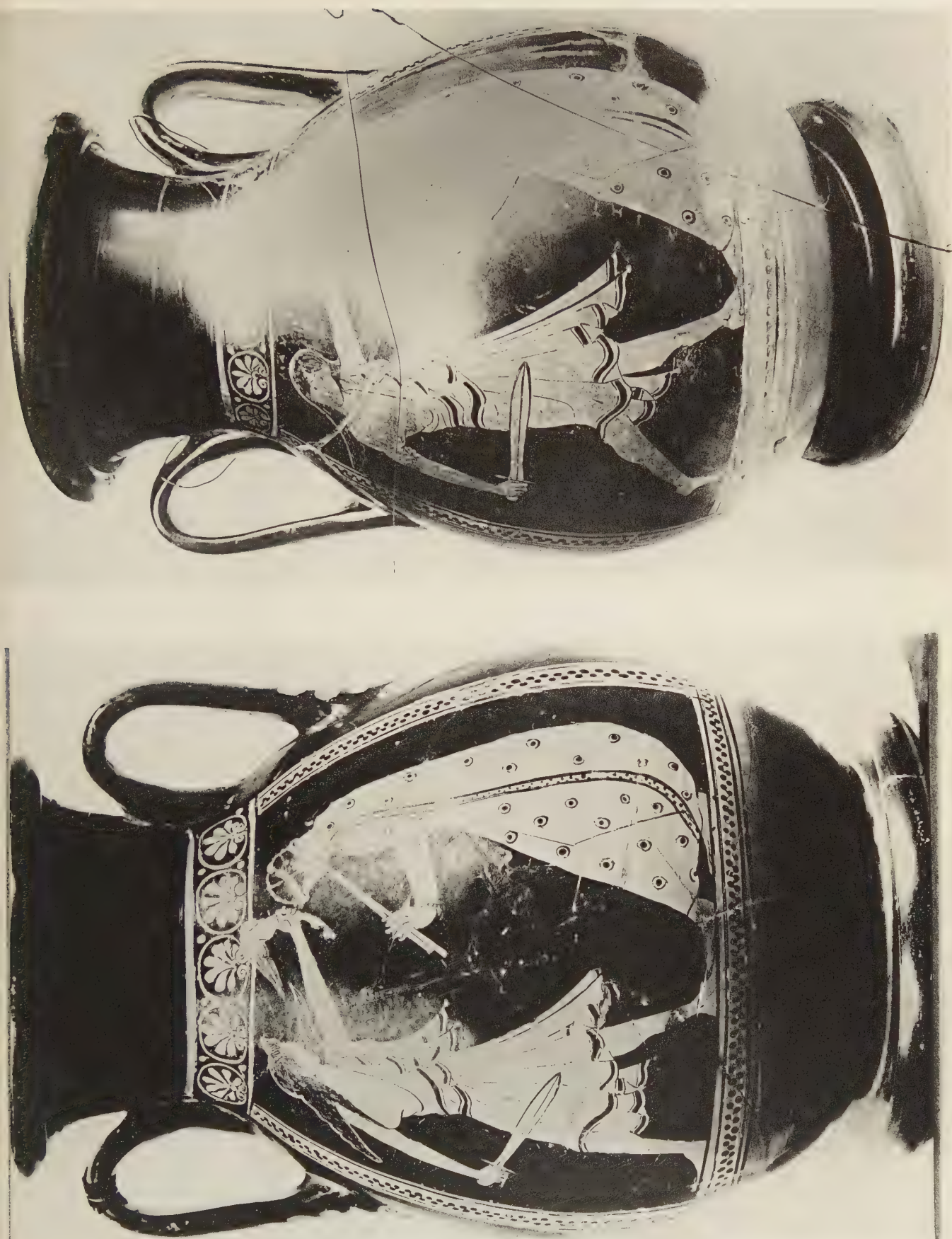


a. Hydria London E 167



b. Hydria Boston 03.788

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH



Pelike Berlin Inv. 3223

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH



a. Calyx-Krater London E 467



b. From a Volute-Krater in Ferrara

J. D. BEAZLEY: HYDRIA-FRAGMENTS IN CORINTH



Aes Italicense

JAMES H. OLIVER AND ROBERT E. A. PALMER: MINUTES OF AN ACT OF THE ROMAN SENATE

HESPERIA

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1955



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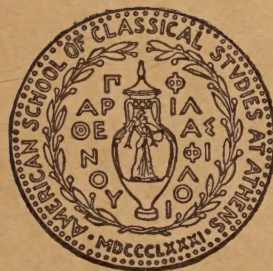
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CORINTH

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME I, PART IV

THE SOUTH STOA AND ITS ROMAN SUCCESSORS

By OSCAR BRONEER

With this volume the publication of the buildings surrounding the Agora of Corinth, begun in earlier parts of Volume I, is continued; all structures on the south side are included. After a discussion of the fragmentary evidence for several buildings of the Greek period which were swept away by the South Stoa and of water works which precede it, the South Stoa is treated in detail. Careful description of all the remains, both those *in situ* and re-used blocks, forms the basis of the reconstruction of this extensive 2-storey building of the 3rd quarter of the 4th century B.C. which stretched the full length of the south side of the Agora and, more than any other single building, established the size and shape of the Corinthian Agora in the six centuries of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It emerges as one of the outstanding creations of Greek civic architecture. One of the largest secular buildings in Greece, it appears to have been planned as a Grand Hotel to accommodate delegates to the Hellenic league and the many other visitors at the time Corinth served as the capital of the Greek world, united for a brief era. After the destruction of Corinth, it remained comparatively undamaged and was taken over by the Roman colony as the seat of its administrative offices. Gradually, over the course of four centuries of the Roman empire, into the shops of the ground floor (the second-storey by now destroyed or removed) were built various buildings, including a bouleuterion, a fountain house, a bathing establishment, a public latrine.

Of unusual value and significance in the study of Greek architecture is the material here set forth, offering evidence for new conceptions of planning and design and hitherto unknown types of interior installation in the standard stoa plan in the Greek period, as well as new light on the effects of the union of Greek and Roman architectural traditions in Imperial times.

Published March 1955. xix + 167 pages with 67 figures in the text, frontispiece, 1 color plate, 54 half tone plates, and 22 plans. Quarto. Cloth. \$15.00.

GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS IV

CASTLES OF THE MOREA

By KEVIN ANDREWS

Among the treasures in the Gennadius Library in Athens is a set of forty drawings, mostly plans, but some elevations, of the castles of the Peloponnesos which were in Venetian hands from ca. 1685-1715. Many of them carry the arms of Francesco Grimani and probably most of them were made to accompany his reports to the Venetian Senate while he was *Provveditore Generale dell'Armi in Morea* in 1699-1701. Using these drawings as a starting point, the author has made a study of 16 castles of the Peloponnesos, that of Chalkis, and that of Canea.

After an introduction which summarizes the history of the Peloponnesos from late classical to modern times, there is given for each castle 1) an account of the siege in which it fell to the armies of the Holy League in the campaigns of 1685-1692, 2) a recapitulation of its history from its earliest known beginnings to its last military engagement, and 3) an architectural description (copiously illustrated) of the castle as it stands today, in which attempt is made to date the various sections. The Conclusion summarizes the evidence for the architectural styles that have been identified with the several periods from the Early Byzantine to the Late Venetian. The forty Grimani drawings are catalogued in detail. *A Chronology of the Morea and Related Events in the Levant* completes the volume.

This volume not only presents the history of mediaeval Greece in a different form which will prove useful and entertaining to scholars and laymen alike, but it offers a major contribution to the study of military architecture and of mediaeval types of construction. The publication of the Grimani plans is an addition to the Venetian archives.

Published September 1953. xix + 274 pages, 231 illustrations in the text, 40 plates. Quarto. Half cloth. \$15.00.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS
OF
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HESPERIA SUPPLEMENT X
SMALL OBJECTS FROM THE PNYX: II

By LUCY TALCOTT, BARBARA PHILIPPAKI, G. ROGER EDWARDS, VIRGINIA R. GRACE

This volume completes the publication (begun in Supplement VII) of the objects found in the excavations of the Pnyx hill in Athens conducted between 1931 and 1937 under the joint auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Greek government and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. It includes three parts: I Figured Pottery, II Hellenistic Pottery, III Stamped Wine Jar Fragments.

Of the 331 fragments of vases catalogued in Part I, only 16 are black-figured (including Panathenaic amphorae) and three have plastic decoration; the others are all red-figured and the majority of them come from a filling of the time of the rebuilding of the Assembly Place in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. They are arranged by shape. A brief outline of the development of the coarser fourth-century styles is given in the introduction. The 122 fragments catalogued in Part II are from Megarian bowls or their moulds and two stacking rings; they seem to be the refuse from a potter's workshop and give evidence for technique. The catalogue of Part III includes Thasian, Rhodian, Knidian, Pontic, Chian and Lagynos, Corcyrean (?), Parian, Parmeniskos Group, Coan, Latin stamped, Imperial and Byzantine handles; each class has an introduction emphasizing the new contributions of this material. For each part there is a bibliography, concordance, and Index.

New chronological evidence for fourth-century pottery and for amphora handles gives this volume special significance. The illustration of every figured fragment illumines fourth-century coarse wares; both subject matter and technique of Megarian bowls are further clarified, and new information regarding certain classes of stamped handles, especially Thasian, Knidian and Rhodian, is offered.

Published December, 1955. ix + 189 pages, 7 figures in the text, 1 chart, 80 collotype plates. Quarto. Paper. \$7.50.

THE ATHENIAN AGORA
RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
VOLUME II
COINS
FROM THE ROMAN THROUGH THE VENETIAN PERIOD
By MARGARET THOMPSON

The 37,090 catalogued coins from the last century of the Roman Republic to the declining years of the Republic of Venice which were found in the excavation of the Athenian Agora between 1931 and 1949 are treated here. They are tabulated in an abbreviated catalogue form to which is added commentary on all the issues of special interest or to the understanding of which the Agora material makes a contribution. The Introduction presents a brief summary of the historical picture of the coinage of Athens through the centuries concerned and its relation to other archaeological evidence. A table of coinage ratios for each reign in the Roman and Byzantine periods illumines the picture particularly clearly. The evidence for the mints which supplied Athens at various periods is especially significant. A numerical summary and an Index of Rulers and of Mints complete the volume.

The commentary includes valuable discussions of the new evidence offered by these coins for new types, for new mints striking known types, for new forms of mint marks, for the location of the second Asia mint of Valerian, for the location of the mints which struck the "Vandalic" issues, and, especially important, for the dating of the Byzantine anonymous issues.

Published May 1954. x + 122 pages, 4 collotype plates. Quarto. Cloth. \$5.00.
